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ART. I.—1. *Les Arts au Moyen Age.* By M. Du Sommerard, Conseiller à la Cour des Comptes, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

2. *Notices sur l'Hotel de Cluny et sur le Palais des Thermes.* By M. Du Sommerard. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1834.

3. *Rapport de la Commission des Monuments Historiques.* 1838.

4. *Rapport du Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments.* 1838.

5. *Cours d'Archéologie Chrétienne.* By Messrs. Didron and Albert Lenoir. 1838.

6. *Voyages Pittoresques dans l'Ancienne France.* By Baron Taylor and M. Charles Nodier.

SIXTY years ago the study of the arts, the architecture, and the manners of the middle ages was almost unknown or unthought of on the Continent, and it was only in Britain that Medi-æval antiquarians attempted to carry their knowledge into practice, or to draw forth from the stores of their discoveries any thing that might be practically useful to their fellow countrymen or that might be in any way reproduced by the artists and architects of their own times. The legal and historical antiquities of the middle ages had indeed had some illustrious labourers, numbered among the continental literati, and such as we cannot boast of in our own island: the names of Muratori, Ducange, the learned and indefatigable Benedictines, and especially of Montfaucon, will at once recur to the mind of the antiquarian. The last named, indeed, may be looked upon as the first person of any weight among the learned of his own nation, who turned his attention to the architectural and artistical part of the subject, and the first who attempted to bring the works of a few centuries back into that repute from which they had been unjustly driven. But in general this latter task was left, entire and undivided, to the science of British antiquarians, and the taste of English dilettanti. Horace Walpole, with his "Strawberry Hill Gothic," absurd as it now appears, did immense service to public taste in giving the *ton*;—Browne, Willis, Stukely, Grose, and all the names that, during the latter half of the last century, shed lustre on the Society of Antiquaries,—a list far too long to be repeated

here, and one of which Great Britain has just cause to be proud, —settled the question on our side of the water; and turned the tide of public attention into a channel from which it has never since deviated, and from which the monumental treasures of this country have derived such valuable augmentations and such fostering care. England, from the time of the great Camden, has never been wanting in acute and laborious antiquarians, so far as her own national relics and records are concerned; and few nations, if any, can compete with her in this respect up to the times of the Commonwealth, when Selden, Usher, and Prideaux, influenced in a great degree by the religious and political circumstances of the period, put an end for a certain interval to the school of British antiquarians, and turned national inquiry towards the Hebraic ages and the records of the East. It was but for a short period that this cessation endured:—the Augustan age of Anne witnessed the revival of British enthusiasm, and during the first half of the eighteenth century things were fast verging to the condition in which they were found by Horace Walpole and the men of his school. But in the mean time on the Continent, and more particularly in France, after the first brilliancy of the age of Louis XIV. had somewhat subsided, the great antiquarians of the Benedictine school began to explore all the accumulated stores of knowledge, of all times and nations; and the documental history of Europe, we may add of Asia also, was made out to a much greater extent than could have been anticipated *à priori*; even now, indeed, we look upon the great monuments of their labours with respect and wonder. At this period England was doing comparatively nothing in the exploration of general antiquities: the corrupt and sordid character of the early Georgian reigns threw a damp upon every thing like literary enthusiasm, and was most fatal to national art; and hence retrospective inquiry flourished in those days in France, but certainly not in England.

The pursuits and the taste of any epoch are influenced, doubtless, to a very great degree, by the political circumstances of the time: but it is a subject of just surprise that the aristocracy of western Europe should have been so late to awaken to a sense of their interest in the preservation of national antiquities, and of its closely concerning their own honour to see that the works of their ancestors suffered no damage from the hands of sacrilegious posterity. For, if we mistake not, it is only from their having been more or less affected by the revolutionary violence of popular tumults, that they have at last arrived at a true perception of what we may be allowed to call the sublime and beautiful of the middle ages. The aristocracy of England can never be pardoned for the avidity with which they shared in the spoliation of the monasteries in the time of Henry VIII., the dissolution of which, what-

ever may be the religious part of the question, was in one sense at least a most serious national calamity, and greatly retarded the march of civilization in our islands. As far as art and architecture are concerned, leaving out Inigo Jones and Wren, we have never had a national school of architecture, sculpture, or painting since then, until comparatively quite recent times: while a fierce iconoclastic spirit was let loose on the country, that showed itself most fearfully in the time of Cromwell, and by destroying all respect for works of former ages induced a cold feeling of neglect that is only lately extinguished. But neglect in matters of art is near akin to death; and hence the gradual decline of monumental taste in England, and which may be traced from the days of Queen Elizabeth, till it reached the lowest point of its bathos in those of George II. and the early part of the reign of George III. Still the aristocracy of England had been advancing in wealth, in intelligence, and in numbers. In France on the other hand, the civil wars that preceded the period of Louis XIV., while they hindered much progress in the fine arts,—for the ambition of the nobles was turned to far different matters,—kept things to a certain extent from taking any other direction: their chateaux remained intact,—those, that is to say, which the great cardinal did not pull down about their owners' ears; and it was not until peace,—internal national peace,—had brought luxury and the arts of civilized life again into vogue, that a new school of architecture and of domestic ornamentation began to appear. The history of the fine arts in France and England had also in their early periods this difference, which ought to be taken into account. While Henry VIII. was only following the bent of his passions and thinking of himself alone, Francis I. had Titian, and Benvenuto Cellini at his court: and France then gained a decided start in the fine arts, which she never lost till the period of the great revolution. During the troubled times of Henry III. and IV. the religious wars of France no doubt did much serious damage to some of her most precious monuments: but these were principally secular; and the rage of the combatants affected cities and bastioned walls rather than churches, monasteries, and isolated mansions. While, however, the spirit of religious architecture was dead in Britain, and all attempts at religious decoration or ecclesiastical ornamentation had vanished with the forcible change of the national religion, there remained in France the great body of the regular orders of clergy, who were daily increasing in power and affluence. These, though they did not carry out the architectural traditions of their predecessors to the extent to which we should now expect, performed at all events the noble and useful part of national conservators: the religious

mobs never entered the monasteries: the holy limits of their cloisters served as a refuge to the spirit of the arts of the middle ages long after the Palladian taste of Italy had set the fashion at court, and maintained the great monuments of France inviolate until the barbarous epoch of 1790-2. The taste of the Italian school, to which we have just alluded, prevailed in France at an earlier period than in England: witness the western front of the square of the Louvre, built by Henry II.: witness Chambord, Chenonceaux, Amboise, Blois, and a host of other royal and noble residences; all which preceded in date as they surpassed in grandeur and elegance Burleigh, Hatfield, and other similar edifices in England. But, at the same time, the Gothic spirit (we must be allowed this term for the present, and shall revert to it) flourished in France at a later period than in England, where no building of the same size and beauty can be found of so recent a date as the splendid church of St. Eustache at Paris (1532—1642); of this, though the details are Italian, the idea and the disposition of the parts are essentially those of the best days of the pointed style. The dispersion of the monastic orders and the change in the national religion were fatal to Christian art in England; and on the other hand the maintenance of the faith of Rome and the existence of the religious orders in France, were two powerfully conservative causes that kept together the traditional taste and the monuments of the middle ages so firm and extensively, that all the malice, all the besotted ignorance of the revolutionists have not been able to destroy them except in part.

The ecclesiastics of France, like all other orders, felt the influence of the age of Louis XIV. and were forced to give way to the classic flood that, filling every corner of the land, drove the spirit of the *romantic* out of literature and art at the end of the 17th and all of the 18th century. Whatever conventional buildings were erected during that interval were of the prevailing style of the day, a law that men observed without knowing it: but this circumstance very seldom prompted the destruction or mutilation of existing buildings; so that the taste for pointed architecture declined and became extinct gradually, unaccompanied by that frightful destruction of monuments witnessed in England in the 16th century. As a remarkable instance of the conservative spirit in France, we may mention the city of Aviguon, where while the *Genre Classique* at Nismes and Marseilles was in full vogue from the middle of the 17th century, all its best monuments and its admirable walls have remained less injured than those of any other city in France, even to the present day. It is no small praise for a community, if devoid of the genius or inclination to invent, to have at least the taste and sense to preserve

what it possesses of the good and the beautiful; and whoever has visited Avignon will allow that the remark applies there with considerable justice. Similar observations may be applied to other localities in Provence, the *Pays romantique, par excellence;* where the architect and the painter may pick up more original ideas in a week than in all the rest of France in a year, and where the old feudal chateaux that still cover it would have remained until now in all their primitive excellence but for the moral and political cataclysm of the 18th century. Another and earlier instance of the conservative spirit of the French ecclesiastical orders is at Orleans, where the first stone of the last re-erection of the Cathedral was laid by Henry IV. in 1601, and where, with a few anachronisms and inconsistencies, one of the finest pointed cathedrals of that country has been in course of construction almost ever since. Curiously enough, the principal exceptions to this rule are in Paris; although a notable instance may be quoted at Rouen, in the abominable Ionic screen of the cathedral at the entrance of the choir, which after all was an addition rather than a demolition; but at Paris the *Ecole Classique* broke out into two or three overt acts of barbarism. Thus the fronts of St. Eustache and St. Gervais were erected at different epochs in a pseudo-Roman style; the choir of Notre Dame was *beautified* by Louis XIV.; a villainous classic screen was put up in the sanctum sanctorum—the bijou of the middle ages—the Sainte Chapelle; and at length, not very long before the Revolution, the old hall of the great Palace of St. Louis,—of the Palais de Justice,—was replaced by the present Salle des pas perdus. The sum total however of all this mischief to the monuments of the country is dust in the balance compared to the *alterations* and *improvements* carried on by ecclesiastical and other corporations in our own. We have scarcely a cathedral, college, or parish church that does not bear impress of the barbaric hand of classic innovators, either in screens and choir work, or in that most christian and fraternal invention of pews in places of worship. What few castles survived the Cromwellian wars were nearly all mutilated and dismantled; the sackings of Conway and Ludlow by the natural protectors of such splendid national monuments are only two out of numberless instances; and no inquirer of discrimination and taste can avoid tracing the progressive degradation exemplified in ecclesiastical edifices, from the gorgeous structure of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, one of the latest buildings finished before the Reformation, down to the barn-like appearance of St. James's Church in London, the exterior of which is a most serious discredit to the great name of Sir Christopher Wren.

Before the sun of Louis XIV. had set, the national taste of

our Gallic neighbours was firmly fixed, and Rome was the zenith point of their admiration. Then followed the dissolute period of the Regency, and the gay, frivolous times of Louis XV.; the antiquarians of the nation had received an inevitable bias; and, as already observed, though the documental remains of the middle ages continued to be acutely examined, the monumental history of those periods was totally neglected. The great work of Winckelmann, the travels of Choiseul Gouffier, and the series of the numismatical writers, may be taken as so many indices of the antiquarian taste of the end of the last century. Two exceptions to the men of their epoch had however occurred during this time, in the cases of Montfaucon and the Count de Caylus.

"To the Count de Caylus belongs, in our opinion, the honour of having attempted to popularize in France at the commencement of the reign of Louis XV. the taste for archæological studies, imported by Montfaucon from Italy; for the periods anterior to this, and especially that of Louis XIV, carrying with them their own resources of practical art, and calculated to turn away attention from inquiries into the past, had only produced works of a special nature, in which art was viewed on but one of its faces and in its theoretical application to the current erections of the day. Such were the treatises on architecture of Philibert Delorme, &c.....It was in 1698 that Montfaucon, conducted to Rome by his researches upon the works of St. Chrysostome, yielded to the intoxicating seductions of this paradise of the arts, and to the desire of endowing his own country with works analogous to those with which Ciampini and several other learned men had already enriched Italy. A great source of emulation resulted to him from the immense labours to which the learned conservator of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, Muratori, was then devoting himself. Our illustrious Benedictine, profiting by the gracious reception given to him by Innocent XII., reaped an abundant harvest among the museums, villas, and monuments of Italy, and which, after completing it from other points, he published in France in the fifteen volumes of his Antiquité Expliquée. This publication, dating from 1719, preceded by ten years his historical and archæological work on the Monumens de la Monarchie Française; and there is every reason to believe that the interest inspired by this abundant harvest, and the renown attached to the name of Montfaucon, contributed to decide the vocation of M. de Caylus. This nobleman, rich in honours and possessions, sought and found a more real source of distinction in the study of art, and in his ability to patronize it; quitting the peaceful enjoyments which birth and fortune had prepared for him, he devoted himself, soul and estate (corps et biens) to the laborious occupations of an antiquary."—*Du Sommerard, Les Arts au Moyen Age*, pp. 140, 141.

To these succeeded M. Seroux d'Agincourt, and to him Millin; who, had not the Revolution interfered with his studies, would probably have revived the taste for ancient French art among his countrymen. Political events, however, were now

(1788—1792) becoming too strong for the softer influence of civilization; the ancient monarchy of France, the nation itself, was trembling with the throes of the volcano on which it stood; and in the great explosion that soon after followed, the very idea and name of antiquity were to all appearance totally lost.

And a melancholy period it was for art of every kind, for learning, for religion, for all that was great and good of the former state of France; the nobility and the clergy, the natural fosterers of the fine arts, had forsaken or been forcibly driven from their posts: the hitherto conservative influence of the ecclesiastical institutions was destroyed and despised; brutality and ignorance had come newly into power, and, drunk with blood, intoxicated with political elevation, were wreaking vengeance on all that bore the stamp and title of antiquity. We may be spared detailing the damage done to the public and private monuments of France during this second night of barbarism; the history of the excesses of that period against all objects of art, and especially against religious edifices, would demand a volume to itself; our present concern lies rather with the after-spirit which was thereby engendered in the nation, and its consequences as they are now developing.

This however is a division of the history of the revolution totally untouched in all the narration of that period; and it will be a sombre and ungrateful task whenever the pen shall trace it. After all, perhaps, the people were scarcely more to be blamed for their ignorance and exasperation than the aristocracy for having blindly allowed things to come to such a pitch. But it is a picture of the temporary madness of many millions of men that ought to have acted as a salutary lesson in the present day to the nobility of a neighbouring and once powerful people; who enervated by their long possession and abuse of wealth and power, have suffered a devastating torrent to desolate one of the most interesting countries of Europe,—Spain. The violent dissolution of her monasteries, the sacrilegious spoliation of her clergy and her churches, with the subsequent sale and dispersion of most of her finest works of native art, form, although little heeded by us, one of the most gloomy pages of the history of our times.

For a good account of the devastation caused by the French revolutionists, details of sufficient accuracy are wanting:—the monumental statistics of France have never been sufficiently looked after, and it is only in the present day that the two committees, whose reports we have mentioned at the head of this article, are endeavouring to ascertain the truth. The main objects of the fury of the mobs were the monasteries, and in them also they found their principal spoils. The havoc committed among

such edifices after their dissolution by the law of the day was immense:—but the full extent of it can be guessed at only by those who have visited the provinces of France with something like an antiquarian object. The precious objects of art found in the churches, parochial as well as conventual, were generally confiscated; and the treasures of the monastic residences as well as the private property of the members were recklessly seized and sold. The walls furnished stones for the houses of *patriotic citizens*, and the bells were melted down to furnish coin for the bankrupt nation.* We need only allude to the massacres of the ecclesiastics in many of the monasteries; their corporeal sufferings and their proscription form part of the political history of the times; we will content ourselves with mentioning one or two instances of monumental destruction which the Anglo-Norman antiquarian, and especially the visiter of Paris, well know how to feel and lament. Whoever has wandered up the banks of the lower Seine, one of the most picturesque rivers of France, will recollect hearing of, if he did not visit, the lonely cloisters of St. Wandrille and the gaunt skeleton of the Abbey of Jumièges, about halfway between Rouen and Havre. Two of the best works, the former of the thirteenth and the latter of the eleventh century, have here almost entirely perished; and the older inhabitants of the neighbourhood can still give a melancholy recital of the expulsion of the monks, and of the ships that came up the river to carry away cargoes of materials. Jumièges *could* not be constructed again; parts of St. Wandrille might;—but from that period two centres of art were obliterated from that part of Normandy, and until within a very few years nothing more elevated in architecture than a cotton factory has been thought of all the way from the sea to the capital.† In

* The present copper currency of France, which in the greater part dates from the Revolution, is composed almost entirely of the bells of churches and convents, and may be distinguished by its yellowish white appearance. We may add that few ecclesiastical buildings in France have, since that time, had more than one or two bells suspended in their towers: and only a few weeks ago it was considered in Paris as a signal triumph on the part of the Curé of St. Roch, that he obtained leave to have a ring of four bells in the steeple. The Archbishop of Paris went to the church with great ceremony to consecrate and baptize the bells, in the presence of the Queen; while the Duke of Berwick and Alba, with the Countess Lobau, stood godfather and godmother on the occasion. Insignificant as the circumstance may appear, it was nevertheless, *pro tanto*, a victory over the remains of revolutionary barbarism.

† Vast quantities of the more moveable debris of Jumièges found their way to England, purchased by amateurs, many of whom are doubtless now alive, and may recollect the source whence their mansions have been enriched.—It may be worth while to mention the subsequent fate of these two abbeys;—St. Wandrille has fallen into the hands of an honest fustian and fancy stuff weaver, who while he has had the greatest part of the abbey church pulled down and sold for materials, has preserved the cloister intact, and admits strangers with considerable facility to visit the remains.

Paris, as may be readily conceived, the wantonness of destruction was in its glory; and the great abbeys of St. Victor, St. Germain des Près, St. Martin des Champs, and we may add of St. Denis, felt the full weight of the tyranny of the people. Of the first named of these buildings nothing whatever remains but a fountain in a turret, although it covered more than twenty acres of ground;—it has been replaced by the cellars and storehouses of the Halle aux Vins. Of the others better use was made, for some of their buildings and extensive relics still exist. St. Denis, indeed, has reverted to something like its original destination;—but, as a general measure, the destruction of the monasteries and colleges (for one followed the other) completely changed the face of the city. One curious effect of this sweeping measure will be appreciated by the architectural antiquarian; nearly all the principal buildings of the fourteenth century, Notre Dame being the chief exception, have disappeared from the French capital; and the student of its monuments comes upon a sudden, and what would otherwise be an unaccountable blank in the monumental series, whenever he looks for edifices of that epoch.

To terminate our sketch of the destructive influence of the Revolution on the medi-æval riches of the capital we will advert to the cases of the monasteries of the Celestins, at the eastern end of the city, and the Petits Augustins, opposite the Louvre, on the southern bank of the Seine. The former was particularly rich in tombs and chapels filled with royal and noble monuments:—the latter had not much that was attractive beyond its locality. We believe it was the danger to which the riches in the church of the Celestins was exposed, that first led M. Alexandre Lenoir to the idea of saving something out of the general wreck, and forming a national museum, as the only means of rescuing the records of ancient French art from total and irremediable destruction. It is true that something was, at this time, doing even in the National Convention for the protection of national monuments; for a short account of which we are obliged to M. du Sommerard.*

"A decree of 12th Aug. 1792, issued upon the motion of Thuriot

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Jumièges belongs to a regular ruin-fancier; who, it is true, preserves every stone of it most religiously, but tries to help father Time a little by *making the remains look picturesque*, and has so beplanted and bedecked the place that the antiquary, while sadly puzzled, cannot but be amused.

* "It was about this period (1792) that the Prussian Baron Anacharsis Cloots, the *orator of the human race*, expressed himself in the following terms, in the Legislative Assembly, while thanking that body for the honour of being admitted a French citizen;—'*Gallophile* de tous les temps, mon cœur est français, mon âme est *sans culotte*.'"

and Lacroix, ordered the conversion into cannons of the statues of the kings, and the bronzes of the national monuments. Ten days afterwards a conversation took place in the Convention regarding the destruction of our finest monuments, the Porte St. Denis, Versailles, &c. and it was to the honour of Dussaulx, one of the representatives, that he took upon himself the courageous mission of defending the chef-d'œuvres that were menaced. 'Let it be ploughed up,' exclaimed a member, speaking of the park of Versailles. 'Be it so,' replied Dussaulx, 'but what is to be done with the statues of the *philosophers*; the Platos, the Senecas, &c. that are in it,—we must surely preserve these antiques, even though they are *aristocrats:* we must keep them as a *simulacre d'horreur.*' These *conclusive* arguments prevailed against all objections and led to the adoption of Cambon's motion to collect the moveable monuments of France, and to place them in a museum. Camus and Grégoire deserve, however, to be associated in the credit due to Dussaulx; for on the 18th October the first of these deputies presented the report, upon which the Convention afterwards instituted a temporary commission of thirty-three members; and it was to this commission, the functions of which were entirely gratuitous, that we owe the foundation of a national museum and the formation of the collection of the Petits Augustins."—*Notices sur l'Hotel de Cluny*, p. 263.

This collection was made by the indefatigable energy and skill of M. Alexander Lenoir, who, appointed conservator of it, united in the stalls of the monastery alluded to, all the "moveable monuments" that could in any way be collected from all parts of France, arranged them chronologically, and then described them in the masterly work that bears his name. If we reflect upon the peculiar circumstances of the times, when not another architect or artist in France besides himself dared to stand up in behalf of the monuments of the middle ages, and when we consider that the idea of such a collection was then perfectly new, we are led to form a high estimate of that gentleman's real patriotism and discernment. This museum continued in a most flourishing condition till the restoration; and acted most beneficially as a school where young artists might study, and where the public generally might learn to lament the excesses of which their contemporaries or their parents had been guilty. Napoleon, with the usual tact of a great mind, warmly patronized and protected it; and the school of modern French architects and archæologists may be dated from its establishment. Thus, Phœnix-like, national art was doomed to rise from the conflagration of the Revolution; but by a still more strange and unforeseen casualty it ran a narrow chance of total shipwreck from the ignorance of those most interested in its preservation. On the return of the former line of kings and the ancient aristocracy of the country, it was very natural that they should lament to find

their chateaux, their churches, and their family burial places stripped of their sculptured honours; and that they should reclaim them. But the altered circumstances of the age required to be taken into account, and still more the altered magnitude of their own fortunes; in an evil hour the king was prevailed upon, while decreeing the restoration of monuments to their possessors, to order the dissolution of the Museum of the Petits Augustins. His majesty's advisers overlooked the services of M. Lenoir during the days of Vandalism, and with the strange carelessness always characteristic of the counsels of the elder branch of the Bourbons, no efficient measures, or rather no measures at all, were taken to see that the restitution of these monuments was made to the parties who had a legal right to them. The *personnel* of the museum had been unceremoniously cashiered; the crown claimed and took away what had come from the abbey of St. Denis; some dozen or two of noble families also bore off their ancestral effigies, which they afterwards placed,—not in their parochial churches,—not in their chapels,—not in their houses,—but in their barns, or their gardens (as termini!)—or, still worse, in a great many instances sold them to dealers in curiosities;—while every body who had a fancy walked into the museum and carried off whatever he chose, until at length some even came with carts and shovelled into them the antiquarian *rubbish!* The court probably remained ignorant of the affair, the public were indifferent or interested on the wrong side, the aristocracy had lost their family pride; and the museum was dispersed for ever. This took place in 1820!*

* The case of M. Alexandre Lenoir has been one of most unmerited hardship, and which the lover of art will duly appreciate; as it shows how the disinterested benefactor of his country is too often rewarded. To witness the dispersion of this museum, the fruit of thirty years' labour, the pride of his life, and to lose the honourable position in which it placed him amongst the intellectual portion of his countrymen, was in itself a visitation sufficiently severe. He had, however, strength of mind to bear up under it, as he had done in worse times; and in his retirement he formed, during another ten years, a choice and valuable private museum of objects of antique art, as well as of works of the middle ages. The private gallery of M. Lenoir was in 1835 one of the things best worth seeing in this way in Paris. When the restoration of the Abbey Church of St. Denis was decreed by the legislature (since 1830), it was a judicious and well-merited compliment to the aged antiquarian to make him inspector of this important affair. Last year, however, the Chamber of Deputies, in one of those penny-wise fits that periodically come upon elective assemblies, chose all of a sudden to reduce their grants for public works;—not reflecting that the embellishment of the capital and the impulse given to public constructions of all kinds throughout the country, is about the only ostensible good effected by the Revolution of July;—the allowance for St. Denis therefore was cut down to a minimum. This to the public was of little matter, but it carried with it the suppression of M. Lenoir's post as inspector, and at the beginning of the present year that gentleman was forced to sell his second museum piecemeal,—not a single individual in France having the generosity to come forward to say a word to the legislature or the king in his behalf,—much less to preserve so rich a collection undispersed. The proprietor has submitted to all this with a

The fact is that, partly from the influence of causes noticed by us already as acting during the reigns of Louis XIV. and his two successors, but more particularly from the all-absorbing effects of the Revolution and the era of Napoleon, the French public mind was turned diametrically away from any thing like a knowledge or appreciation of the works of the middle ages. Our countrymen, whose attention had been kept alive on the subject by the Antiquarian Society of London and by English architects, can well recollect on first visiting France after the fall of the Empire how universally they found the antiquities of the country neglected, and how cheaply they could buy the finest specimens of art, whether in painted glass, fretted stall work, or richly illuminated missals. The very words "Le Moyen Age" were not invented at the time;—and therefore whatever has been done to bring again into honour the arts and the architecture of that period in France, has been effected since the general peace.

During the period of the Restoration several important works were undertaken, conservative of a few of the chief monuments of the country: and the Roman remains in the south of France obtained the attention to which they were entitled. The Palais des Thermes of Paris was rescued from the danger of immediate destruction; the church of St. Germain des Près was reconstructed; the abbey of St. Denis was repaired; and the cathedrals throughout France underwent considerable repairs. But the architects to whom these works were intrusted had not sufficiently studied the monuments of the middle ages to understand much about the pointed styles: they knew nothing of what had been done in England in this way; and the government, though decidedly well disposed to the arts, was too much fettered by its needy adherents and by the last remaining oscillations of the Revolution, to allow of its taking so active a part as it ought to have done in the monumental decoration of the country. It is true that the Société Royale des Antiquaires de France was encouraged, and that it had already been of some use; but while its members were actively engaged in various antiquarian pursuits, its weight as a body, connected with the arts, was not very great, and in fact little or nothing was effected towards forming a national school of archæology: public taste had not as yet set in that direction. The merit of rescuing the arts of the middle ages from oblivion, and vindicating the skill and taste of the

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courage beyond praise; knowing that his name is indissolubly connected with the history of French art, and that his son, one of the professors of Christian archæology, and a highly distinguished architect, is likely to maintain it undiminished in honour amongst the rising and more solid school of French antiquarians.

architects of those periods belongs in great part to M. Lenoir in the first place, and then to Messrs. de Caumont, Du Sommerard, Langlois of Rouen, Taylor, Merimée, and other antiquarians of the same school. The course of lectures on monumental antiquities delivered by M. de Caumont at Caen, produced not only a good effect on his hearers, but had their echo throughout the country. The Voyages Pittoresques of Baron Taylor and M. Charles Nodier had the further merit of rendering a taste for antiquity popular; and the labours of the Society of Norman Antiquaries, to which we may perhaps add those of our own antiquarians and architects in Normandy, Messrs. Turner and Cotman, Pugin, &c., became known, and excited attention in France. In the mean time, however, a gentleman who, amidst the busy occupation of a lawyer's life, had found time to devote himself to profound study of the arts, and who from early youth had appreciated the taste of the middle ages, was tranquilly forming in the capital a vast collection that might have served as an admirable supplementary museum to that of the Petits Augustins. M. du Sommerard had devoted his leisure time and a considerable part of his fortune to the purchase of all the objects of art of the middle ages which he could any where meet with, and finding himself a tenant of one of the most perfect mansions of the 15th and 16th centuries now extant, was led to the idea, which he has since carried into effect, of first making his immense collection complete, and then of publishing a full account of his observations and inferences for the benefit of the antiquarian world. Similar collections, but upon a much smaller scale, were formed by other individuals of taste and fortune at the same time; the spark of emulation perhaps communicating from one to the other, and tending to the formation of what we may now call the Modern Archæological School of France. The architects, on the other hand—the professional architects—had a much more difficult task to perform; such, that is to say, as wished to see the pointed styles receive the same share of public favour in France as they had long enjoyed in England. There was no taste, and therefore there was no demand, for pointed architecture in all the land. No new churches were to be built; or else those that were erected were like the Madeleine and Notre Dame de Lorette of Paris, strictly copied from Greek or Roman models: no nobleman in France had the means or the inclination to erect a chateau in the style of the 14th or 15th centuries: the French crown had no palace like Windsor; it had hardly any thing older than Fontainebleau or St. Germain:—Chambord, Chenonceaux, Blois, Amboise, were hardly known to the lords of taste, the frivolous Parisians; and scarcely a day elapsed but some sapient

municipal council, as at Rouen, or in the capital, ordered the demolition of an ancient structure. Every thing tended to discourage architects from studying the pointed styles up to 1830; and therefore we ought not to be surprised if we do not find among the professed architects of the day more than ten or a dozen who have made any researches or studies on the subject, or who would be able to erect any large pointed building. These too are exclusively to be found among the younger men: but the latter have this in their favour, that their studies have been most extensive and profound, that their knowledge is great, and that they have already given proofs, as we shall presently show, of their ability to found and lead a real and a lasting school.

The most striking benefit resulting to France from her last revolution is doubtless the impulse given to her commerce and manufactures, as also to her arts, by the order of things established since 1830. The extraordinary increase of her internal and external trade, during the last seven years, is however scarcely more remarkable than the activity she has displayed in resuscitating and cultivating the fine arts of every kind. The government has doubtless exercised a master-stroke of policy in thus procuring occupation for a large portion of the population, especially in the metropolis; and has known how to dazzle the eyes of the nation by the éclat it has thus thrown around much that has been obnoxious in its other acts. King Louis Philippe, like the Podesta of an Italian republic in the middle ages, called to the head of the state by the voice of the legislature if not of the people, and ruling a restless nation with an iron rod, has had, like the Medicis or the Viscontis of Florence and Milan, the discernment to patronize the fine arts on the most extensive scale. Part too of his system of government has been to obliterate the traces of the great revolution,—for doing which he deserves all credit,—and hence to encourage as much as possible the preservation or restoration of the national monuments that had suffered by that event. The public works executed or terminated in the capital since his accession to the throne are well known; and in canalization, road-improvements, and the formation of ports, equally great things have been done in other parts of the country. But there has been at work a secret influence, decidedly urged on by, if not originating with, the king, by which the municipal councils and other corporate bodies throughout France have been induced to turn their attention to the works of art and the monuments of the middle ages. A kind of fashion has arisen upon this point at the same time, and the general result has been a strong reaction over all the country in favour of any thing that can be brought under the denomination of the Moyen Age.

Thus the councils-general of departments and the municipal councils of towns are vying with each other in the restoration,—unfortunately too sometimes in the *beautifying*,—of all the cathedrals and principal churches of the country. Local antiquarian societies are forming in various departments; and people now set out upon antiquarian as well as picturesque tours, whereas in the brilliant time of Napoleon the picturesque and the antique were the last things that entered the imagination of a Frenchman: in fact—"Le Moyen Age est la mode, et la mode en France fait la loi."

We ought not to omit noticing the influence of two eminent living writers in producing this reaction; namely, Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo. The former, by the general tone and subject of his writings, and especially by his admirable Génie du Christianisme, softened and civilized the public mind, and led men to a due appreciation of the intrinsic worth of religious monuments. The influence of this estimable writer has been highly beneficial to his country. Victor Hugo, on the other hand, by the fire and energy of his descriptions, and particularly by his Notre Dame, worked up the reading public to such a pitch of enthusiasm for the middle ages, that the question was at once decided; and the partisans of the Genre Classique have been looked on as *imbeciles* ever since. The effect of that extraordinary tale has not been understood in England; and as the force of its descriptions applied principally to the ancient state of Paris and the remains of the middle ages occupying the centre of that capital, remains about as much known to English visiters as the pyramids of Mexico, the value of the book was not felt. To a Parisian, however, it was the romantic history of his own capital,—that capital which is to him all the world; and as no unlucky provincial dares dispute the taste of a Parisian, but is bound to read and believe whatever the literary world of Paris chooses to publish, the success of the book was complete throughout the whole of France. In fact there is hardly a dissentient voice among the authors of the day concerning the locally descriptive part of the tale: the historian Michelet has called Victor Hugo "the mighty master who has made Notre Dame his own;" and M. Didron in his Cours d'Archéologie Chrétienne, while alluding to the influence of the two authors in question, says: "In promoting a love for the study of the arts and monuments of the middle ages, M. de Chateaubriand laid the first stone of the pier, but Victor Hugo has completed the bridge over which the whole nation is now in full march."

For some years past the attention of the artistical world has been turned in Paris to subjects of the middle ages: everybody

had become thoroughly tired with the old academic style, the Heroic, the Greeks and Romans of David and his school: a want was felt of something original, of something not yet handled; and the middle ages were seized on. The history, the manners, customs, and dresses of those periods, have been reproduced in most of the ateliers and on the stage of that capital: and reproduced, we must say, with a fidelity, and, at the same time, with a spirit rivalled no where but in Germany. The young artists, and from them the republicans, partially adopted the costume of the 15th century, and the long hair, the square beards, and many other particularities of the outward man, which everybody who has been to Paris since 1830 cannot fail to have observed in the galleries of the Louvre and elsewhere, have all had their origin in this source. It is ridiculous, no doubt; but such is the fact: and it has had its influence with the common people. The rage, however, for the Moyen Age has equally taken possession of the upper classes of society: the drawing-room and boudoir of many a great mansion in the Faubourg St. Germain are filled with relics of by-gone art: everybody is forming something like an antiquarian collection: the nobility are at length furbishing up their feudal chateaux: round the capital,—a thing positively *unthought* of ten years ago,—Gothic villas are fast rising, and at length even shops and cafés are built in the pointed style. The Café Musard in the Rue Neuve Vivienne is not only the most beautiful thing of its kind in Paris, but is intrinsically a very chaste and admirable work of art. The part which M. du Sommerard and his museum have had in this revolution of art is by no means inconsiderable, as to him reference has generally been made for authority on points of decoration and furniture. It is well known that for some years, with the greatest liberality and urbanity, he has admitted the public, upon application, to view his interesting mansion: this good example he still sets, and at the present time, on his days of reception, upwards of *twelve hundred* strangers come to visit his collection.

We have gone into these details, trifling as they may appear to some, because they give an intimate view of the social tastes of a great people; and as such they are not without their value; —the most precious and sometimes the most interesting accounts that we now read of former epochs, are those which unfold to us the social rather than the political history of nations. It may be asked, whether this now prevailing taste will last?—we answer, certainly not, beyond a limited period: but the subject having once been fairly put before the public, and certain great springs once set in action, enough will have been done, and a sufficient

number of important works been executed for the knowledge of the state of art in the middle ages to become definite and positive: the thing will become historically true; and France will be as well informed upon that branch of her national antiquities, as the importance of the subject demands.

Upon all branches of antiquity that may be said to have become really dead, our knowledge appears likely to increase rather than the contrary: witness the light recently thrown upon Egyptian antiquities, and in which the decyphering of the hieroglyphic alphabet is opening a new and illimitable field; the researches into the early history of the Italian populations, and the new aspect in which we have been taught to view it by Niehbuhr;—or, what comes near to our subject, the interesting facts relating to the early histories of England and France, elicited by the publication of memoirs, and documents of all kinds, the existence of which was hardly suspected, and for which we are indebted to Palgrave, Thierry, Raynouard, Guizot, Michelet, F. Michel, and others. In the same way the distinctive laws of the various styles of pointed architecture were totally unknown even in England a very few years ago, and it is only recently that by the labours of Rickman, Pugin, Britton, Whewell, Willis, and others who have turned their attention to the subject, bringing science, as well as taste, to bear upon the question, and assisted by the splendid and elaborate illustrations of Neale, &c. that we are at present in possession of the leading analogies of the styles of the middle ages. Upon the objects of medi-æval art, not strictly referable to architecture, we are still greatly in the dark: but there is no doubt, that the ideas and rules of the artists and architects of the periods in question may be traced, and codified, and possibly carried out in a similar spirit to the forming of new combinations, if the subject be properly inquired into. Since we have the traditions of our ancestors in much greater abundance than those of the brilliant ages of Greek and Roman art, there is every reason to infer that we may, if we please, discover the laws by which they produced those marvels that delight and surprise us, with certainly as much ease as we could reconstruct the Parthenon of Athens, or, if our means allowed us, the Colosseum of Rome. Ideas such as these seem to have taken firm hold of the French administration, as well as of the principal artists and savants of the present day: and the result has fortunately been a systematic inquiry set on foot into all branches of the antiquities of the middle ages, from which the most important effects may be anticipated.

The great work of Baron Taylor and M. Charles Nodier,—

a work not unknown in England,*—and the title of which is with others prefixed to this article, had, as already remarked, the merit at the time of its first appearance of popularizing the taste for medi-æval antiquity: it was prepared, and each succeeding number maintains the character of its predecessors, with the greatest taste and care;—but while it gives a general introduction to nearly all the antiquities of the country, it does not possess that severe technical character which would render it a work of professional reference to the architect or the antiquarian; and therefore, although it is certainly the finest work of the kind ever published in Europe, something beyond this has been required for the New Archæological School of France. The monuments of that country are subjected to different administrations for their repairs, maintenance, &c. The cathedrals and churches come directly or indirectly under the control of the minister of justice and public worship, and are repaired at the expense of the municipal councils, or the parishes, aided in some cases by grants from the legislature, and very frequently by the gifts of royal or private benefactors. Secular monuments of all kinds, or nearly so, are under the jurisdiction of the minister of the interior, and an annual sum is voted by the chambers for their repairs and maintenance. Several valuable edifices however, an account of the uses to which they have been applied, depend upon the minister of war; such is the Chateau of Vincennes, near Paris: and hence it has been impossible to apply to them any single system of superintendence, or even to obtain anything like a statistical return of their actual condition. The attention of government had for some time been very forcibly called to this state of things; and the measures adopted in consequence have led to the formation of two commissions, whose reports speak for themselves.

"Count Montalivet, minister of the interior, wishing to give to the works requisite for the reparation of our ancient edifices, the direction demanded on behalf of the fine arts and the study of archæology, instituted, by a decree of 29th September 1837, a commission, specially charged to collect the documents connected with our historical monuments, and to deliver its opinion upon all affairs touching their maintenance and preservation. Its duty consisted principally in designating to the minister, among the numerous demands for assistance which are yearly addressed to him, those of the highest interest; because the insufficiency of the annual credit allotted by the legislature for the historical

* It a curious circumstance that great works of this kind, the price of which is necessarily large, meet with but few purchasers in England, though, to use a trade term, they are admirably suited by their subjects and execution for the market; whereas in France, where the wealth of the upper classes is much inferior to that of similar ranks in England, important and expensive books are readily disposed of.

monuments of the country, imposes the necessity of making a selection, and unfortunately too strict a one, among these demands. The commission was composed of M. Vatout, administrator of public buildings, and deputy, as president; Count de Montesquiou, deputy; M. A. Leprévôt, deputy; M. Vitet, deputy; Baron Taylor; M. Caristie, architect; M. Duban, architect; and M. Merimée, inspector-general of historical monuments, as secretary. The demands of assistance received by the minister of the interior, as well as the propositions made by the inspector-general of historical monuments after his tours of inspection, would of themselves have furnished materials for very extensive labours: the minister, however, was desirous that the researches of the commission should extend over the whole of France, and should give a general idea of the wants which he would be called upon in virtue of his ministerial department to satisfy. In consequence of this, the prefects of departments were invited to make known the monuments which stood in need of the assistance of government, by a circular letter.

"Thanks to the minister's correspondents and the numerous learned societies which, within a few years, have been multiplied in our provinces, there are few departments upon which the central administration of the interior has not received detailed reports, and these have been sometimes very remarkable for the enlightened spirit of critical examination which they have evinced. A great many *lacunæ* still existed, but most fortunately the special studies of some, and the travels of other members of the commission, added to the reports of the inspector-general, have been able in a great many cases to supply the deficiency of our previous information."

The report then gives the return made by the prefects to the ministerial circular, with a list of all the most remarkable buildings of France, not including the cathedrals;—a document which may in future times serve as the monumental Doomsday Book of France. It is of considerable length, as may be readily imagined; and we would strongly recommend our antiquarian friends who may be thinking of any excursion in France, to consult this valuable record in the Moniteur of May 29th, 1838. The report goes on to observe that the number of monuments mentioned in this list may be expected to increase with the extent of future researches, and adds,—

"The credit of 200,000 francs, allowed by the Chambers for 1838, if divided among all these monuments, would only give for each edifice a sum absolutely insignificant; and it was therefore necessary to make a second selection for the division of this subsidy. For this operation two systems presented themselves;—either to concentrate the resources of the commission on a few monuments of the first order, and to attempt their complete restoration, or else to divide them among the greatest possible number of edifices, in such a manner that the amount of assistance allotted in each case may not be out of proportion to their actual wants. It was the latter of these plans that the committee determined on adopting."

Out of fifty-six departments, therefore, the commissioners state in their report that they have selected ninety-five monuments of all epochs as more particularly demanding the assistance of the administration; and for the great Roman monuments of Arles and Orange, they recommend that application should be made for a special grant to the Chambers, "it being proved by experience that it is almost always useless, and often very burthensome, for government to proceed slowly, and by petty allocations of money, in the purchase of the sites of ancient monuments, or in the making of only partial researches." After designating the Roman remains just alluded to, the Romanesque (*Romane*) church of Vezelay in the Yonne, and the Decorated church of St. Ouen at Rouen, as types of the three brilliant epochs of French architecture, and as such deserving of especial care on the part of the legislature, the commissioners observe, that "to preserve masterpieces such as these is a duty which we owe to ourselves, and an inheritance for which we are accountable to posterity." The report is terminated by a list of nineteen churches which deserve to be completely restored, and by the following remarks:—

"It cannot be a doubt with any one that prompt succour is infinitely less onerous to the state than the restoration of a building commanded by imperious necessity; that the grants of money consecrated to the keeping up of our national monuments ought to be proportioned to their importance and their state; and that great works, undertaken simultaneously throughout the whole of France, should cause to disappear from our edifices those melancholy traces which were imprinted on them in times of Vandalism. At a period when the works of the middle ages are understood and admired, when in all directions persons are occupied in studying and describing our magnificent monuments, when so many voices are raised to lament their degradation, there is every reason to hope that the country, better informed with regard to the importance of its riches of art, will not allow the glorious deposit transmitted to it by former ages to perish."

We have been the more particular in detailing the recommendations of this commission, not only because they are exceedingly good in themselves and applicable to other countries besides France, but also because they indicate the wholesome feeling on this subject that animates the administrative department of the government, and corroborate at the same time what we have already described as the state of public feeling in that kingdom.

Under the jurisdiction of the minister of the interior in France is the administrative division of the Fine Arts; some of the duties of which are the searching after antiquities and the preservation of national monuments, &c. He has also under his authority the Direction des Batiments et Monuments publics, together with

the Conseil des Batiments civils. This latter council takes cognizance of all repairs done to every public or civil building throughout France, under whatever administration they may fall, and therefore its power is very considerable: it was immediately under the control of this council that the commission above mentioned was formed. The minister of public instruction has under his administration a Division des Sciences et des Lettres, connected with which are two committees formed under its superintendence, the Comité de l'Histoire politique et sociale and the Comité de l'Histoire, de la Littérature, de la Philosophie, des Sciences, et des Arts. In December, 1837, from what immediate cause we are not quite aware, the minister of public instruction organized a third committee, the Comité historique des Arts et Monuments, the members of which are nearly the same as those of the one last named,* and the object of which is to watch over and inspect the works of art, as well as the monuments which may be classed among the antiquities of the country. We do not ourselves see why this committee and the commission of a similar nature, depending upon the department of the interior, should not be joined together; and we believe that there is reason to expect they will ultimately be so, if indeed the whole subject of Monuments and the Fine Arts be not made a special and distinct ministerial department. In the mean time, however, they may be looked upon, the one as the legal agent, and the other as the stimulating power, that are to carry into effect the monumental and archæological works of the nation;—the legal and prescriptive authority of the commission of the minister of the interior being very great, and its pecuniary means of a certain importance; that of the minister of public instruction, on the contrary, having more of a moral than a material influence, and the money placed at its disposition being only 25,000 fr. for the year. A slight spirit of rivalry also exists between the two bodies: but, while we may expect that this will ultimately cease, the attention of the country is thoroughly awakened by their proceedings; and the active surveillance which they are exercising cannot but be productive of the most desirable results.† This

* The list of members includes Messrs. Cousin, Victor Hugo, Leprevôt, Lenormant, A. de Bastard, Vitet, Merimée, Taylor, Du Sommérard, Albert Lenoir, and several others, with M. de Gasparin for president and M. Didron for secretary.

† An amusing instance of the administrative jealousy of the two commissions, or rather of the president of the one against some of the members and the secretary of the other, (it should be remembered that most of the members of the elder commission are also members of the younger,) has recently occurred. The Place Royale in Paris is surrounded by a respectable and antiquated set of iron railings of the time of Louis XIII., the oldest monument now existing of the iron work of those days. Having, as might very naturally be expected, fallen out of repair, the municipal council

second committee has also drawn up a most elaborate report, published in the Moniteur of August 3, 1838, and addressed to the minister of public instruction by the president; this document, like the one quoted above, being generally understood in Paris to be the works of the secretaries of the respective committees, Messrs. Mérimée and Didron. A brief summary of it will serve to acquaint our readers with what is actually doing or projected by the government in the way of archæology:—

"The committee, after reminding the minister that they have met eighteen times between January 21st and June 13th, state that they have divided themselves into several sub-committees; and that one of the first things to which they turned their attention was deciding upon the qualifications of persons to be admitted as corresponding members, and next, the appointing of certain persons chosen for that purpose. One of the main qualifications they looked to was the possession of a certain degree of skill in drawing; and while they selected seventy corresponding members in the various departments of France from among the directors of provincial museums, antiquarians and architects, they were especially cautious of admitting persons of the latter professional class to this honour, for fear of undue advantage being taken of the circumstance, and of certain architectural enormities being perpetrated under the apparent sanction of the committee. They also took care to admit several of the clergy into their body, being aware that when they had corresponding members from that class there would not be so much danger of monuments being *whitewashed*, or disfigured, nor of ignorant persons disposing of reliquaries, statues, screen-work, and valuable painted windows, at a low price. They mention in particular the Abbé Fournier, Rector of St. Nicholas at Nantes, who is on the eve of erecting an entire church in the style of the thirteenth century, and at a cost of two millions of francs, 80,000*l*., as being a most valuable accession to the committee. This is the *first* example of a new pointed church erected in France for several centuries. Although persons resident in Paris are excluded from becoming corresponding members, exceptions have been made in favour of some of the parochial clergy; and in the next session of the committee arrangements are to be formed for the

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of Paris—a most *energetic* body when bricks and mortar are concerned, but possessing about the same degree of taste as the council of aldermen of London have the credit of being endowed with—ordered it to be destroyed, and replaced by a spick and span new iron palisade, made of the best patent *fer creux et laminé*, of a neat modern design, painted of a charming bronze colour, but totally out of all keeping with the architecture of the surrounding houses; and costing a considerable sum of money. The Comité historique des Arts et Monumens raised an outcry against the Vandalism of the act; and recommended that the old railing should be repaired, and the new one, which had been contracted for and ordered with breathless haste, applied to protecting the cathedral church of Notre Dame from the defilements to which it has long been exposed. A little paper skirmish ensued thereupon; and, if we are rightly informed, M. Vatout, president of the other commission, feeling his authority infringed upon, wrote to the municipal council, ordering them to proceed with the demolition of the old rails *instanter*. It reminds us of Boileau's *Lutrin*.

adjunction of foreign members. Their correspondence they state to have been carried on with the greatest activity; the love of the monuments of the middle ages having become, as they express it, not merely a want but a rage, (*non seulement un besoin mais une mode,*) and in consequence of this the subject of national art being studied and watched in every direction. The commissioners therefore point out to the minister the propriety of bestowing certain honorary compensations upon the corresponding members, either by presenting them with certain works connected with the subjects of their pursuits, or in some cases by petitioning the king to confer the decoration of the Legion of Honour. The 'Manuel de Palæographie,' published under the immediate direction of the committee, has been circulated in this manner. The commissioners then proceed to give an account of their own archæological labours, which they preface by observing that the special mission which they have received is thoroughly to examine the whole of monumental France, to catalogue, to describe, and to draw all the objects of art disseminated over the surface of the country, and in fact to make a kind of archæological survey sufficiently succinct to allow of monuments of all ages and kinds being mentioned in it, and at the same time extensive enough for each object of art to obtain in it a place proportioned to its intrinsic or historical value. Two orders of labours, they go on to remark, have been therefore presented to the committee: first, the statistical accounts of all the monuments of France without exception: and next, the separate descriptions (*les monographies*) of important monuments which could not be sufficiently developed in the statistical accounts. It was impossible for the committee to execute *all* the statistical accounts required, which would amount to eighty-six in number, if they proceeded by departments, or to 350 if by arrondissements; nor could they undertake to make out all the separate descriptions of monuments, which would probably amount to 300, *that being nearly the number of important monuments in France;* time and money would alike be wanting for such immense operations. They have therefore determined on making out statistical and monographical models, to which all other accounts of a similar nature may hereafter be made conformable. With regard to the statistical accounts, they may either comprehend all the monuments of an arrondissement, or else all those of a great city: and therefore they have ordered the arrondissement of Rheims, as being one of the richest in monuments, to be selected as the subject of a model statistical account; the execution of which has been confided to M. H. Durand, architect, of Rheims, for the architectural drawings; to M. C. Paris, public librarian of the same town, for the historical account of the edifices; and M. Didron, secretary of the committee, for the description of all the monuments and objects illustrated. This work is stated to be in a condition of great forwardness. The model statistical account of a great city has been fixed to have Paris for its subject: and has been intrusted to M. Albert Lenoir, who by next winter will have the drawings and descriptions of all the Roman, Merovingian, and Carlovingian monuments, which formerly decorated the capital, fully made out and published. The scale of reduction and elevation fixed on for the draw-

ings of their accounts is 3 in 1000 for plans, and 6 in 1000 for views, &c. For the subjects of the model-monographical descriptions of monuments, two churches of opposite characters have been selected: one, of the severe and simple style, (the romanesque, or *romane*,) the cathedral of Noyon, in the department of the Oise; which, though much damaged, is a type of a 'severe and original church;' and as a very rare exception in France, it has apsidal transepts as well as an apsidal choir, and has a porch at the west end. The drawings of this edifice are nearly completed by M. Ramée, and the description of it, intrusted to M. Vitet, will include a comparison of its architecture with that of the Rheno-Germanic churches. The cathedral chosen as a model of the most sumptuous kind in France is Chartres, on account of its crypt, which extends the *whole* length of the edifice; of its richly sculptured portals, and of its fine series of early painted windows,—the figures included in both of which are not less than *nine thousand* in number;—of its two spires at the western end, complete models of the architecture of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries; and of the magnificent chapel of the fourteenth century, attached to the principal edifice. The architectural drawings of this vast church,—nearly half as large again as any other cathedral in France,—are executing by M. Lassus, and are to be exhibited in the next annual *salon* at the Louvre;—the drawings of the statuary are confided to M. Amaury Duval; the history of the building is taken in hand by the minister of public instruction himself; and the archæological description by M. Didron. This monographical account, the most complete of the kind which will ever have been drawn up, is expected by the committee to take several years for entire completion: they look upon it as one of the most important works in which they are interested, and they devote to it the third part of their annual revenue. The drawings of this Church are making on an immense scale, eight feet by six for the western front; twelve feet by eight for the longitudinal view and section; and the figures of the details are eighteen inches in height in their various plates. The scale of engraving for such a work as this is to be a certain multiple of that adopted for smaller buildings; and the same relative scales are to be adopted in all future monographical descriptions. A third kind of monographical account applies to edifices partly destroyed, the complete restoration of which is only to be effected by the comparison of what remains with other detached fragments. As a model of this kind the committee have fixed on the Sainte Chapelle and the Palais de Justice of Paris, both of them types, the one of all edifices bearing a similar destination, the other of the royal habitations of the middle ages. The architectural part of this laborious and important work has been undertaken by M. Lassus, and the historical by Count de Montalembert. Since however the funds of the committee do not at present admit of it, this work is postponed until next year.*

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* Several years ago M. Lassus, one of the most scientific architects and exquisite draftsmen of the present day,—a very young man,—had occupied himself with a restoration of the Sainte Chapelle, for which splendid work, when exhibited, he was

"The commissioners proceed to state that they have received numerous demands for the execution of statistical accounts from various departments of France, but that they have postponed them until they shall have obtained a more general and accurate idea of all the monuments of the country, in order that they may direct their attention to those objects which are most in want of notice or assistance. In order to make a monumental survey (reconnaissance monumentale) of France, they have drawn up a table of very succinct and precise questions relating to the Gallic, Roman and Medi-æval antiquities of the land; so simple that the answers required are to be merely *yes* or *no;* the number printed has been 36,000, adapted for circulation in all the communes of the departments; and copies of this table are to be distributed to the inspectors of primary schools, who by their education may be presumed capable of answering them, and by their office are obliged to visit the remotest corner of their respective districts. From this source the committee expect to derive a great deal of statistical information. The commissioners are aware that the monographical descriptions ordered to be undertaken by them relate chiefly to the thirteenth century and to antecedent periods, whereas France is peculiarly rich in monuments of a later date. They have therefore had drawn up a series of manuals which comprise the whole of the national antiquities under its divisions, architecture, sculpture and painting. The first of these, architecture, has been subdivided into Pagan and Christian; the former of which subdivisions is nearly ready for publication; and the manuals may be expected to appear during the next annual session of the committee.

"One of the most important forms of Christian art, music, has not escaped the attention of the commissioners; instructions by M. Bottée de Toulman are drawing up on this subject, and some interesting observations are already anticipated.

"All these various instructions, the commissioners observe, drawn up by those members of the committee who are distinguished for their special science, such as Messrs. Vitet, Mérimée, Leprévôt, Lenormant, Lenoir, Didron and Bottée de Toulmon, are destined to settle the terminology of archæological researches at present so vague and uncertain, and to reduce the study of antiquity to the condition of an exact science. To carry out this idea still further, the minister of public instruction

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rewarded with the gold medal of the institute. In 1835 it was proposed to publish this work in Paris; and as it was judged advisable to find an English publisher to join in the undertaking, overtures were made, on very advantageous terms, to some of the principal architectural publishers of London. Not one of them would listen to it; and they all assured the negociators that any expensive work of the kind was totally unsaleable in England:—*had it been in shilling or half-crown numbers the case would have been different!* A similar objection was started to a splendid work on Italian and European medi-æval architecture by M. Albert Lenoir. *Both* of these works are now to be published, and will meet with a ready sale in France at really high prices. A large picture of the interior of the Saint Chapelle, which was composed from a geometrical survey of the edifice, and took two years in executing, by Messrs. Albert Lenoir and Jules Laure, was exhibited at the Louvre in 1836, and excited universal admiration.

has, on the especial recommendation of the committee, instituted and authorized a course of lectures on Christian archæology, divided into two heads, one, of Christian architecture, by M. Albert Lenoir, the other, on Christian painting and sculpture, by M. Didron, and which, during the late spring, have been attended by overflowing auditories at the Bibliothèque du Roi. The most satisfactory results have already been produced by this measure, and the enthusiasm excited by it has been very remarkable. The commissioners therefore strongly call the attention of the clergy to the point, and recommend the institution of similar courses in connection with the ecclesiastical seminaries; the example having been already set in this respect at Troyes. In addition to this part of their subject the committee thank the minister for his having laid the foundation of an archæological library within his administrative department, to which considerable additions are continually making and to which access will be readily granted. The commissioners next point out and express their sorrow for the degradations which several of the finest monuments of the country, and especially those of Paris, either undergo or are in danger of suffering from the hands of ignorant, though sometimes well-meaning, persons; and they instance several cases in which they have been successful in preventing mutilations from going any further; stating at the same time that in this, and in their other functions, they have met with great willingness to assist from the minister of the interior and his other colleagues of the cabinet. After observing that, in spite of the best-directed attempts at preservation, many monuments are daily falling into partial ruin, and that a vast number of monumental fragments exist which it is highly desirable should be collected and preserved, the commissioners have peculiar pleasure in stating that the minister of the interior has promised to give up the church of the ancient abbey of St. Martin-des-Champs in Paris, for the purpose of forming in it a national museum of objects of this kind. This idea, the merit of which is entirely due to Baron Taylor, has had the good effect of preserving one of the most curious edifices of Paris, next after the church of St. Germain des Près, from being converted into the mayory of an arrondissement. To the enlightened taste of the same distinguished traveller and archæologist the committee are indebted for the suggestion, transmitted by them to the minister, of allowing burials again to take place in churches, on condition of the heirs of the deceased parties undertaking to erect monuments to their memory, subservient to the control of the committee, and calculated to adorn the interior of the sacred edifices. The commissioners conclude their long report by mentioning the use which they have been of to young artists and architects, in directing their studies; and stating that although their functions are entirely gratuitous, whenever any question of importance had to be discussed by the committee, not a single member ever absented himself."

We have hardly any thing to add to these extended accounts of the movements of the archæological world in France, further than to remark that they fully bear us out in our observations as to the enthusiasm now felt by the more enlightened classes of that lively

nation for whatever was good among the arts of their ancestors; and that the instance of a hard-working committee labouring gratuitously, and drawing up a lengthy report about the expenditure of 1000*l.* a year, is a thing which we can well imagine many of our worthy fellow-countrymen will be disposed greatly to marvel at. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning that the course of Christian archæology at the Bibliothèque du Roi,—the first example of its kind in Europe if we except the lectures of the learned M. de Caumont at Caen,—were most excellent, and that the subject matter of both the learned professors was entirely new and original. M. Albert Lenoir, who has travelled for several years in Italy, Sicily, Greece and Turkey, brought the most comprehensive and philosophical analogies to bear upon his subject; while the no less extensive information of M. Didron, the fruit of many years' careful examination of European monuments, and particularly of the illustrated documental remains of the middle ages, has opened quite a new field of inquiry to the archæological student. Twelve lectures by one and ten by the other professor have served only to break the ground of their extensive subjects; and as their courses, though nearly ready for the press, are not yet before the public, we will not attempt,—what indeed our space will not permit us to do,—giving any analysis of them. Most sincerely, however, do we wish that in our own country, where materials are so abundant, and where so many able lecturers may be found, chairs of Christian archæology were established in the metropolis and in all the universities. We should then no longer find our churches so incorrect in the ornamental part of their structure, nor our clergy so often exposed to the Vandalism of country churchwardens and provincial builders. How much soever we may admire the moral simplicity of the protestant forms of worship, we cannot avoid lamenting the mutilations and disfigurements to which the sacred edifices of England have been subjected; nor will we cease from exclaiming against the abominable want of common taste which is the universal rule of our land, in spoiling all the proportions, all the picturesque effect of church interiors, by stuffing them full of the boxes and sheds called pews. We may certainly amend our practice in this respect by copying our continental brethren; there being no reason why, for all real purposes of devotion, the fair proportions of the house of God should be made subservient to the luxury, the ostentation, or the unsocial pride of a congregation; and could we hope to obtain the attention of the archdeacons of the Church of England, we would sound the tocsin for a crusade of extermination against all pews, galleries, organs stuck at the entrances of choirs, and other unsightly specimens of bad taste. John Bull,

however, is not likely to be persuaded to adopt any *new-fangled* notions,—of some twelve or thirteen hundred years' standing, by the way, throughout nearly all the rest of Christian Europe; and so we will return to the subject of our notice.

The museum of M. du Sommerard furnished a great part of the illustrations and authorities for the course of Christian archæology just mentioned; and we believe, that whoever has had the advantage of inspecting that most interesting collection, will bear us out in saying, that a detailed description of the mansion and its contents must be a valuable acquisition to the existing stores of antiquarian knowledge.

"The Hôtel de Cluny is built in part on the site of the ancient palace of the Roman Emperors of Gaul, the Palatium Thermarum; the construction of which is attributed to Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine, who died A.D. 306, or to his grandson Julian; and which, independent of its gardens, comprised a vast extent of buildings, as is proved by foundations recently discovered in the formation of sewers, &c. After having served for several centuries as a residence to the kings of the first and second races, and especially to Clovis, Childebert, and Ultrogotha his consort, this palace, ruined in part by the Normans, was reduced to bear the title of the *old* palace, the kings of the third race having chosen for their abode that of the Counts of Paris, and of Hugh the Great, father of Hugh Capet. From 1218, the time when Philip Augustus gave it as a reward to Henry, one of his chamberlains, until the sale of it, about 1340, to Pierre de Chaslus, abbot of Cluny, there are traces of its being possessed by Raoul de Meulan, Jean de Courtenay, the Lord of Champignelles, the bishop of Bayeux, the archbishop of Rheims, &c. The circumstance of its vicinity to the college of Cluny, on the Place de la Sorbonne, determined the abbots of Cluny to choose this palace for their residence; and it was Jean de Bourbon, abbot of Cluny, and natural son of Jean I., Duke de Bourbon, who commenced the construction of this hotel; but the undertaking, interrupted by his death, which took place in 1485, was resumed only in 1490, by Jacques d'Amboise, then abbot of Cluny, and afterwards bishop of Clermont." ....."This erection, as well as that of the magnificent chateau of Gaillon in Normandy, depending upon the archbishopric of Rouen, and a portion of the Palais de Justice of that city, constructed about the same time by George d'Amboise brother of the abbot, bear all the special architectural characteristics of that epoch of transition."—*Notices sur l'Hôtel de Cluny, Du Sommerard*, p. 8, &c.

From this period the list of possessors of this splendid mansion is rather uncertain; it is known, however, that the widow of Louis XII., Mary, daughter of Henry VII. of England, resided here in 1515, after the death of her royal consort, and was surprised by the Duke de Valois, afterwards Francis I., in the company of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, under such circumstances that, leading her from her bed-room to the adjoining

chapel, followed by the bishop of Coutances, whom he had brought with him, he forced her to marry the duke on the spot, and thus secured the crown of France to himself and his descendants. The chamber in which this scene occurred is still called La Chambre de la Reine blanche (veuve). Subsequent to this we find James V., of Scotland, and Madeleine, daughter of Francis I., residing here for a short period after their marriage in 1535, the hotel being at that period in possession of the powerful family of the Guises of Lorraine, and remaining so until 1621. From this date, however, the respectability of its occupiers began to decline, and at the time of the great revolution we find it tenanted by tradespeople of various kinds, and its central turret transformed into the observatory of the celebrated astronomer Lalande, while the revolutionary tribunal of the section Marat, held its audience within its walls. Since then the hotel has more than once changed proprietors, and now belongs to a family from whom it is generally believed that the municipality of Paris, or the government, intend shortly to purchase it, and to preserve it as a national monument. M. du Sommerard, only one of the tenants of the house, has done so much to it, and attracted such universal attention to this and similar edifices, that we may hope to see it, and the two corresponding mansions of Paris, the Hôtel de Sens, and the Hôtel de la Tremouille, remain free from injury; we hope at least that the commissions alluded to have their attention turned to the subject, and that as watchful guardians they will not allow these precious relics to suffer any wrong.

One of the works placed by us at the head of this article is a very learned notice of the history of the Roman palace, and of the Hôtel de Cluny; and contains, in addition, an extended account of the collection formed within its galleries, accompanied by valuable and erudite dissertations on the arts and architecture of the middle ages. It may be looked on as a complete antiquarian repertory of information on all points connected with the artists and their works of the epoch of the *renaissance des arts;* and will have to be consulted by whoever intends to study those arts, at least as developed in France. From the nature of its subject it is not capable of the encyclopediac order which would otherwise be desirable for a work of so much discussion; but as the whole is chronologically arranged, and as the dissertations, thrown mostly into notes, flow out of the main body of the work, according as the subject proceeds, the reader is thereby assisted to discover the information of which he is in need. Thus, under the head of the Early Roman palace, we find a very elaborate account of the Roman towns of Gaul, and the *present* condition

of their antiquities; another dissertation in the same division puts us in possession of a list of all the Royal Residences of the Carlovingian race in the neighbourhood of Paris. In treating of the Hotel itself, the learned author introduces us first of all to the architecture, and then to the arts of the middle ages; and with the true spirit of an antiquarian, of which, however, we have no cause to complain, plunges us into disquisitions concerning the great artists who reflected so much lustre on the times of Francis I. and his immediate successors, on Benvenuto Cellini, Jean Cousin, Paolo Poncio, the contemporary Italian and Flemish masters, as well as Bernard Palizzi, Germain Pilon, Philibert Delorme, and a host of others. The painting, the sculpture, the games, the amusements and manners of the middle ages, and particularly of the latter periods, are all passed in review in this work; and the subjects of ancient arms, armour, and armorial bearings, are gone into at considerable length. Upon early jewelry, ivory, sculpture, and upon all that relates to sacerdotal ornaments, a great deal of very curious information is to be found in the pages of M. du Sommerard; and the whole work is illustrated and accompanied by a series of 100 plates taken from subjects either contained in or connected with the Hôtel de Cluny. An album of supplementary illustrations, 400 in number, supplied an infinity of details of all kinds; and the book, when completed, will be a perfect encyclopædia of the arts of the middle ages. In drawing up this elaborate history the author has been assisted by some of the first draftsmen of the French metropolis, and especially by M. Chapuy, whose long practice and experience in all matters of delineation connected with antiquarian art confers high professional value on his designs. The great invention of M. Gavard, the Diagraphe, perhaps the most ingenious instrument of the day, and the effect of which, by a well-combined system of pullies, levers, and powerful lenses, is to make the point of the draftsman's pencil follow the motion of the pupil of his eye, has been applied to the illustration of this volume with admirable success. The most delicate chasings of the works of Benvenuto Cellini, the finest carvings of a series of ebony or oaken cabinets, such as we believe are not to be met with in any other collection, could evidently have been only imperfectly represented without the aid of an instrument like this; as it is, however, they are given with the most mathematical exactness, and *therefore* are exceedingly bold and beautiful; we do not know where so faithful and comprehensive a record of the *ideas* of the great artists mentioned above can be found to exist. The illuminations of some very precious MSS. are comprised in these illustrations, and as a specimen of the taste and spirit of

the learned author, we may mention that he is having engraved, in *facsimiles* from the scarce plates of Israel Sylvestre (1630—1660), views of all the ancient chateaux of any importance throughout France. We must again repeat our conviction that a work of this kind would never have found either a publisher or a numerous list of subscribers in our own country; in France it is disposed of with the greatest facility, and will, as it ought to do, yield its author a handsome return for his labours, the result of thirty years' collections and studies.

There is a peculiar division of the styles of architecture of the middle ages in France, wherein they differ more than in any other from those of England; we mean that which is technically called the style of the *Rénaissance des Arts.* The Decorated, or, as it is sometimes called, the Florid style, which became extinct in England soon after the year 1400, is essentially the same as the early Flamboyant of France, which, however, did not come into vogue in that country so soon as it did in our own islands. The reason was, the desolating wars which the third Edward either himself caused in the heart of France, or else stirred up amongst the powerful vassals of the French crown, and which made the fourteenth century one of the most lamentable periods of the history of that country; whereas in England, the arts, and not the arms, of France and the Continent were imported, and our national architecture was imprinted with the stamp of skill and luxury. In the succeeding century the tables were turned; peace and prosperity being restored to France by the expulsion of the English, arts, and especially architecture, received a sudden and immense impulse; while the civil wars of Henry VI. and his immediate successors mainly contributed, no doubt, to that decline of English-pointed architecture which may be certainly traced from this period. Two great authorities on such subjects, Messrs. Whewell and Willis, give a decided preference to the *Perpendicular* of the fifteenth century, over the *Flamboyant* of the same date. As to beauty of form and disposition of parts, we believe that this depends almost entirely upon the eye and the expectations, as to what should constitute a perfect style, of each individual observer. We most willingly coincide with them, and with all French and British authorities of weight, on such matters, in looking on the latest period of the Early-pointed style, (wrongly termed, we would humbly suggest, as the *Decorated,*)—the style, that is to say, of St. Ouen, of Amiens, and of Lincoln, as the perfection of Pointed architecture; but we cannot help considering the Flamboyant of France as indicating much greater powers of imagination and execution than the Perpendicular of our own country. The comparison, however, is not very easy to place upon

perfectly fair grounds: the grand type of the later Perpendicular (the early period of that style we do not think can come into the question), King's College Chapel, Cambridge, being a far more splendid edifice than any that can be adduced of the Flamboyant period in France. But taking smaller buildings, Beauvais, for example, or St. Maclou of Rouen, we see greater powers of ornamentation, and if we may so term it, greater freedom of idea, than in our English churches of the same date. The epoch of the *Renaissance*, however, does not strictly include either of these edifices; it refers rather to buildings such as St. Eustache at Paris, the Lady Chapel of the Church of St. Pierre at Caen, part of the Palais de Justice, and the Hôtel de la Bourgtherould at Rouen, and should be compared with works *commenced* in England subsequent to A.D. 1500. We hold that in this peculiar style we have little to compare with the magnificence displayed in French edifices of that era, and that the grandeur of the style of Francis I. is far above that of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth. This style, in which the traditions of the pointed epoch are preserved, although many of the forms of Roman art are employed, is wonderfully well suited to all purposes of domestic use. It is not so well adapted to sacred buildings, nor was it ever much employed for churches; but for the Chateau, for the Hôtel de Ville, for the civic mansion, nothing can be more appropriate or easy of application, nor more likely to harmonize with the revived Palladian of the present day. It has been beautifully compared by M. Didron, in one of his lectures, to a palimpsest in which, like a monkish legend written over a half-effaced work of Cicero, pointed traditions and arrangements are strangely combined with traces of classical ideas: and it is this style, more particularly than any other, which has been seized on and utilized by the younger architects of Paris at the present time. They have been very successful in applying it to some of the great works lately undertaken or now in progress in the capital and elsewhere, such as the Ecole des Beaux Arts, the reparations at Fontainebleau, &c.; and from its admitting almost an indefinite variety of Roman forms, we would strongly recommend it to the notice of our own architects and antiquarians. It is not so severe as our Elizabethan, nor so heavy as the early efforts of Wren; it gives full scope to the imagination and taste of the designer, and allows the architect to produce not only those grand effects of light and shade, without which no good building ever yet existed, but also to make those arrangements of internal domestic comfort which are so essential to the inhabitants of northern climates. Instead of the miserable bastard Gothic of the villas and most of the new district churches that surround London, we might have had some-

thing far better and more suited to the purpose, had the Elizabethan or Franciscan styles been adopted. It is true that in Lancashire, in the Preston district, the best and purest specimens of the Romanesque have lately come from the hands of young and original architects, and in one instance also near the metropolis, at Hadley, beyond Barnet. The happiest effects upon British art may be expected from this innovation; but still we would call on young English architects to consult the continental styles a little more than they have hitherto done, and especially to profit by the example of their brethren of France, who are now turning the traditions of the middle ages to profit, in the embellishment of the capital.

In this respect we have an advantage in England that France cannot yet enjoy: we have the nobles of the land untouched in their honours and their wealth, and using their influence and their riches in patronizing art and artists of every kind. This in France is left to the slender means of the old noblesse, now gradually recovering themselves, or to the uncertain demand of public bodies and opulent burgesses. But on the other hand,—what we never have done, and probably never shall do,—France makes the patronage of the fine arts an affair of state, and extends to this branch of national genius that constant and fostering care without which greatness is seldom achieved. The fine arts, if they are really to flourish, if they are really to confer the honour and the advantages of their civilizing influence on a nation, require perpetual, steady, and powerful patronage; they may indeed shine by individual examples, as they do in England under the enlightened and generous protection of her nobles, but if dependent only on private support, they will never take firm root in the country. It is true we have a Landseer, a Wilkie, a Chantrey, a Gibson, names which France cannot at the present moment equal,—we have a whole host of great names in architecture,—and the consequence is, that the collections of our noble mansions, and the residences themselves of our great families, are such as are not to be surpassed or scarcely equalled in France; but when it comes to a question of decorating the capital, it appears that we have no grander idea of a triumphal arch than the toy at the top of Constitution Hill. Do we want a gallery for our national collection of paintings, our *ne plus ultra* is the thing in Trafalgar Square, and undoubtedly there is no going beyond it. Is it required by a public-spirited body of subscribers to erect an equestrian statue to a beloved monarch, the sculptural taste of all England is put in requisition, and we get the good old pigtail in Pall Mall East. What are these productions compared to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, at the summit of the hill beyond

the Champs Elysées, or the Ecole Royale des Beaux Arts, or the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV. at Versailles, and the equestrian figure of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, by Marochetti? In individual efforts we certainly surpass our Gallic friends, but in public monuments we fall far beneath them.

ART. II.—*Malkolm, eine Norwegische Novelle* (Malcolm, a Norwegian Novel), by Henrich Steffens. 8vo. 2 vols. Breslau. 1831.

IN spite of the 4to volume entitled "Great and Good Deeds of the Danes and Norwegians," which, like all other good deeds, are little known and less thought of by the world at large, the north-western portion of Europe has hitherto excited but little interest among our travelling countrymen. With the exception of Mr. Barrow's slight but excellent volume, and the express work of Laing, we have nothing of recent times on the subject but the very amusing travels of Mr. Frank Hall Standish;* and what he has there stated of the country and its inhabitants has had the very natural effect of turning public curiosity to these points. A country described by Mr. Standish as affording so much of interest for sportsmen, even the boldest; so much of the picturesque for artists and admirers of nature; so much of wild, lovely, and fantastic scenery for lovers of the sentimental and romantic, with schnaps, smoked-salmon, and beds of straw in the interior for those who delight in the varieties of travel: offering too to strangers so warm a welcome and such continuous and boundless hospitality in the capital and chief towns, with so much of frankness, simplicity, and good faith in the character of the inhabitants, must, we should imagine, require only to be mentioned in order to become an object of attraction to the venturous, at this our sporting season of the year; and facing, as it does the Scottish coast, the passage in a steam-boat can only add to the inducements: amongst these may reckoned that of visiting the lobster on his native coasts, those wonderfully clear and precipitous submarine steeps, that mock the gazing eye, as with a living landscape.

In lands so little trodden by southern European travellers the great features of the human character seem, like the forms of nature herself, to retain what is usually termed their pristine simplicity; that is to say, just enough of civilization to redeem man from the animal, and kindle the warmth of social life without introducing those vices of his race which unfortunately attend a higher degree of refinement. With such feelings we take the work before us to open its pages to our readers, but stop at the

* Notices on the Northern Capitals of Europe. By F. H. Standish, Esq. London. Black and Armstrong. 1838.

threshold of the volume, for the treatment is even more novel than the subject.

To begin in the very middle of the series of events, the relation of which is designed to elicit the reader's sympathy, was one of the first rules laid down by the poetic legislator for the guidance of the epic poet. Nor is it limited to his sole use. The prose novelist, the humblest species of the genus Calliope, who had then no existence even in bardic vaticination, has since often, and most beneficially conformed to a precept equally applicable to his easier and almost equally delightful art. But in spite of all the vagaries into which genius loves to lead her ever-wandering children, never until now have we heard of a writer who esteemed the catastrophe, or end, the best and most appropriate commencement of a narrative. This may not perhaps be an objection to the student of Hebrew, nor to that learned monk who discovered "a book that begins at the end;" but to us, as lineal descendants of Aristarchus, it is an offence of grave magnitude and affording a desirable opportunity for laying on the rod; an opportunity of which we are the more tempted to avail ourselves, since it does not always offer to our critical capacity.

The first effect of this unwonted course of the author appears upon the title-page; where, although Malkolm himself is a Swede, and his scene of action, till within a very short period prior to the aforesaid catastrophe, is Sweden, the author, by beginning at the close of that period, is enabled to call his novel Norwegian. We observe that it is not unusual with Steffens to catch at insufficient grounds for laying the scene of his tales in countries least trodden by novelists: thus his *Vier Norweger*, which the reader naturally opens with the expectation of finding himself transported to Norway, presents him with little more than four pictures of the state of Germany at four different periods of her subjection and resistance to revolutionary France, as witnessed and participated in by the Four Norwegians. We therefore pass it.

A greater effect is undoubtedly produced in the first instance by introducing so striking a scene as the catastrophe of his Malkolm so early in the novel. But in proportion as this more forcibly impresses the mind, and excites an expectation of growing interest, the reader cannot but be irksomely disappointed when the story merely turns back to the incidents in which that catastrophe originated. So great was our disappointment as we read on, that we had proceeded but a little way in the second volume, when we snatched up the pen to indite the following questions. Have the Germans lost all idea of the nature and spirit of novel and romance? Do they, who for so many years could irresistibly captivate our feelings and sympathies, even in spite of good taste

and the disgust of the moral sense; do they no longer know that interest, curiosity, and sympathy, hourly increasing until the consummation is attained, are as essential to romance as action to the drama? Here is matter for an excellent novel, were the reader carried along with the principal characters, (and these are certainly well sketched or vigorously drawn,) from scene to scene, as the interest becomes more intense. In the case before us, however, the very incidents which, properly used, would have kept curiosity and sympathy on the alert, become tedious because the termination is known; and, thus strangely furnished with the means of judging, we often do not see that they bear upon it. The author, it seems, has a reason, though but a bad one, for what he does; viz. that the catastrophe would have been less striking in its proper place. This, if any at all, is an unfair advantage, and in truth a miserable quackery, too dearly purchased by subsequent heaviness. We give some extracts to illustrate our criticism.

The novel opens in the winter of the eventful year 1814, and after displaying the toils and hazards of a mountain journey in the snow, speedily introduces us to the house of a wealthy Norwegian country gentleman, named Heggelund. As this professedly Norwegian novel gives nevertheless but few scenes of Norwegian manners, we shall extract one or two that occur here, though the first is remarkable simply for its rude and pristine simplicity. Heggelund's only child, Dorothea, is attached to Erik Storm, the son of the parish priest, to whom her father objects upon the sole ground of the young man's being rather a modern European than an old Norwegian. Erik is just returned from fighting as a volunteer under Blucher against Napoleon, and, after a short interview with Dorothea, is sent to her father. We give the sketch of the old and the young Norwegian.

" Hesitatingly he opened the door of the light, lofty, and spacious room. The walls were occupied with books and maps; in the middle stood a large table covered with papers and books. The old gentleman sat at a desk, surrounded with folios and manuscripts, and so immersed in his studies that he noticed not the youth's entrance. Erik, collecting his courage, said aloud, ' Father Heggelund, I am here to announce my return in person;' and walked straight up to him. ' Who is that?' returned Heggelund, looking up in annoyance. ' How, what—is't thou, Erik?' and as he spoke, up rose the portly masculine figure, clad in a great coat of fine texture, while a few scanty grey hairs encircled his bald head. The stern countenance grew milder as he looked at his elegantly formed visiter, a fair image of fresh youth and innocence. ' Erik, said he, ' thou'rt welcome, heartily welcome to me. I know not how it is, but thou'rt the same and yet different. Speak out; these paltry houses, boors, and savage mountains, bear no comparison, do they, with the beautiful South? Thou must find this dull monotonous life doubly hateful since thou hast made acquaintance with the excitement

of a crowd that, in its tumultuous restlessness, incessantly changes its morals, manners, opinions, and creeds.' 'You are mistaken, Sir,' replied Storm; 'even at a distance, and amidst the animation of an ever-changing existence, I learned to prize northern stedfastness more highly. Whilst I fully enjoyed what the hour, what circumstances, sometimes pleasant, sometimes gloomy afforded, my dearest thought was that every passing day brought me nearer to my return home.' * * * * 'But how is this?' Heggelund resumed.' Thou'rt here sooner than thou wast expected. Only three days ago arrived at thy uncle's, how hast got here so quickly?' 'Over the mountains, with snow-shoes, Sir,' replied Storm. 'What, over the mountains with snow-shoes, my dear boy?' said the old man, kindly taking his hand. 'And which way cam'st thou?' * * * * * 'But that is what no one ever ventured to attempt,' he exclaimed, and his manner was wholly changed. 'It was bold, fool-hardy, and might have turned out ill. But it was gallant. And who was thy companion?' 'Torger.' [This was Storm's early instructor, a rough Norwegian, imbued with French liberal notions, and therefore odious to Heggelund.] 'He? Ay, he's fool-hardy enough, in this as in every thing. So he dragged thee over the mountains? I thought so bold an idea could not be generated in a brain spoiled by the effeminacy of southern Europe.' Storm's patience was exhausted, and he passionately exclaimed, 'Sir, Torger has nothing to do here, where he knows that he is not welcome. But I love and honour him, I never forget what I owe him. I was drawn hither by my parents, my youthful recollections, my love;'—the old man frowned; —'yes, by my love. Torger dissuaded me, but I was resolved; and he accompanied because he loves me. But I see I only disturb you. In truth this is not the welcome I might have expected from an old Norwegian, who knows what the guest is entitled to claim from his host.' He bowed slightly and turned to withdraw; but Heggelund called after him; 'Stay! Give me thy hand, Erik; so far thou'rt to my mind. But dost think thou hast a right to fall into the Berserker frenzy,* because thou'rt not afraid of a wintry mountain? Go where thou wouldst rather be; I will follow—perhaps; and if thou canst convince me that thou'rt and wilt be a Norwegian, then * * * * why then thou shalt not be dissatisfied with me.' "

The celebration of Christmas-eve is the most truly national picture in the two volumes.

"It was three o'clock in the afternoon; the sun had disappeared behind the lofty mountains, and the long-desired Christmas-eve was come. Every corner of the large court-yard was cleaned. Here arose a great hill of carefully piled logs of wood, there lay a neatly arranged heap of smooth boards for a future building; before the brewhouse and the kitchen stood symmetrically arranged tubs, casks, pans, and the other fitting apparatus of either department. Immense branches of fir, with their dark foliage, were firmly planted on the hard-frozen snow, and formed an alley right across the court, from the great gate to the dwell-

* A sort of maniac bravery producing superhuman strength, to which the heroes of Scandinavian legends were subject.

ing-house. A gigantic man of snow, provided, by the help of coals, with eyes, nose, and mouth, the sportive work of the children, was crowned with fir twigs. The clear sky and the frost showed to advantage the cleanliness of the stately court-yard. The gay ringing of bells was now heard, and three sledges rapidly followed each other through the great gate. All over the north these carriages are of a light and elegant structure, and the inner seat being calculated for only one person, even the women drive themselves. In these sledges, covered with bearskins, wrapped in thick furs, and with bearskin caps on their heads, sat severally the father, mother and sister of our hero; he and Torger respectively behind the two latter. The custom, indeed, in Norway, as throughout the north of Europe, is that each family celebrates this evening beside its own hearth; but as Storm's parents were old, and their only daughter had long been of womanly age, they had for some years accepted, though not without reluctance on the part of the ladies, their friend's pressing invitation to keep, with their whole household, this festive evening under his roof. As the Storms drove through the gate, Erik sprang down from the sledge, throwing his cloak to his mother. Torger immediately quitted the sister's sledge, and they slowly followed through the decorated court-yard. All was still. In the stables the horses were amply supplied with fodder; the maid-servants came forth in half trim, strewing corn for the poultry, and when these were sufficiently provided, in separate heaps for the pigeons, ay, even for the sparrows and rooks; while bunches of the ears of grain were fastened to poles and set up in the fields for the more timid birds of the woods and plains. This was the closing task of the day.

* * * * *

"On the first floor, and directly opposite the stairs, double doors led into a large saloon, occupying great part of the front of the house, towards the court. It was so simply furnished as to contrast strangely with the comforts and elegance of the other rooms. The walls consisted of beams projecting over, and the interstices of which were filled with moss. Two large stoves, placed at either end, heated the spacious room. It was lighted with chandeliers fastened to the beams, and a number of wooden seats were crowded together along the walls. At one end of the room stood a long table, loaded with mounds of butter, and of rye and barley-bread cakes, and with mighty cylinders, half an ell in diameter, of that old Norwegian cheese *(Gammelost)*, the strongly stimulating flavour of which is so grateful to Northern palates. Between these smoked large bowls of a favourite kind of punch, made of beer, sugar, and brandy. This table was repeatedly visited, until late in the night, by the guests, upon whose hunger and thirst no restrictions were laid. * * * *

"Our two friends traversed the long empty hall to the open double doors of an adjoining room, which was brilliantly lighted, and distinguished by its elegance from its more simple neighbour the hall. Here sat old Heggelund, his wife and daughter, with Storm's family, Cederström (a Swede) and Bull, in eager conversation. The hall now filled; every one freely entered the inner room, greeting the company by offering a hand to each, according to Northern custom, and then re-

turned to the saloon. Two peasants leaning against the wall made their fiddles sound; and the dance began. Dorothea and Marie Storm danced with the men-servants, Storm and Bull with the maids; our common dances, as well as Scotch and English, and waltzes, have found their way into these remote valleys, threatening to supersede the national. Some supple-limbed rustics, however, presenting themselves, displayed great skill and agility in these last. While they exhibited their bold capers, the remainder rested as spectators; and old Heggelund, who did not concern himself about dancing in general, stepped forward encouraging them, and expressing the liveliest approbation. All proceeded calmly and decorously; the men and maids endeavouring to imitate the dances of their superiors succeeded tolerably, especially the former, who are ever more agile than the lasses.

"Thus passed two hours in undisturbed gaiety. Not a trace of intemperance was seen. Respect for the grave master of the house, without checking easy merriment, prevented excess. Only Guttorm, the groom, had drank too much. He was in old Storm's service when Erik was born, and overjoyed to see him home again, as well as heated by the punch, he expressed his delight rather vociferously. The others strove to quiet him, and it was touching to see how carefully they endeavoured to repress any such outbreak of rapture, as might offend the stern host, and bring a reprimand upon the rioter."

These efforts failing, and Heggelund knitting his brows at Guttorm's audible prognostication of Erik's marriage with the beautiful and good Dordi (*anglicè* Dolly), Erik lures the offender from the room, and in so doing accidentally discovers that an unknown danger impends over Heggelund's home, which he, Torger and Cederström, hope to ward off without alarming the family. Late in the evening their host privately imparts to them a vague menace that has reached him; to explain the cause and meaning of which, he relates an occurrence of two hundred years back. The Scottish Sinclair, then in the service of Sweden, had attempted to traverse Norway at the head of three hundred men, and had been defeated by the Norwegian peasantry with the loss of four-fifths of his troop. Sixty remained prisoners, and the peasants, growing tired of supporting their foes, by common consent put them to death. One of these prisoners, Malkolm, in the custody of Heggelund's ancestor, had won the heart and stained the honour of his host's daughter, who vainly prayed that the father of her unborn babe might be spared to restore her reputation by marriage. He was murdered in her arms, and upon the bleeding corse she swore vengeance, imprecating dreadful curses upon her savage family. She fled to Sweden, where she bore a son; and his posterity, now numerous, had always lived secluded, brooding revenge upon the murderers of their forefather, whose descendants they had long harassed by every means in their power. This very night Dorothea, when preparing, after much

household arrangement consequent upon the conclusion of the festivities, to share, as usual, the bed of her already sleeping mother, is suddenly seized, gagged, and dragged out of the window. Christmas morning sees the whole male population of Sweden and its neighbourhood set forth in pursuit of the robbers and their prey.

We are then transported to another Norwegian village, and presented with a different Christmas-morning scene, which we extract as descriptive of the country, and first introducing the hero.

"A sledge, in which sat a man enveloped in furs, with a servant behind, drove rapidly toward the east. As the mountain road wound along, the traveller discovered upon a steep aclivity a small but cleanly wooden church; its moderately high, pointed steeple covered tile fashion, like the walls, with brown painted shingles. The church lay so hidden as only to be seen when closely approached, and from the opposite side of the valley but an occasional glimpse was caught of the steeple, which was instantly lost again behind woods or hills. Below stood the quiet parsonage, and a couple or so of small habitations; near the latter was a range of open sheds, resembling booths at fairs, in which appeared a number of sledges and horses tied up close together. The peasants, whose dwellings are remote, repair to church in sledges during the winter, and in two-wheeled cars during summer, and then these sheds look like Oriental caravanserais.

"Not a soul was visible. In the sheds the horses stamped and neighed, whilst eating hay out of well-filled racks. In the closely shut-up houses all seemed dead; but from the hill-top resounded loud church music. The first distant tones of psalmody seemed to startle the traveller; he drove slower, and slower yet; then, as taking a sudden resolution he sprang from the sledge, threw the reins to his servant, who received them in mute astonishment, and hastily climbing the hill side, entered the full church. The preacher had just ascended the pulpit. The stranger glanced furtively from side to side as he stepped softly along the middle aisle. Every seat was occupied, and unable to find a vacant place, he wrapped himself more closely in his furs, and leaned against a pillar opposite the pulpit. His appearance struck the congregation. The mere entrance of a stranger, after service had commenced, was unprecedented and bewildering in a community who, being well known to each other, regularly assembled before divine service, and all entered the church together in quiet regularity. But the figure and countenance of the stranger would have fixed universal attention, independent of any other striking circumstances. He was tall, and even in his now subdued movements, appeared something of boldness, gravity, and command. He did not appear old, yet his face was deeply furrowed; a high aquiline nose enhanced the peculiarity of his features; his firmly closed mouth indicated a mysterious, impenetrable mind; the flashing eyes rolled restlessly around, and the resolution, audacity, and wildness that every gesture bespoke, were calculated to inspire dread."

The pastor's sermon, which turns upon repentance and the

atonement by which the sinner should purchase pardon, deeply touches the stranger, from whose countenance the gloom and wrath vanishes; but he goes off as suddenly as he had appeared, and before the last prayer and blessing. Again we are transported to a different scene; a village filled with armed Norwegian boors and Swedish Malkolms, all drinking and rioting; amongst whom suddenly appears a small band of peasants, headed by the boldest of the party, Guldbrand, who was employed by the magistracy to recal their deluded countrymen to their duty. The subordinate leaders present, who assert that they are acting by order of government, and the Malkolms, are unable to resist Guldbrand's influence over the Norwegians, and they seem on the point of dispersing, when suddenly a sledge drives up, from which springs the stranger of the village church.

"But he was an altered man. Every trace of harshness had vanished, and the mildness that beamed in every feature acquired deeper significance from the disturbed earnestness with which it blended."

"The silence of expectation reigned throughout the assemblage; his partisans gazed at him doubtfully and mistrustfully; the adverse Norwegians with eager curiosity. He appeared to have learned the state of affairs from the outposts, and addressed the assembly thus: 'I understand that you question my powers, that you require to be convinced whether I lawfully hold the authority by which I have raised you. You are entitled to make the demand; I am bound to satisfy you, and will act openly and fairly. Who is your spokesman?'—Guldbrand came forward, resolutely, and yet in a manner evidently showing that even he felt the secret influence which this extraordinary man exercised over every one. 'It is I who have encouraged these deluded people to demand the proofs,' he said; 'you dare not refuse them.' 'And art thou so certain that they are deluded, that I am an impostor?' Malkolm asked, going calmly but not threateningly up to the peasant. With all his stedfastness Guldbrand seemed staggered by this address. Malkolm beckoned a Swede from amongst his own partizans, and whispered to him; the man hastened to the now deserted house. All stood expecting their leader to speak; but he gazed immoveably at the house, unheeding what passed around. No one dared urge him to speak, and the silence remained unbroken; all eyes were turned to the house.

"From this issued a female, pale, and clad in thick black cloth; her dark tresses fell unconfined over her neck and shoulders, and a large veil, thrown back from her face, covered the side of her head and person. Her slender form leaned upon a maid-servant, who looked anxiously and fearfully at her mistress. The sunken features of the latter showed traces of extraordinary beauty, and her large, melancholy eyes cast a glance of unspeakable suffering over the assemblage as they uneasily sought out Malkolm. On discovering him, she at first recoiled trembling; then approaching him through the crowd, which respectfully made way for her, she said in faltering but musical accents: 'It is thy command, Malkolm.' * * * * *

"Malkolm met her. 'Beloved Matilda,' said he, and his voice was soft, indescribably tender, and subdued, 'I have misjudged thee, as I have myself; I have wronged thy true love and purity. Thou lovest me, I know and acknowledge it. I am lost,' he added in a whisper; 'but to thee my misfortune will appear a blessing. To this has my unhappy blindness brought us.' She looked a terrified inquiry. 'Take courage,' he resumed, 'and wait the event.'"

Malkolm now gives papers to Guldbrand, who with surprise reads a commission from the government at Stockholm, authorizing Malkolm to raise the Norwegian peasantry for a secret service. Guldbrand and his followers are confounded; while Malkolm's more zealous partizans are about to make their opponents pay for their temerity:—

"Malkolm's eyes, whilst the paper was read, had dwelt upon Matilda, who growing paler and paler, at length sank with a loud shriek. He hastened to her, exclaiming, 'Matilda, I comprehend thine anguish, thy horror; I dreaded this moment, but knew not how to avoid it! Calm thyself:—by heaven, whatever thou mayest hear, this hour will end differently from what thou dreadest.' She opened her eyes and looked at him hesitatingly. 'Dare I hope—alas! hope, and shudder at the horrible hope?' she whispered. 'Thou mayest,' replied Malkolm, who now first noticed the tumult around him.

"He hastened to release Guldbrand, whom the Malkomites were dragging away, and with a loud voice commanded tranquillity. 'Separate yourselves!' said he. 'Guldbrand rejoin thy company; let no one stir from his place till I have spoken. Who gave you a right to touch that man? Did I command it? Who commands here except myself?

"The dark wrath, the vehement rage of earlier times, seemed again to disfigure his countenance. All recoiled in terror. Every one resumed his former place. In deep thought Malkolm strode backwards and forwards between the two parties; then paused and cast a silent look to heaven. His countenance had recovered its previous mild but troubled earnestness.

"He turned to Guldbrand, and said: 'You have nothing to object to this paper?' 'I know not what to say,' the peasant answered as he looked at Malkolm frankly, yet in evident perplexity: 'when I think of yourself, and your power over these bands, and of this paper, I confess I can find no objection: but when I consider the situation of my country, the disorder you have created in our mountains, and the positive commission given me by honest and revered men, which I have endeavoured, not without danger, to execute, then I do not see how I can trust you.'

"'After the communications I have made,' said Malkolm, 'resistance on your part would be criminal. You cannot deny that even now I might arrest you for sedition, for secretly creeping amongst us and seducing lawfully enlisted troops; might severely punish, and even shoot you.'

"Firmly and calmly Guldbrand answered: 'After what has passed these men would scarcely defend me, and I am in your power.'

* * * * *

"'You confess that the suspicions you had excited are annihilated, that you have nothing to urge that should induce me to abandon my purpose?'

"'Alas—I do,' replied Guldbrand, and stood absorbed in meditation.

"Silent and thoughtfully Malkolm again walked backwards and forwards. Then stood before Guldbrand. Tears were in his eyes. 'My God!' said he, 'forgive me that I have played this game! Thou knowest it has not been done in vanity. No! I, the lost one, will do all that remains to me. I sought but to show that no external power, no fear actuates me; that thou alone guidest and rulest me. Do thou give me strength that I may willingly and completely fulfil thy command.'

"He advanced between the adverse bands. A moment he seemed to shrink within himself, cast a long, melancholy look upon the trembling Matilda: then took the papers that had been just read, tore, and threw them away. 'These documents are forgeries,' he said; 'I am a criminal, deserving of death; and thy prisoner, worthy Guldbrand.'

"All were thunder-stricken; his adherents seemed paralyzed with terror; but Matilda broke from her maid's arms and fell at his feet exclaiming: 'Yes, thou art redeemed, beloved! How can inward joy dwell with mortal agony in one weak breast without shattering it! Now am I thine, wholly thine, thou mine, and both of us his, the Allmerciful's!' And she folded and wrung her hands, and fearfully resounded the deep lamentation, through rapture, sorrow, and joy supreme.

"'Unfortunate woman!' cried Malkolm, 'sever thee from the criminal.'

"'I part from thee?—part now! So may God be merciful to me as I will not! Shall I forsake my heaven because it hangs blood red over me? Behind this fearfully threatening glare are the sun, and all blessedness. No, it cannot be thy will—thou wouldst not reject me, now that thou art wholly mine!'

"Malkolm raised and clasped her to his bosom, and amidst these disorderly masses, the fond, unfortunate pair seemed to celebrate a blessed moment of inward reconciliation and holy love."

We would ask any novel reader within the four seas whether, with all these incidents and scenes, to say nothing of a sermon and many a long speech, in little more than the first 150 pages, we were not fully justified in expecting Malkolm to prove a tale of astonishing interest and excitement? Further, whether we could form any other conclusion than that the preacher's eloquence, accidentally heard, had converted a hardened rebel, perhaps a bandit, into a citizen so loyally honest as to offer his own forfeited life in expiation of his offences against the laws of his country?

And again, whether we could conceive other of Matilda than that she had either so deeply exasperated her husband by unavailing remonstrances against his criminal designs, as to produce dissension and separation, or herself left him in virtuous indignation upon finding her remonstrances unavailing? But had we previously read all the preceding events, which are given us subsequently, piecemeal; first a scene of eight years back mixed up with an occurrence of the last year; then one of two years back, then one of four, and lastly, the whole course of Malkolm's early life and courtship, &c. as also his father's, we should have conceived no such high-flying notions. It seems that Malkolm had, by an intrigue consonant with our ideas of Italian rather than of Scandinavian nature, been hurled from high political and social estate, completely ruined, and made to believe his wife faithless, with circumstances so implicating his hereditary foe Heggelund, that the old Malkolm spirit had revived in his bosom, and he had raised the insurrection to revenge himself quite as much upon Heggelund as upon the government; and had therefore commanded and planned the theft of poor Dorothea. Matilda, sent by him into Germany for security from the dangers he was incurring, knew nothing of his plots: he had, on the preceding day, discovered her spotless love and truth; and was hastening to a reconciliation, to be crowned perhaps by the dismissal of his followers, when, passing the church of an early friend, he had stepped in to look upon that friend once again, as much as to hear him preach.

We have now given all that we consider worth extracting from the novel, both of description and incident, excepting indeed some delineations of character. Of these we have already spoken, but their merits are lost by the author's strange mismanagement in the conduct of his tale.

If this be not the art of sinking, we know not what is; and heartily do we regret that a writer gifted with such powers as Henrich Steffens, and familiar with a country so interesting, because not only unexhausted but almost untouched by the novelist, should by ambitiously aiming at stage effect, mar the pleasure he is well able to afford his readers. The advice of Count Hamilton, though old, is never antiquated to such writers, and we therefore address M. Steffens like the far-famed ram,—*Belier, mon ami, si tu voulois commencer par le commencement, tu nous fera grand plaisir.*

ART. III.—1. *Leçons d'Anatomie comparée de Georges Cuvier.* Seconde Edition. Tome I. II. revu par MM. F. G. Cuvier et Laurillard.

2. ————Tome IV., Premiere et Seconde Partie, Tome V. revu par G. L. Duvernoy, M. D. P.

IT is now nearly four years since we attempted to give our readers an idea of the life and labours of the Baron Cuvier, and we think it our duty to return to the subject, because, notwithstanding the publication of five authentic *éloges*, and one equally authentic volume of memoirs, there exists still a most unpardonable ignorance in the minds of many, concerning this truly great man. We shall do our best to supply the deficiency; but ages must elapse before the extent of the impulse he has given to others can be measured, and generations must pass away ere we be allowed to remark freely upon the character and conduct of those who opposed him, and which influenced some interesting portions of his private history.

Varied as were the services of the Baron Cuvier, he is interesting in almost every point of view; as a man, a savant, a legislator; as the great ameliorator of education, and as the promoter of the Protestant religion in France. It might have been supposed then that such a rare combination would have bestowed on him universal reputation, but we can safely affirm that at least one half of the British nation never heard of him, and that two-thirds of the other half view him simply either as an anatomist, or an infidel. Nothing can be more utterly unjust.

There have been few, if any, really great men of whose peculiar talents there was not some juvenile indication. The early youth of the Baron Cuvier was strongly imbued with sparks of the flame which burned so brightly in after life, and the naturalist, the legislator, and the statesman, may be seen and recognized in the boy, the student, and the tutor. Every circumstance of his young life seems to have had a strong bearing on the rest; his family had been the victims of religious persecution, and were much impoverished when driven to settle at Montbeliard; his delicate health gave him the habit of seeking amusement in quieter pursuits than those preferred by the stronger and more robust; he learned early lessons of discipline and order at the knees of his firm yet gentle mother; it was she who, while nurturing every good and moral feeling, and watching with judicious care and affection over the ailings of infancy till they were converted into an active and wholesome temperament, yet accustomed him to employment and obedience; she it was who taught him his first hymns, and took such advantage of his capabilities, that he always went to school

better prepared with his tasks than any other of the pupils. Accordingly we find that one of the strongest feelings in Baron Cuvier's mind, was his unceasing affection for this mother, the admirable guide of his earliest years; and domestic happiness thus imprinted on his recollection, was sought for by him as the great solace of after-life.

Having distinguished himself at the schools of Montbeliard, Georges Cuvier became one of the candidates for the theological university of Tubingen. The theme he composed on this occasion deserved to be ranked among the highest of the contending productions, and every one round him felt certain that he would be chosen; the animosity however of one of the professors whom he had ridiculed in some youthful sally, prevented his entering the class elected for Tubingen, and his destination was consequently changed. This early disappointment and mortification was deeply felt by the young scholar, who had not lived long enough to know that what we consider misfortunes often prove the greatest blessings. Cuvier's, however, was not a mind to be baffled by one disappointment, however severe; and as theological studies were now useless, he had more leisure for others; to one of these he devoted himself with a zeal and delight which amounted almost to a passion. Buffon had thrown over him the spell which he had also shed over so many others, by the eloquent magic of language, the richness of imagination, and the lofty importance which he attached to the study of natural history. Scarcely of an age to appreciate them to their full extent, the writings of this extraordinary man had yet taken fast hold of the youthful Cuvier; every spare moment was devoted to their perusal, and not only did he copy all the figures contained in the edition lent to him by a relative, but he even drew also the animals of which there were merely written descriptions. His drawings, which however were not confined to the representation of animals, were laid before the Princess Royal of Würtemberg, and honourable mention was made of his talents. The Princess was interested, and the reigning Duke, Charles of Würtemberg, arriving soon after, she submitted the drawings to him. He sent for the boy, and on examining him, was so delighted with his answers, that, taking him under his peculiar protection, he gave him a presentation to his academy at Stuttgart.

The school was military, the scholars wore uniforms, and were under the orders of a colonel and a major;* but the instructions

* We particularly mention this, because a report has existed of M. Cuvier having at one time been in the army. The nature of this academy, and a visit once paid by him with his father to his former regiment, when on duty in the neighbourhood, form the sole foundation for this report.

were by no means confined to those of a military nature; classics, philosophy of all kinds, mathematics, commerce, the management of forests, finance, administration, medicine, law, the fine arts, oratory, metaphysics, natural history, in all its branches, and many other things were there taught, almost all of which were followed with ardour by the young Cuvier, of whom it was even then remarked, that he was not contented with merely skimming the surface, or learning by rote, but understood the philosophy of the sciences he studied. Natural history was still a favourite pursuit, but it was considered by him as a relaxation to the severer subject of the law, the leading object of his mental exertions. Four consecutive examinations in various branches of learning, embraced by the upper classes of the academy, and in which he eminently distinguished himself, procured him the Cross of Chevalier, an order of merit which was rarely bestowed, and which placed the wearer under the immediate direction of the Duke, as destined for the highest departments in the administration of his native country. That country, however, soon became disorganized; his patron was obliged to abandon it; and he himself, after a short visit to Montbeliard, accepted the office of tutor in the family of a nobleman in Lower Normandy. This was indeed a change when compared to the views in which Cuvier had been educated at Stuttgart; but the tutor in the house of the Count d'Héricy was not a dependant; he was considered as a friend, had opportunities given him for his own improvement, and mingled with the society which visited at the house. It proved in fact an advantage to the subject of our memoir, inasmuch as it became the stepping-stone to that career in which he afterwards immortalized himself. It was an advantage also in another sense, for it sheltered him in those times of anarchy and horror, when the good, the learned, and the innocent, were the especial victims of popular fury. In the quiet retreat of the Chateau de Fiquinville his amusements consisted of drawing, dissecting, and examining various objects of natural history; and his vicinity to the sea caused him particularly to give his attention to the inhabitants of that element. Accustomed to examine every thing thoroughly, to follow it through all its bearings, to generalize the views to which it gave birth, to seize on its most important features, and patiently study the minutest details, not to lose himself in these, but by amassing, to gain a better comprehension of the whole; the few years thus passed had doubtless the happiest influence over the rest of Cuvier's life. He was at no trouble concerning his maintenance, and consequently was not obliged to hurry over a subject in order to be ready for the printer; and he thus had ample time to verify his observations by

repeating them, to collect a number of facts, and to judge and reflect upon all that he did. He was an excellent botanist; and his enlarged and philosophical mind, while doing justice to the great reformer Linnæus, could not but be struck with the natural system of De Jussieu; and even at this early period, his thoughts constantly dwelt on the application of its principles to zoology. Cuvier's first essay was on the lowest class of animals, and his discoveries already began to make important revolutions in natural history; but as we are now about to dwell on his public labours, it may be as well to throw a rapid glance over the state in which he found those several branches of this science, which were connected with his future pursuits; by so doing, a better estimate may be formed of the services he rendered to it, and the assistance which he received from his predecessors.

The absurd fables of antient authors on the subject, the repetitions, the interminable synonymes which obscured natural history were falling into desuetude, and a better light dawned upon it in the endeavours of some remarkable men, who, by developing new ideas, and rejecting falsehood, in a manner which outstepped the age in which they lived, roused the attention of the civilized world. Then came Linnæus and Buffon; the former, by his precise and easy method, so nearly sufficing for all that was then known; and Buffon, by his daring views, his eloquence, and grace, so far enchanting the minds of men, that the two seemed to have done all that could be done, and to have exhausted the materials afforded by nature; so that whoever were their successors, they must be but humble imitators. Those two great men however had but just sounded a note which was to be echoed and re-echoed from the uttermost parts of sea and land. A spirit was awakened, and the treasures of information poured in in such multitudes, as to prove that nature, far from exhaustion, was too rich and fertile ever to want resources. The inadequacy of an artificial system began to be felt; nature herself contradicted it, and an arrangement more according to her laws became a matter of necessity.

The anarchy which followed was but the attempt of various zealous students to adopt a classification sufficient for the purpose; but none, with the exception of Bernard de Jussieu, was found to have built upon a solid basis. Speculation succeeded speculation, but the only result was respect for each effort, or admiration of its ingenuity. Camper, Blumenbach, Hunter, Daubenton, Vicq d'Azyr, and others, had directed their endeavours towards comparative anatomy. De Saussure, Deluc, Pallas, and Werner had done wonders for geology, but the formation of the earth, as characterized by organic remains, was as yet unknown; none had yet viewed these hidden treasures of preceding ages in

any other light than that of curiosities, or remains of the Deluge; none had dreamed that they were to reveal the history of the planet on which we live, much less attempted to bring together and arrange the fragments so discovered, and thence obtain certain indications of the perfect animals of a former period. The strict followers of the two great men first mentioned, who will ever stand gloriously forth as marking one great era of natural history, had rather adopted their defects than their perfections; the latter would doubtless have led them further than their masters, but that which with them was a slight blemish in a magnificent whole, became with these imitators the principal character. The disciples of Linnæus, for instance, adopted his dry, concise phrases, without considering that he himself looked upon his system as the mere scaffolding for a much more important edifice; and those of Buffon admired his brilliancy and grandeur, without recollecting that he thus ornamented established facts. Something like a relapse into former erring systems took place; the characters belonging to genera again became confounded with those of species; in many instances the same object was described several times over in its different stages, each stage considered as a separate being; and errors were thus multiplied till the former chaos seemed about to reappear for the scientific world.

The class Vermes, which had been left in utter confusion by Linnæus, as if unworthy of entering into the scale of beings, received a slight amelioration from Bruguières, who brought the Annelidæ together; and Pallas pointed out that the absence or presence of a shell could not form the basis for their distribution; but he published his glimpses of the truth before they were matured, and never pursued the subject further. The circulation of insects being wholly unknown, that class was united to the crustaceæ.

The works of the anatomists above-mentioned had been confined to isolated facts, stated without any ultimate view, or without offering any comparison. Few objects had been thoroughly examined; one had selected an individual part of the human frame, another had dwelt upon some curious mechanism of the muscles; some had sought for special characters in internal organization; but no one had amassed these scattered observations, precious as most of them were. Daubenton had indeed piled up a few skeletons in the museum, but, after Buffon's coolness towards him, the osteology of quadrupeds was wholly neglected in the continuance of their joint work.

M. de Lacépède had been the latest writer of eminence concerning ichthyology; he had enormously increased the catalogue of fishes, and had classed them in one great table, in which the

branchial coverings formed a new feature, ingeniously combined by the author with those which Linnæus had employed before him. His work was written under the most unfavourable circumstances, and during the period when France was isolated from all other nations, and became the scene of frightful struggle and bloodshed. Even the great work of Bloch was not at De Lacépède's disposal when he began to publish, and is not quoted by him till his fourth volume. His list was taken from Gmelin and Bonnaterre; and upon them and a few accidental opportunities he founded his classification. These opportunities frequently consisted of scattered memoranda and drawings, some of which were not made by ichthyologists; hence arose a number of mistakes, such as one species established from the drawing, and another from the description belonging to it. M. de Lacépède was also obliged frequently to write at a distance from the papers he had consulted, for he too found safety in flight during the reign of terror. He also committed, with regard to ancient authors, the same errors as many of his predecessors had done before him; he did not make allowance for the loss of colour or form in that which he inspected, and even this confusion was increased by the descriptions which he tried to verify, having themselves been made from specimens already changed. Thus the species of this ichthyologist, which he augmented to 1463, may be reduced by more than 200. The implicit confidence which he placed in other authors led him to suppose, that when he found any difference in his examinations he had also found a new genus; and not unfrequently he repeated both them and himself. His general distribution was that of Pennant, into bony and cartilaginous, with the subdivision of Linnæus according to the position of the ventral fins, applied to each; but between these two divisions he thrust in a third, founded on the absence or presence of opercula, and branchiostegous rays. The work of M. de Lacépède, as edited by M. Dumeril, for the use of students, made it more popular and gave greater facility for studying genera than the original edition, and, consequently, it formed the basis of many others more immediately preceding M. Cuvier's great undertaking.

It was in 1795 that our young naturalist was drawn from his obscurity. Ill health and straitened circumstances, two heavy disappointments, the counsels and cares of his admirable mother, his own excellent German education, and his intercourse at Stuttgart with those who were distinguished for character and talent, together with the quiet shelter of his Norman retreat, which gave time for digesting his rapid and extended course of study, and the opportunities thrown in his way for the indulgence of a taste already

formed—all these had purified and prepared M. Cuvier for the glorious career which lay before him. The means by which he came to Paris wore all the appearance of chance; a scientific and distinguished man, M. Tessier, had taken refuge from the turbulent scenes passing in the capital close to the Norman residence of M. Cuvier; a society established for the discussion of agricultural questions, of which the latter was secretary, naturally attracted the attention of a man whose life and labours had been devoted to it. M. Tessier was present at the meetings; the penetration of the young secretary soon discovered him, and the discrimination of the latter prompted him to write to his friends in Paris, stating that he had found a pearl in Normandy, and requesting their help in making its value known to the world. The perusal of some of M. Cuvier's writings inspired these friends with the same wish; the education of the pupil was now finished; M. Tessier offered him hospitality when it became safe to proceed to the capital; and the letters of M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire were most pressing. At the age then of twenty-six, this master of science entered the metropolis of France, where he made the most rapid steps towards the pre-eminence which he afterwards attained: natural history was no longer to form a relaxation to other studies, it was henceforth to be the business of his life; and thus was his destiny changed for the third and last time. He was immediately made a member of the Commission des Arts, through M. Millin de Grand Maison, then professor of natural history to the central school of the Pantheon, and at the earnest solicitations of M. Geoffroy, M. Mertrud, who had been appointed to the chair of comparative anatomy at the Jardin des Plantes, agreed to take him for his assistant; the more desirable, as it led to a residence on the spot. No sooner did Cuvier find himself thus established, than he sent for all who remained of his family, viz. his father and younger brother Frederic, who was married, to join him and share his approaching prosperity.

From the moment of being placed in the centre of a vast establishment, the genius of M. Cuvier seemed to take a new flight, and to keep pace with the immense means afforded him for investigation. He continued his observations on the anatomy of mollusca, and while pursuing his researches on other invertebratæ, he in 1796 announced his discovery of red blood in leeches. In 1797 he read his celebrated memoir on the nutrition of insects, and was steadily amassing those materials which enabled him to found or establish the science of comparative anatomy, discover the zoology of former worlds, and to bring about a reform in the whole of the animal kingdom. He was soon convinced that anatomy and physiology must form the foundation of zoology, that

the most constant and general organic characters must determine the great divisions, and more variable and individual facts trace out the secondary portions. Thus he established a natural method, on the sole principle on which it can rest, viz. the arrangement of each being, so that its place shall give a general idea of its organization, and the affinities which link it to others.

On examining the modifications which the animal kingdom undergoes in the organs of circulation, respiration, and sensation, instead of the six classes of Linnæus, M. Cuvier established four grand types: viz. vertebrata, mollusca, articulata, and radiata, which he called "embranchements," and which he divided into classes. All this appeared in the "Tableau élémentaire de l'Histoire naturelle des Animaux," which he published in 1798, and which is a sort of sketch of what his more perfect Règne Animal was to be. Though the divisions into families, genera, and species, are, it is true, likely to undergo frequent changes, according to new observations and discoveries, and he himself has said, "we shall grow old in our turn, and be superseded as knowledge increases," yet his basis for zoological classification is likely to endure as long as the science itself; the spirit in which it is conceived must be immutable, because it is the result of truth; every young naturalist and philosopher knows more than either Aristotle or Newton, and the time may come when every student will understand organization better than M. Cuvier did; but this will not prevent his name, like those of his great predecessors, from being an eternal honour to the human race.

Four years had scarcely elapsed when the assistant of M. Mertrud began to publish his immortal lectures on comparative anatomy, the second edition of which, in its commencement, now lies before us, and to which we shall return. These lectures were closely connected with that noblest monument to his memory, the cabinet of anatomy in the Jardin des Plantes, or Jardin du Roi. Whatever Cuvier taught in his lectures he endeavoured to demonstrate by positive proof; and aided by zealous assistants, formed under his own tuition, he brought together the richest collection that has ever yet been amassed. This collection, and the labours directed to it, led to still greater discoveries with regard to geology; and advanced to maturity those ideas which had frequently occurred to him in a very early, and in fact in every stage of his investigations. Considering that each being formed a complete system destined by nature to play a distinct part, and all the portions of which are linked to each other, Cuvier conceived that so necessary a co-relation of forms must exist between them, that none of them could be modified without influencing the whole, and that each modification suffices in itself to make

known the rest; he thence concluded that each bone of the skeleton of an animal must bear the characters of its class, order, genus, and even species. Applying this doctrine to the determination of various bones which had been found under the soil, he it was who first ascertained that these relics belong to extinct races. Further research led to a fact still less anticipated, which was, that the differences between recent and fossil animals augment according to the age of the strata in which they lie, and become a chronological table of the formation of the earth.

One glance will suffice to show the vast field which was thus opened to future observers. Primitive, or the oldest formations, on which all the others repose, do not contain any organic remains; it must therefore be concluded, that life has not always existed on our planet. Whether the temperature were too elevated, or whether the necessary concomitants were not prepared, there has been a time when physical forces alone prevailed on the face of that globe on which the wonders of organization were afterwards to be developed. Another discovery is, that all organized beings were not created together; vegetables have preceded animals; mollusca and fishes have appeared before reptiles; and these last have been the forerunners of mammalia. The species which formed these ancient populations have been destroyed, and replaced by others, and probably the present is the fourth series. Zoology has thus been furnished with a guide through the subterranean paths which she presents; and as the great discoverer advanced with rapid strides, he divided the stratified crust of the earth into two classes, one formed by fresh, and the other by salt water; several parts of our soil having been alternately covered with the deposits of each.

As the cabinet of anatomy was an accompaniment to M. Cuvier's lectures and researches on that point, he in like manner formed a collection of fossil remains, which is now the finest in the world; a great many were presents; for the spirit he had awakened spread in every direction, and all were eager to assist him. Besides these, he purchased a great number at an enormous expense to himself, and placed all in the galleries of the Museum, merely receiving in return some of the duplicate books from the library of that institution. The last edition of M. Cuvier's work on fossil remains contains the description of 120 species of mammalia belonging to all orders, except Quadrumana (a discovery which has taken place since his death); and his work on fishes, had he lived to finish it, would in itself have contained all the fossil remains of that class. The localities, the formations in which these fragments were found, are all noted with the utmost precision; and such was the perfection to which he had arrived by

means of his indefatigable perseverance, both in the study of recent and fossil anatomy, that it was sufficient for him to see one bone, in order to determine, not only the great division, but the genus to which it belonged.

Two most important questions are solved by the above work; they may be, and are disputed by many who are actuated by various motives, not all of which have reference to science; but the conclusions of M. Cuvier will stand the test of ages. The first is, that of the alteration of animals; and it may be put in the following manner. Do those genera which so widely differ from recent beings, really indicate distinct genera and species, or has time only modified the primitive forms into their present shape?

That singular system, which is styled "unity of composition," and which confines the numerous and admirably adapted works of the Deity to one single idea, was always opposed by M. Cuvier with all his strength, in the firm belief that it not only injured the cause of science, but was unworthy of an Almighty hand. One objection alone on the part of M. Cuvier serves to refute the system of unity; it is, that no general and intermediate modification takes place between the animal of a former world, and that of the present to which it most nearly approaches. He states that the definition of a species proves the constancy of certain conditions of form which characterize it, and presents a table of the variations which it is possible for it to undergo, and which constitute the differences of races. By a scrupulous examination of the skeletons of animals which lived from two to three thousand years ago in Egypt, and a comparison between these and the animals now existing, he has proved, that during nearly thirty centuries, no important change has taken place in their forms, and that even in wild animals there is no alteration which can characterize a mere variety. He was of opinion, that each organ has its distinct purpose in the economy of a being, and contributes more or less to the development of the phenomena which this being presents; that each being is created for one object, and has received from its Creator the means of attaining it; and that it is gifted with all the instruments necessary for the execution of the task to which it is appointed. In the structure of organs, so perfectly adapted to the enjoyment of the physical properties necessary to existence in that concourse of beings which forms the great whole, so worthy of study and admiration; in that chain which links existence to all other existence, and which is perhaps without end, like space and time, he saw a purpose which was ordained by the Supreme Intelligence, and which has been effected by disposing these organs on different plans of combination. How much more sublime, how much more consistent with Omniscience and Omnipotence is this

belief, than the absence of purpose implied by the unity of composition, the presence of which is one of the grandest attributes of the Creator.

The second question is that which asks, If man be a new creation on the globe; or whether he were contemporary with the destroyed mammalia, and escaped either by his greater numbers, or greater intelligence from the general wreck?

M. Cuvier was of opinion that man *is* a new being in this planet, at least on the present continents, since in no regular stratum have human remains been found. All those which were once looked on as such, have been at length recognized as belonging to animals, and chiefly by M. Cuvier himself. All those which have been restored to our eyes have been taken from the clefts of rocks, or caverns disturbed by the hand of living man. But negative proofs to a mind like that of M. Cuvier were insufficient, and persuaded that there ought to be something positive on the subject, he rigorously examined the pretended documents which send man back so many ages. From this examination he concluded that positive historical traditions go back no further than the last sudden retreat of the waters; and that if humanity did exist, it must have been on a soil which has now wholly disappeared, and is buried under the waters.

The fear that geology should overthrow the authenticity of the sublime books of Genesis, has deterred many a well-intentioned person from its study. For ourselves, we feel convinced that the truth will always stand the test of inquiry, and dread no impartial and thorough investigation, as only the labours of credulity or infidelity will then sink into oblivion. The Bible is the history of man in the first instance, and then of a particular race of men, as a preparatory history to the life of that one Great Being, who afterwards came to redeem man from his fallen state; it never was intended as a system of geology, or a complete history of the more material part of our planet. The cursory notice of its progress from a state of chaos, and the advance of organization, as given by Moses, positively agrees with the discoveries made by geologists; and if the words which have been generally rendered in one sense are, as is unquestionable, open to another, it is simply the error of past ignorance, or the defects of our own senses, which we strive to charge as an impiety upon those who are extending the proofs of Almighty infinitude.

The memoirs composing the work to which we have been alluding were published at separate times, and were first collected into a whole in the year 1811; we have seen that M. Cuvier only commenced his labours in 1795, when he was called to Paris. This interval had produced many events of the utmost

importance to himself as well as others, and natural history had been far from forming the sole object of his exertions. In 1796 he was created a member of the newly organized National Institute. In 1798 proposals were made to him to accompany the expedition to Egypt; and whether to accept or reject them was a hard struggle: on the one hand, he was tempted by the love of travelling and research, the delight of exploring a new and comparatively unknown country; and on the other, he felt that his presence at home was absolutely necessary, in order to continue the labours he had so happily begun; the latter alternative prevailed, and fortunately for science he remained at the Jardin des Plantes. In 1800 he was appointed Professor at the Collège de France, when he resigned his place at the Panthéon; in the same year he was also made Secretary to the Academy of Sciences, an office which was resigned every third year. In 1802 he was elected one of the six inspectors-general of education, and was sent to Marseilles, &c. to found the Royal Colleges; in the following year the secretaryships of the Institute were made perpetual, and M. Cuvier was appointed to that of the Academy of Sciences, with an increase of salary; in order, as Napoleon said, to enable the secretaries to entertain distinguished foreigners at their houses. On receiving this M. Cuvier resigned his inspectorship. Another, for him, most important event took place this year, namely, his marriage with Madame Duvaucel, a step that ensured him the most uninterrupted conjugal happiness for life. In 1804 a son was born, but shortly after died. In 1808 he was named Counsellor to the University; in 1809 he was sent to organize the academies of the Italian States; in 1811 he received the title of Chevalier, and visited Holland for the purpose of establishing and directing the academies of that country.

The mere mention of the places thus early held by M. Cuvier, will show how rapidly his duties increased; but amid them all he never for one moment lost sight of the great works we have already mentioned; viz. the classification of the Règne Animal, the increase of the collection of zoology, the formation of the collection of comparative anatomy, the improvement of his published lectures from his own observations, the collection of fossil remains, and the study of these and the strata in which they lie: and yet each appointment had brought with it an amount of occupation, which an ordinary man would have thought singly sufficient. As secretary to the Institute he had become the biographer of the Academy of Sciences, a portion of his labours in itself sufficient to immortalize him. The Eloges, written and read by him in public, are now collected into three octavo volumes, and materials exist for a fourth. In these works we see a mind

fully equal to the subjects of his memoir; public services are descanted upon; and private occurrences when they bear upon these services, yet with a delicacy almost amounting to tenderness; allowance is made for the influence of circumstances; and the beauties and perfections of a character are placed in the most prominent light. In these, as in all his other writings, as well as actions, M. Cuvier shows himself to have been perfectly free from jealousy; every one received the due meed of praise even for labours rivalling his own, for if science was advanced he cared not by whom. The beauty of the language and the eloquence of the style make these Éloges perfect models of composition.

Besides the Eloges, M. Cuvier was charged with constant reports to the Academy upon each memoir or work submitted to it; and in 1802 he was deputed to the task of giving an annual analysis of the transactions of that body, a duty which he continued to perform to the last year of his life. There is no part of his works which so completely shows the universality of his comprehension and acquirements as these reports. Not only was he obliged to understand each subject, but to embrace its connexion with the past, and its bearings upon the future; the whole range of natural science came before him, and seems to have been enough to fill up his life without leaving room for his own great endeavours. His language was so clear and precise in those analyses, that many scientific men were afterwards glad to adopt his descriptions rather than their own for revealing their discoveries to the world. They have been thrown together and published as a supplement to the edition of Buffon arranged by M. Richard, of which they form two octavo volumes. Besides these Cuvier wrote, by command of the Emperor, a complete history of natural science from the year 1789 to 1808.

In 1817 appeared the first edition of the Règne Animal, or the completion of the *Tableau élémentaire*: it was at first hesitatingly adopted in Germany, but is now become the great classical book for the study of zoology. Since the year 1811 the life of M. Cuvier had been chequered by the death of his children, and by a fresh routine of appointments: in 1813 he had been sent to Rome to re-organize the University there, a more difficult task than which can scarcely be imagined, for so decided a Protestant as himself could hardly expect to be well received by Catholics. His natural tact and benevolence, his enlightened tolerance and indulgence however, so far succeeded, that even when the influence of France ceased in that city, most of the ameliorations introduced by Cuvier were retained. It was in this year that his legislative powers and acquirements were first drawn forth, and

his early studies for this, his former destination, brought into use, in consequence of his appointment as Maître des Requêtes. Such was the confidence reposed in him, that the Emperor not only intended making him tutor to his son, and ordered him to draw up a list of books as a preliminary step, but sent him on an extraordinary mission to the left bank of the Rhine, in order to take the measures best calculated to oppose the invasion of France. In each of these honourable employments he was disappointed by the rapid and unforeseen advancement of the allied troops, and by the ruin of Napoleon. A greater proof however of the Emperor's penetration could scarcely have been given; he did not view M. Cuvier solely as the man of science, but he saw in him that genius which adapts itself to all exigencies, that uncompromising integrity which accompanied all his actions, and that firmness of purpose which had been one of the secrets of his advancement. In 1814 he made him a Counsellor of State; and to the honour of Louis XVIII., he was by him reappointed to the same office, and occasionally employed both then and afterwards as Commissionaire du Roi; he was also named Chancellor of the University, and would he have changed his religion, he might have received the office of Grand Master. The first important use which Cuvier made of his legislative authority was in 1815, when he procured considerable amendment in the criminal laws, and of those belonging to the Prevôtal Courts. Many families have reason to bless his interference in the latter, for had he not opposed some of the clauses with all his energy, and persuaded certain of his colleagues to do the same, offences long passed over would have been dragged to light, and the victims would have been the innocent and unsuspecting.

In 1828 appeared the first and second volumes of the great work on Ichthyology, to the peculiar study of which M. Cuvier had been led by his always progressing preparations for his great treatise on Comparative Anatomy. In the mean while he had been advancing in honours and places under the Bourbons, though not perhaps so rapidly as if Napoleon had still been the ruler of France, on account of the religion to which he steadily adhered. In 1818 Louis offered him the Ministry of the Interior, but he thought proper to decline it. At that period he made his first visit to England, an occurrence of which he delighted to converse, and the animated recollection of which seemed to be always fresh in his memory. It was also in 1818 that he was elected Member of the Académie Française, and his discourse on his reception was remarkable for its extreme beauty and elegance. The university of Paris had to struggle with many obstacles to its welfare; each religious party tried to gain entire

possession of it; the Grand Masters were never long in place; and the difficulty of selecting others was consequently considerable. In two of these intervals M. Cuvier acted the part of Grand Master till another could be found, and he first held this temporary office in 1819, at which time he was also appointed President of the Comité de l'Intérieur, and created a Baron. In the following year he gave up the Grand Mastership, only to resume it in 1822, when he finally resigned it, and a new place was made, which he filled to the hour of his death; viz. Grand Master of all the faculties of Protestant Theology. In 1824 as President of one of the Councils of State, he assisted at the coronation of Charles X., on which occasion he was made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Commander of the order of the Crown, by the King of Würtemberg. In 1827, when parties were running high, and Charles X. was pursuing the system of government which finally led to his own expulsion, M. Cuvier was appointed Censor of the Press. But the duties attached to the office were too odious to his feelings, and he firmly and decidedly refused the appointment, though by so doing, he risked his other places, and made himself liable to a comparative poverty. He was, however, charged after this with the administration of all the non-Catholic religions in France. In 1828, besides the two volumes on Ichthyology, he published the Latin notes and annotations on Pliny's Natural History, and it was also in this same year that the severest calamity which could befal a parent, gave a different colouring to his feelings, and tinged the whole of his after-life with sadness: this was the death of his daughter, the only surviving child of four. Mademoiselle Cuvier died of rapid consumption, a few days after that which had been appointed for her marriage. This gifted creature had been the light and joy not only of his existence, but of all round her; so talented, so excellent, so beautiful, and so affectionate, that it was no wonder that the mighty heart which had withstood all else with firmness, was torn asunder by her loss; Cuvier secluded himself for a time, but roused to a sense of his duties by a consciousness of their importance, he worked harder than ever, hoping by this means to cure a wound which never healed. The affectionate cares of his admirable wife and step-daughter were if possible increased; and he returned their devoted affection with interest. It was perhaps owing to their efforts, that he was enabled to pursue his studies; a proof of which perseverance came out in 1829, in the form of a second edition of the Règne Animal, containing various modifications and additions, so as to bring it on a level with the latest discoveries. To this succeeded the third and fourth volumes of his Ichthyology. In 1830 he

resumed his lectures at the Collège de France, published volumes five and six of the Ichthyology, and in a short interval of relaxation, paid a second visit to England. He had long received permission to do so from his sovereign, a permission which, from the multitude and importance of his places, it was not only difficult to obtain, but still more so to enjoy; delays had taken place in consequence of some affairs at the Institute, so that by chance he started precisely on the morning of that day, in which the last revolution in France was declared. He had rejected every idea of any serious outbreaking of the spirit of discontent, which the famous ordonnances had evidently stirred up; he was of opinion, that it was a chronic malady which would take time to cure, and leaving his wife under the care of her only surviving son and family, he departed wholly unconscious of the projected explosion. No certain intelligence of the great change reached him until he arrived at Calais, where he remained in order to receive from the capital news on which he could rely. That he could not return with papers signed by Charles X. was very evident, and when Madame Cuvier wrote to him that peace was restored, but that all was uncertainty, he proceeded to England. The good people of this country could scarcely be convinced that he had not purposely fled from Paris to avoid the loss of his head; but Cuvier had nothing to fear, and the simple fact that he had left his wife behind, was quite sufficient to disprove to all who knew him, any thing like intentional absence on his part during this revolutionary storm. A diplomatist can scarcely find credit when he makes a straightforward statement; and the circumstances being of so suspicious a nature, the scientific views with which M. Cuvier really came to this country were thought to be a mere pretext. Accordingly he was assailed by condolences and compassion, which he received with surprise and almost amusement. He was, however, uneasy because he was not on the spot, and instead of remaining six weeks as he intended, he quitted London at the end of a fortnight. In 1831 appeared the seventh and eighth volumes of his Ichthyology; in 1832 he was created a Peer, was made President to the entire Council of State, re-opened his course of lectures at the Collège de France on the History and Progress of Science, delivered the most impressive and remarkable introductory discourse which had ever saluted the ears of his audience, was seized with paralysis the same evening, and after five days' struggle, closed his earthly labours. Honours were paid to his remains such as perhaps have never before been paid to the savant; honours that gratify the agonized survivors, though they fail to impart consolation; this can alone be found in the re-

flection, that the loved one is enjoying happiness far beyond even our comprehension.

We have thus given a rapid sketch of the life and actions of the Baron Cuvier. Viewing his claims to immortality we shall find that each of them was in itself sufficient to have transmitted his name with honour to the latest ages. Like Aristotle will Cuvier also be remembered as the profound and philosophic observer of Creation, the lawgiver to those branches of science which he founded and fixed. The reform he effected and the classification he introduced have done more towards the advancement of a real knowledge of the works of God than any mere zealous observer could have accomplished. His clear head, and enlarged and general views, simplified science and turned confusion into order; while his total absence of theory has preserved his labours unshackled by the heaviest obstacle which obstructs the student. What he stated he had seen and proved,—he has given us a great whole, and yet shown us the links which keep that whole together, the basis on which order is founded and science arranged, and on which man must build his rising superstructure of knowledge. More will be known, and changes must consequently take place; but the foundation will remain, it is scarcely too much to say, as long as the organization of living beings shall be directed by the Almighty on the present conditions.

With regard to theories, M. Cuvier invariably opposed the exclusive adoption of any one of them. He himself had in the beginning of his labours composed many, but further observation always overturned them, and he was soon led to conclude, that knowledge must greatly advance before the savant can be justified in forming any one of importance. It is the error of all theory to bend facts to its favour, and its framer, thus insensibly biassed, becomes at last blinded to truth. M. Cuvier never dismissed a young traveller, without beseeching him to content himself with reporting circumstances and observations as they occurred, and abstain from referring them to a systematic cause; and never did student submit to him a discovery as a proof of the infallibility of a favourite theory, but he told him to go and observe further.

M. Cuvier was admirably fitted by nature for a public lecturer; his fine commanding features, and the grand expression of his whole head, united to one of the clearest and most melodious voices that ever issued from the lips of an orator, riveted the attention; he was extremely fluent, and so rapid and unembarrassed, that while speaking he would often turn to the large black board which hung behind him, and with a piece of white chalk illustrate his statement by the most forcible drawing, with-

out the slightest pause or interruption. The nature of his last course, which he did not live to finish, being such as to admit of the presence of females, the lecture-room was crowded by persons of both sexes, who pressed closely upon him, and welcomed him with such demonstrations of pleasure, that he could scarcely make his way through the throng. He occasionally consulted notes, and thankful should we be if they had been of sufficient extent to give an idea of his final instructions to posterity; short-hand writers can give only a very inadequate idea of his eloquence. Some of the short-hand memoranda are, however, preserved in the Feuilletons du Temps, and these have been collected and published together, but without sanction or revision by the author or his family.

As an instructor, nothing could exceed the gentleness and patience of M. Cuvier; and where he saw a desire to learn, every means he possessed, and even many of the moments so precious to him, were devoted to the assistance of the student. His purse was ever open to the needy and unfortunate of all countries and all stations, and the stricken inhabitants of the most miserable dwellings, the well-born associate struggling with straitened circumstances, and the modest student, scarcely able to pay his fees, were alike objects of his bounty. Many hotels in the neighbourhood of the colleges and institutions, and in rooms five stories high, contained one, two, or even three young men, who attended the classes, and who by joint subscription contrived to get one volume at a time of the requisite books from the shop of a bouquiniste; and many were there of these who would be surprised by a gentle tap at the door, and on permission to enter, by the appearance of their revered master. He would come as if entering the chamber of a peer, and, with a respectful salutation, offer the assistance which he saw was so much needed; if sickness assailed them, no rest was known till he had procured relief and medical advice. Himself keenly alive to the slightest rudeness or neglect, and grateful for the smallest proof of affection, he knew how to give, not only with a liberal hand, but with a delicacy which never wounded the most sensitive temper.

The relaxations of our great savant were such as would have been tasks to others; he lost not an instant of time; he read in his bath, wrote in his carriage, gleaned information from the conversation of others, and composed his mind from the fatigues of the day by hearing his wife, daughters, or secretary, read to him for an hour or two before he retired to rest, which was seldom before one in the morning. He generally rose at seven or eight, gave audience while dressing, read the newspapers during break-

fast, and possessed the not uncommon faculty of listening to what was passing round him at the same time. His immense library was divided into respective sections, and tables with pen, ink, and paper placed in each; so that he worked in the section according to the subject which occupied him: this subject he could leave at a moment's warning, and resume it even in the middle of a sentence, without further preparation. With these and other modes of economising time he not only continued to execute the works we have already noticed, but many others, which do, or do not bear his name; among the latter were various prospectuses written for young authors, who would often be agreeably surprised when they returned for their own manuscript, to find one drawn up by the masterly hand of him whom they had consulted. His own prospectuses were models of that clear, concise summary requisite to tell all that should be told, and not one word beyond it. The introductory chapters or essays to his great works, such as the Règne Animal, the Fossil Remains, the Lectures on Anatomy, and the Fishes, are among the most important of his compositions; more especially that preceding the Fossil Remains, which as a separate treatise has reached three editions, under the name of "Discours "préliminaire des Recherches sur les Ossemens fossiles, appellé: "Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe." In this work we see the foundation of the geological system now adopted by M. Elie de Beaumont, and most of the great geologists of the present day. Besides these M. Cuvier wrote several elaborate articles for the "Dictionnaire des Sciences naturelles," and some other publications of the same stamp; the article headed Nature in the former is one of the finest. His reports on scientific works at the Academy were admirable specimens of analysis and sound judgment, without one spark of private feeling or partiality. As a specimen of his philanthropy, and his sensibility to excellence of all kinds, our readers would do well to read his discourse on the distribution of the Montyon prizes, in which they will find, that it was he who first taught the world to love and respect the pastor Oberlin, and his extraordinary assistant Louise Scheppler.

When we look upon M. Cuvier as a legislator, we must recollect, that as his memory retained all he had read or heard, so his earliest studies had especially qualified him for the office. But besides the laws of France, which called his powers into action, he understood also those of other nations. When framing and issuing them, he always tried to explain the grounds of their enactment, conceiving that those who were to obey them, would do so more willingly if thus enlightened. As President of the

Council he was obliged always to wait till the law had been discussed by each member, and then sum up what had been said; this he did with a rapidity and succinctness which often surprised that body; and when it came to his turn to speak, he would rise and electrify them with his comprehension and knowledge. Once in the House of Peers, when a military question was started, and confusion ensued in the debate, Cuvier would unravel it as completely as if he had passed his life in studying tactics. During his short career in this House he suggested many improvements in the corn-laws. His determined opposition to the Jesuits was a marked feature in many of his legislative services; he had no animosity towards that body, but he deemed their principles inimical to true religion, and the welfare of the state. Many have accused M. Cuvier of want of steadiness in his political principles, and the obligation he was under of taking several oaths of allegiance is brought forward to substantiate the charge. This is perhaps best answered by the circumstances of the time, and by the fact, that through all these changes he never became rich. His great objects were the good of his fellow-men, the advancement of science, and the preservation of order as tending to the two first. He would have been much more inconsistent had he placed himself out of the way of furthering his purposes, and of opposing his voice and efforts to the cry of the democrat, or the self-aggrandizing ministers of different governments. One of the best of all vouchers for Cuvier's honour is the very fact of his having been employed by four successive sovereigns, Napoleon, Louis XVIII., Charles X., and finally Louis Philippe, whose penetration prompted him to raise M. Cuvier to the Presidency of the entire Council of State, and whose personal respect and interest were strongly manifested during the few days which preceded the death of this great man. It was not because they feared him as an enemy (which was the secret real motive for the employment of some of his contemporaries), but because they looked upon him as a supporter of government; his noble rejection of the censorship, and his expostulations with Charles X. concerning the Academy at a time when by so doing he endangered his interests, as already noticed, had given him a yet higher degree of public credit, which inspired confidence, and made it politic to secure his influence.

As the minister of public instruction, his sound and moderate views were calculated to make him most desirable; and in fact, the ameliorations which he produced were of infinite service, and would have led to much more, had he not lived in times when every few years produced some political convulsion. His was no headlong system which placed all education on the same

level: he was a strong advocate for that extensive German education from which he had so much benefited, and by which he had been enabled to follow so varied and useful a career; but he was too great a lover of order to give the accomplishments of a nobleman to a peasant; he established schools which led to different degrees of education; he was the zealous advocate of normal schools; he caused various institutions to be opened in the departments of France according to the necessities of the inhabitants; and above all, he by his own private injunctions, as well as his public regulations, endeavoured to make the love of God and the Divine precepts of the Gospel the basis of all instruction.

Having now surveyed this great and good man in his characters of savant, author, anatomist, geologist, orator, historian, and legislator, we have yet another light in which to place him, and to which our attention is especially called by the illiberal attacks that have appeared against him on the most important of all points; and by those who ought at least to have attended to the truth. To establish the fact that M. Cuvier was a really religious man we conceive would not be difficult, but as to what particular section of Protestantism he belonged, there are no grounds for assertion or conclusion; for though fervent in private prayer, he never was heard to make a public profession of faith.

There were however qualities in M. Cuvier of so superior a nature, that they at once stamp him as highly religious. He promoted the cause of true religion by every means in his power, both public and private; he was a warm supporter of the Bible Society, and caused the Old and New Testament to be widely disseminated in every part of Protestant France. In his letters to the heads of colleges and masters of schools, he strongly recommended them to teach for the love of God, himself pointing out their duties according to that great rule. He constantly adhered to the Protestant faith, when it is well known that a change to the Roman Catholic form of worship would have been the surest step to the attainment of the highest honours in the state; he caused a number of chapels to be established in order to give facility for attending Divine worship; he in all his works refers the wonders of creation to the one true source. He never would receive any salary for administering to the interests of the Protestant religion—but faithfully discharged all the duties of this office with a zeal which showed that he had a much higher motive than that of gain or reputation. Humility and forgivingness marked his character; he was thankful for the correction of errors; gloried as much in the discovery of another as his own; and in the triumph of joint labours unhesitatingly gave the preference to his

colleague: he suffered even his servants to expostulate with him; and the very nature of his amusements was social and cheerful. He felt keenly ingratitude, unkindness, and injustice, but they made him sad, not angry. His antagonists openly indulged in the most irritating and violent taunts, or secretly intrigued against him; the former never excited him beyond a clear, firm, and dignified reply, wrung from him only when reply was absolutely necessary; and the latter nothing but candid remonstrance. To these high attributes we may add charity. The failings of others were never trumpeted forth by M. Cuvier; he did not even tolerate playful satire, however disguised by wit; his earnest desire to make all happy round him, even by a sacrifice of his own convenience; and his resignation under calamities which bereaved him of the dearest objects of his affection; all these things appear to us to establish his character as a Christian.

On solemn occasions M. Cuvier attended divine service, but he did not habitually frequent the Lutheran chapels; nevertheless their pastors looked upon him as their best friend and patron. We say thus much, because we have heard him accused of infidelity, and in the virulent assertions of a publication before us, we are told that his daughter "was uneasy as to the religious state of "his mind, and prayed for his conversion;" that daughter, be it observed, who, eminently pious, congratulated herself as being a female, because on her marriage she should lose that name which, while it formed her greatest glory, she felt herself unworthy to bear: that she prayed for him on her death bed is most true, but it was the prayer of a daughter for a parent; a prayer for that support which alone enables us to bear with resignation the heaviest misfortunes that befal humanity.

The temper of M. Cuvier was by many esteemed haughty and violent; these failings and a reputed political error have been much talked of. The error alluded to occurred in the reign of Louis the XVIIIth, to whom it will be recollected that M. Cuvier was Royal Commissioner; in this office he was bound to defend all measures which issued from his sovereign without reference to his own private opinions, as barristers plead for their clients whether they be right or wrong. When the famous charter was given to France, M. Cuvier made a most brilliant speech which proved that his feelings were deeply engaged in its favour. When that charter was to be withdrawn, or modified into a less liberal form, he was equally to speak in favour of the measure. But if to unsay what he had said was his duty as commissioner, and he performed it with a worse grace than any other task throughout his life, it must be borne also in mind that to confess the failure of his brilliant anticipations was no less his duty as a man, and still

more mortifying to a benevolent spirit. The struggle with himself was evident, and the error, if it be one, stands alone. That M. Cuvier was haughty is not true, but he was subject to violent outbreaks of temper. His highly nervous temperament with strangers often amounted to timidity; but in fact the source of some of his partialities was the entire absence of restraint during the first interviews. True to a moment himself, he could not bear to wait for others, and the non-arrival of a parcel, or a visitor, or the want of readiness in those who accompanied him, betrayed him into a severity of expression for which no one could be more sorry when the irritation was passed. Accustomed to accomplish whatever his mind desired, it was extraordinary to see how entirely his patience forsook him when things which required no mind were to be done; and in issuing orders which the promptest obedience could not execute. The employment of every moment of time was at the bottom of all this; that time devoted to the highest purposes. He was extremely nervous as to his health, and it was amusing to see how instantaneously he would seek medical advice. A pain in one of the extremities he imagined must be connected with some vital organ, and his countenance would instantly assume an anxious expression; and yet when the awful moment of death did come, he met it with the firmest composure; he traced the progress of his disorder, foretold its phases with calmness, bore his sufferings without a complaint, secured the welfare of others, and gave his final directions on every subject with the cool courage of a great and religious mind, and an unstained conscience.

But we have been tempted to exceed our limits, and have left no space for an analysis of the work before us. It is one of the last on which M. Cuvier laboured, and one of those undertakings of which by will he requested the completion. The generalities of the first volume and a part of the details on the organs of motion in vertebrated animals, had already been revised by him; and M. Laurillard has added the rest, and, in conjunction with the nephew of M. Cuvier, will finish all that concerns the nervous system and the senses. Dr. Duvernoy, also a relative and a worthy disciple, who had worked with him at the first edition, has undertaken the other parts, and has for some years been preparing for the task; the additions and alterations are marked within brackets, the greater number of which are made from the always growing collection founded by M. Cuvier, from his notes, and from the memoirs and regular works which have been published since the appearance of the previous edition. As the great author's Tableau élémentaire was but a preparation for the Règne Animal, so must we again impress on the minds of our readers that the Leçons

d'Anatomie comparée are but the preliminaries to the great work on the same subject, for which he had collected an immense quantity of documents, and made a great number of the most exquisite drawings; and at which he was intensely working when death surprised him: it was to this he alluded when he said a few hours before he quitted all, "Nevertheless I had great things still to do—all was ready in my head—after thirty years labour and research there remained but to write, and now the hands fail, and carry with them the head."

It will readily be supposed that a branch of science which had received so strong an impulse, an impulse given by M. Cuvier himself, must have experienced many changes and improvements during the interval which has elapsed between the first and second editions of this anatomical work; the original plan however remains unchanged, and each organ is still examined successively throughout the whole series of animals, its modifications and transformations are displayed with perfect fidelity, and its functions declared. Without a lengthened comparison between the two it is impossible to point out all the changes and improvements; but we must not fail to remark the greater extent which has been given to the general views in the introductory parts. The refutation of narrow systems by the Baron himself, is contained in one of them, and is as follows:—

"For ourselves, after studying all these systems with the attention due to the names of their authors, and after studying with still greater attention nature herself, it has been proved for us to demonstration that the former have been reached only by abstractions altogether arbitrary, and almost always incomplete in their elements, consequently inexact in their language also; that even in many instances the author has deceived himself only by using words not merely in erroneous acceptations, but sometimes in one, sometimes in another sense. Admitting that it is allowable to change at pleasure the denomination of bone, or even of covering, taken in its most usual sense, into that of vertebræ; admitting as allowable the restriction of this last term to this or that assemblage of osseous pieces, according to choice; what after all is gained by saying that the head or arm is composed of vertebræ? Nothing whatever—for the word in question is no longer received in its primitive sense, and a fresh definition must be made of it for every system. This definition is carried to such an extent as to leave but a vague and indefinite impression on the mind.

"On the other hand much will evidently have been lost, if, as we but too often find to be the case, to avoid or conceal the exceptions to these propositions a portion of the facts is likewise concealed. But let us admit that no error of this nature shall arise, still what is there gained by an abstraction of the differences of things, when there results from this abstraction no general property, no general law for the things it commingles and confounds? Far from advancing knowledge, it repels

it; for the nearer the sciences approach in their origin, the more firmly they hold to general principles. Like children, they have then only genera, and not species. It is, besides, shutting our eyes while engaged in the study of beings, to all that constitutes the greatest charm of that study, and at the same time forms its sole veritable basis; to those admirable coincidences, to all those concords, so complicate yet so perfect, which give to each the conditions of its existence and duration. For such systems the title of philosophic has been assumed, or other and even more lofty epithets; but we, who recognize truth itself as the only true philosophy, we cannot but grieve bitterly to find such exertions of intellect made to reduce anatomy almost to the state in which geology was before the Pallas, the De Saussures, and the Werners had extricated it from its swaddling-clothes; a time when every one set up an hypothesis to account for facts which he had never taken the pains to examine in their generality."

The osteology of the head is subject to more changes and additions than any other part of this work, in consequence of the numerous materials which have been added to the Museum in the Jardin des Plantes, and to the numerous volumes which have appeared on the subject, and which have far exceeded the space allotted to it by M. Cuvier. The singular but important question whether Galien described the head after the skull of a man or a monkey is set at rest by M. Laurillard, and the following note at the end of the first volume does so much honour to all who are engaged in the labour, and to the great man himself, that we quote it, as a voucher for the manner in which the task is performed by the above gentleman, and the son of M. F. Cuvier.

"It will perhaps create surprise that we should give in this work, which bears the name of M. Cuvier, another determination to the bones of the shoulder and the pelvis of fishes, than that which is found in his Ichthyology. But, if called upon to justify this act of temerity, we should reply, that upon stating our opinion on the subject to M. Cuvier shortly before his decease, he, after considering a fish's skeleton in every way, and for more than a quarter of an hour, at last answered,—'You may very likely be right' (Vous pourriez bien avoir raison). This was his usual phrase when assenting to an idea communicated to him. Farther, had we not had this high authority with us we should still have done the same; for it would be misconceiving M. Cuvier, and doing little honour to his memory to be silent upon a truth because it might not have occurred to him. He himself struck out new lights upon various subjects, and we have frequently heard him point out the anatomy of fishes as likely to lead to important results."

The part undertaken by Dr. Duvernoy is more systematic than in the first edition, and follows the arrangements of the "Règne animal;" we extract the instructions sent by M. Cuvier to him, in 1828, and which are given in a fac-simile of his handwriting in the commencement of M. Duvernoy's labours.

"I shall charge myself with the osteology, the myology, the brain, the nerves, organs, senses, and teeth. M. Duvernoy will, at the approaching vacation, undertake the viscera from our immense collection. In the meantime he can draw up a lecture on the fœtus and its coverings, and he will also discuss the egg. He can take as a guide on this subject the report which I made on a similar labour of M. Dutrochet's, and which is in the Annals of the Museum. A lecture upon monsters should conclude. The essential point is to confine oneself to the simplest terms, for we ought not to have more than six volumes. There are also many other chapters which he can revise if he chooses, but I beg he will apprize me of them."

With the modest conclusion of Dr. Duvernoy's introductory letter, addressed to the brother of M. Cuvier, we ourselves will conclude our notice of this portion of the noble work before us.

"Should my scientific life leave any traces behind, it will be chiefly for my having been twice, with an interval of thirty years between, the fellow-labourer of M. Cuvier. I must feel pride in having enjoyed to such a degree his confidence and his esteem."

It only now remains to note what is still to be done in close connection with M. Cuvier's own labours. The "Leçons d'anatomie" require the third, sixth, and seventh volumes for their completion; the "Histoire Naturelle des Poissons," continued by M. Valenciennes according to M. Cuvier's will, has reached the twelfth volume and is to extend to at least twenty; and the last Eloges require to be collected, so as to form a fourth volume. The most valuable auto-biographical memoirs, as late as the year 1822, and a pile of private letters, are in existence, few of which have been seen by any eyes but those for whom they were written: their value is beyond all price. The memoirs contain statements of events and the actors, of too recent a nature to meet the public eye at present; we encourage a more reasonable though but faint hope, that a selection may be made from the letters; for they comprise the liveliest descriptions, the real feelings, the most apt remarks, and profoundest views of one of the first of intellects.

Sixty-two years and nine months of life were granted to this vast genius, who appeared in the world in order to advance natural science, rid it of absurdities and obscurities, and lead to a better understanding of that Creator who fashioned the whole. He bore also the character of a good son, brother, husband, father, friend, and master; in short, a good man in every relation of life.

Since writing the above we have been informed of the death of the Chevalier Cuvier, the only brother of the Baron Cuvier, an excellent man, whose talents would perhaps have been more

generally known, had he not been overshadowed by his mighty relative.

M. Frederic Cuvier was born at Montbéliard, in 1773, and, as we have before mentioned, was established in Paris in 1795, at the house of his brother, where his wife died in giving birth to a son. In 1804, he was appointed keeper of the menagerie belonging to the Jardin des Plantes; in 1810 he became Inspector of the Academy of Paris. The cross of the Legion of Honour was given to him in 1818; he was elected member of the Academy of Sciences in 1826, and in 1831 was made Inspector General of the University; became one of the established contributors to the Journal des Savans, and received the title of Chevalier. In 1835 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and in 1837 was called to fill the chair of Professor of Physiology to the Museum of Natural History. His works all relate to zoology and physiology, to the advancement of which he much contributed; the greater number consist of memoirs scattered through the Annales du Muséum, the Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles, &c. &c., among which the most remarkable are, that article in the Dictionnaire headed "Instinct," "New Observations concerning Seals, Dogs, &c.," and many other most valuable remarks on animal economy. In conjunction with M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire, he commenced a large work entitled "Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères," which now amounts to seventy numbers, containing 420 plates, and forms the most extensive publication of the kind since the time of Buffon. His observations on the development and structure of feathers are quite new, and his reports to the Institute strongly evince the penetration, research, and impartiality of the author.

On his return from one of his journies as Inspector General, he was seized with paralysis at Strasbourg, where, however, he found himself in the midst of friends, especially Dr. Duvernoy. Every effort that art could make was exerted in his behalf, but the malady was too rapid, and too sure, to be capable even of amelioration. His son, who was sent for immediately, arrived too late to see him alive. As a savant, his loss is great; as a promoter of education, the absence of his sound, liberal, yet moderate, views will be deeply felt; but as a father and a friend, there is no possibility of replacing him: the very animals of the menagerie who were the objects of his daily cares, will miss his kindness. We understand that M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire has again been suffered to annex this office to his functions, from which it had been separated, and that M. Flourens is appointed to the vacant chair of Comparative Physiology.

ART. IV.—*Dictionary of the Artists of Antiquity, Architects, Carvers, Engravers, Modellers, Painters, Sculptors, Statuaries, and Workers in Bronze, Gold, Ivory, and Silver: with three Chronological Tables.* By Julius Sillig. Translated by the Rev. H. W. Williams. *To which are added C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiæ Libri* xxxiv.—xxxvi. c. 8—5. *With four Indexes and a Preface.* By E. H. Barker, Esq. London: 1838.

THE obscurity that involves the earliest records of Greece notwithstanding all the labours of learning and affection bestowed upon the subject by scholars of every age and nation, must upon every unprejudiced mind necessarily produce the conviction that her origin, from whatever quarter, was altogether unknown to her inhabitants at the date of legitimate history; and that the various sources to which these were contented to refer it being in themselves undefined, can remove the difficulty but a single step, and render further efforts through the usual channels utterly hopeless; while it further enforces the necessity of examining carefully all that remains to us any where, that might by possibility assist to point out the sources in question.

With the doubt thus resting upon the national existence it cannot of course create any surprise that those seeds of art which, all undeveloped, were sleeping and fostered in the very bosom of that chaos should be altogether concealed from our eyes: and that long after these must have been called forth into substantive existence their growth and progress are so utterly undiscoverable, that the very personality of the earliest celebrated artist is a matter of doubt, if not positive denial, to the learned of our days. It is probably too great a refinement in scepticism to question the actuality of Dædalus from the generic character of his name, since his acts and improvements are most distinctly specified, as by Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus: and even granting that the works referred to as extant were the productions of later artists, it is obvious, we submit, that the bare fact of their attribution to Dædalus the Athenian, is not only insufficient to induce a doubt of his existence, but goes far, on the contrary, to confirm it; since his identity was thereby admitted, and his celebrity established, in an age not so remote from his own times as that which has questioned both. The supplementary doubts of German writers, as to the improvements he effected in art, we shall pass over with the single remark that the previous and subsequent state of the arts, as affirmed by classic authorities, are amply borne out by facts unquestionable at this hour of *dis-*

covery; and we therefore hold to the first point; to wit, the name, generally considered.

We have only to look, in truth, to the practice of every ancient nation to discover the fallacy of the argument raised on this ground. In all of them we find that the office or avocation takes its designation from the subject to which it refers, the attribute it includes, or the talent displayed. The origin of terms could not be other than this: and though such appellative would be only a distinctive epithet, and not the proper name of the individual, yet we everywhere find instances of the latter being merged in the former, where this became of importance. Thus, though reducible to components, we cannot have a hesitation in admitting that though known as Phre, the sovereign, generally, each King of Egypt had a proper name of his own; that there was one, and more than one Persian *Xerxes* (Shirashe, the Glorious); that there was a Patriarch Abraham, though his name means but the Father of the Faithful; that Zoroaster lived, although thus designated as the Explorer of the Heavens; that Dalilah, become the Arabic for a salesman, once betrayed Samson; and Homer, though properly signifying collector, must have referred to somebody. Among the Turks and Orientals an attributive epithet subjoined, as Kara Mustapha, Timur Leng, the Black, or the Lame, is never considered to annihilate the person that bears it; and Boabdil existed, though oftener called El Chico by the Moors. Nay, in our own land the Browns and Greens are not merely resolvable into vegetable matter or refractions of light; tangibilities under the respectable cognomen of Smith do occasionally make their appearance at our police-offices if the newspapers are to be believed, instead of becoming Cyclopean Mythoi, however desirable this might be at such times; and our loaded prisons testify that even John Doe and Richard Roe are not pure metaphysics, though they especially deal with those abstractions of personality who, in mysterious language, "do run up and down" and are nowhere forthcoming when called upon. The Laws upon Debt are public documents, and fortunately still existing, to satisfy the most incredulous on this head.

It is clear, and not from direct testimony alone, but also, and most conclusively, from indirect testimony also, that pictures formed the first means of ocular communication; but this, as shown in our previous Number (XLII. pp. 349—352), to only a limited extent: and that Statuary followed Painting is the sole conclusion that remains to us from the little we can learn of the early past.

Though Tubal-Cain is noticed as a cunning artificer in brass,

not the slightest indication is given of his having adapted his labours to the imitation of forms. The pillars set up by Noah for the Flood, the first monuments that occur to us, are equally destitute of evidence in this matter; unless from the silence of the historian we conclude, as alone we are justified in concluding, that their bare existence was also the sole commemoration of the event, and that they were devoid of any specific signs, for posterity.

The Arabs, who affirm the existence of at least one ante-diluvian alphabet, can show no evidence of this assertion. We may therefore reject it, for it is but reasonable to conclude that had Noah been acquainted with it, his posterity would not have failed to preserve the original language after Babel. In the absence of characters it is therefore but fair to infer that pictures formed the first representative of history, as is clear indeed from the cases cited by Cory and others; from the authorities taken from columns by Thoth; from the tale of Menes and the Hippopotamus; and of the Boar of Adonis or Tammus, worshipped also in the "Chambers of Imagery" by the daughters of Israel,

> "Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
> Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
> His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
> Of alienated Judah."

And we may observe by the way that the word, happily rendered Imagery in our translation, is not to be taken as Images but, in the pure sense, representations on walls, &c., like those of, Egyptian Necrography, from which they were doubtless copied—as the "creeping things," &c. would additionally imply.

We may quote on this subject also from the positive and direct testimony of Tacitus, who says: "Prima per figuras animalium Egyptii sensus mentis effingebant, et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ saxis cernuntur."—"At first the Egyptians depicted mental conceptions by the figures of animals, and the most ancient monuments of human memory are found on stones." *Ann.* xi. 14. And Lucan *seems* in his Pharsalia to say the same of the Phœnicians; that is, *if* we are to understand "figuris" in the same sense as the "figuras" of Tacitus above quoted. This however is not quite certain. The tablets of Bellerophon are also a doubtful evidence. The same system of picturing thought may be found in the symbolical forms of the Brahmin deities, with arms for powers, an elephant's trunk for wisdom, &c.

The earliest and, so far as we can judge, the only valid accounts that have come down to us of the origin of sculpture, are two; and singularly enough, these are not only strongly corroborative of each other as to the fact itself, but also of the individual, and

some slight circumstances respecting him. The accounts we refer to are, the Hebrew and the Persian.

We read in Genesis that Thura, or Terah, called Tharah by St. Luke, was the first who invented images; and that they quickly became objects of worship is presumable from the fact of Rachael stealing the gods of Laban.

We find in the Persian accounts that afforded the basis of the Shah-Nameh of Ferdousi, so far as the former are preserved to us, that in the reign of Thamuras a great mortality occurring (the Orientals always find a cause for everything), images, resembling the deceased, were invented. There exists, and this makes the point more remarkable, some confusion as to the number of idols, whether one or many; and tradition expressly refers to an image or picture of the King himself, which, from the following versification of that ancient and wide-spread tradition, clearly combines the attributes of conquest, the conquered nation, and fire.

" Where murkiest mists involve afar
The terrors of the conqueror's car,
And yon red fires' unceasing gleams
Flash baleful midst unearthly screams;
There, reining with resistless hands
The winged steed, Thamuras stands,
While demons strained in bands of steel
Gnash, writhing at his chariot-wheel.
High on his helm the Simurgh* plume
Floats omen of resistless doom;
Fierce as when trembling Ginnistan
Confessed the victor-steps of man,
When to the Peri's aid he came
With charmed cuirass and sword of flame;
And warring fiends in vain essayed
The dread Sipar's† impervious shade,
Unharmed in even the etherial fight
Where sank the last Preadamite."

The Persian sovereign then was a great conqueror, a fiery warrior, (and as such designated,) who pushed his conquests over the Demons or Deeves, vulgarly called the Brahmin race, into Mazanderan on one side, and towards a trans-marine race, represented by men with fishes' heads, in another. This must, therefore, have been across Asia-Minor, or Mesopotamia. Terah, it will be recollected, went from Ur of the Chaldeas to Charan; the Arabs, who recognize his connection with Fire, call him Dhura, or Adhur, آذر, pronouncing the ذ like *dh*.

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* Simurgh, the wonderful bird. † Sipar, the magic shield.

The connecting link is supplied by the History of Assyria, whose sovereign, Thuras or Thura, a conquering warrior, subjugated Thrace, which thus took his name. He was the first to whose (a golden) statue idol-worship was paid, and he is represented by the planet Mars. This the Persians call אזר, Azer, fiery or red, pronouncing the ז like *z*, and call it the Warrior. We find also from the Book of Wisdom that, even to that time, (1000 years later,) red, that is, the fiery or golden colour, was the hue of the idols, as of the Phœnician image especially cherished by the wife

> " Of that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses fell
> To idols foul."

Although we can scarcely doubt the two profane accounts to refer to the same person, we must observe that the similarity of names here is deceptive. It is true that the letter *m*, מ, was an interfix, and expresses plenitude or potency; and also that in the East, and the Cuneiform inscriptions prove it in ancient Persia particularly, this letter was often passed over, even in writing, and consequently in pronunciation also, as it was and is still frequently in Europe. We do not, however, consider it to be so here; but hold the two words as essentially distinct in sense, and not less positively different in derivation. Nevertheless we do not for a moment question their application in the present instance to the same individual; and the coincidence of the three accounts is remarkable, especially when the chasms are filled up by the fragments of Arabian tradition. The whole topic we shall discuss in its proper place, but could not think the foregoing allusion to it wholly uncalled for here, though in the shape of a digression, from which we now return.

If we take then the time of Terah as about 2000 years before Christ, we shall find that not less than eight centuries had elapsed in the interval between the formation of images and the appearance of Dædalus and his possibly cotemporary, but inferior, rival statuary, Smilis. It is remarkable that the fixed immobility which, according to Diodorus Siculus, Dædalus banished from the face and attitude of his images, and which Ritter (Vorhalle, 235) conceives representative of the sublime attribute of Deity, affected by the later Greeks till, as Reynolds in his lectures observed, it often degenerated into insipidity, is the characteristic not only of the Egyptian sculptured forms, as we see in the giant statues of Thebes, but also of the huge idols of Bameean, and the Pali incarnations of the Gautama Buddha; to say nothing of the purest specimens of art in Hindostan; and of its being also in

the several countries the mental type of Godhead. The admirer of this sublime conception can, we think, desire no more complete and overpowering development than in that statue of a a Caryatid at the north end of the Elgin room in the British Museum which, all disfigured as it is, stands as to stand for ever:—the enduring image of a marble eternity!

It is not a little singular that the Dorians, from whom the Lacedæmonians were descended, should have rivalled the Athenians in love for sculpture, and even preceded them in its study and exhibition. Thus Dædalus flying from Athens was received with open arms by the Dorians of Crete, who cherished also his rival Smilis; and thus too the Eginetan sculptures preceded, and, though naturally therefore, doubtless formed a model for the later perfection of Athens in the age of Pericles. Of the specimens in the British Museum of the former, entitled the Phigalian marbles, one of those articles of popular criticism that justify the high reputation of the first of European journals, happily designated by the Edinburgh Review as "our own admirable Times," remarks that the heads are sharp, the eyes narrow and long, and the figures evidently not Greek. This observation seems consonant with the fact stated by ancient writers, that previous to Dædalus the eyes of statues were represented as long, and but partially open. It is consonant to reason to believe that the Doric Eginetans and others, therefore, represented with tolerable exactness the characteristics of their own countrymen; and as the Dorians, according to Herodotus, were Pelasgian, and as these oblique eyes and narrower faces are the distinguishing characteristic of Eastern nations, is it not from the foregoing rendered highly probable that the Pelasgians themselves were strictly an Eastern race? The more as we find them settling on the nearest main land opposite the central coast of Asia-Minor, namely, the region of Thessaly; where indeed, even without the direct aid of history, we find the most general and particular confirmations of the fact in the names of Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthia, Locris, Doris, Pella, Ossa, Pelion, Larissa, all purely Oriental, as their significative derivation will prove. In truth, after the invasion of Thrace by Thuras, it was scarcely possible to keep the piratical invaders from then marching overland by the Strymon through Macedonia northward, or coasting south and westward by the sea. The name of Dorus is itself but to all appearance an Hellenization of Thuras; and though the name of the Dorians is said to have been derived from that of their leader, we know, or at least have ample grounds for suspecting, that such a mode of putative origination is but the resource of ignorance, and only defers the difficulty; for, whence came the leader's name? We

trust hereafter to be able to show that the very confusion of Herodotus, though a proof of his ignorance, is nevertheless a still stronger proof of his accuracy.

From the first invention of images and the idol-worship of the statue of the Assyrian Thura, an act imitated fifteen centuries after by the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar in the same plain of Dura (or Thura), we have noticed a lapse of 800 years to the appearance of Dædalus, the second era of the art of statuary. A similar interval brings us down to the time of Pericles and Ictinus; 460 B. C.; which exhibits its highest triumph.

Having travelled out of the bounds of classical history to discover the first period of statuary, and fixed it, from Eastern and Sacred accounts combined, to about 2000 B. C., it may not be amiss to cast our eyes on sculptures in the general state of arts during this period, and on which want of room prevents our casting any but the most cursory notice. We must defer to a future period a wider inquiry into this subject.

A survey of Egypt alone would lead to a boundless field, and we can but refer to the statues of Memnon and Osymandias. This colossal statue was accompanied by those of his wife and daughter, and which, though gigantic, were far inferior to that of the sovereign himself. It is not a little remarkable that the idols of Bameean, also of unknown antiquity, present two colossal forms, a male and a female, but the latter far inferior in magnitude to the former. This singular coincidence of Egypt and India may not impossibly refer to the same individuals, possibly to the same period, and in all probability to that one principle, which symbolically enlarges the stature of a form in order to indicate superiority, of power or excellence, &c., in the individual represented: a common feeling in the East through every age.

Of Assyria, so well known to scholars, we need only observe that the gigantic statues of Nineveh and Babylon would naturally follow after the Persian domination: and in truth there is no reason to suppose that the image of Bel was other than the aforesaid idol, or worshipped statue, the name itself being generic, not specific of an individual.

In Arabia, the indications are too few to assist us in forming any definite opinion: and their historians are generally unworthy of credit on this head. We have details in abundance, but they are of impossibilities, and the truth mixed up with them can only be unravelled by long and careful research and comparisons with other and better authenticated writings. The testimony of Murtadi, for instance, and his account of the doings of Abumazar, are an absolute mockery, and such works can deserve no better estimation than as historical Arabian Nights, with their dreams; confounding facts with fancies.

Persian early accounts are confirmed by the impartial evidence of Masoudi, an Arabian writer of a different class and value from Murtadi and the rest of the tribe we have alluded to amongst his countrymen. The Persian traditions relate the introduction of letters and arts into Persia in the time of Tahmuras by the Deevs, and the existence of pictures and statues among them. Their oldest seat in Persia, the province of Aderbijian was reputed, and naturally enough, to contain both. The truth of these statements is established by Masoudi, who affirms that even in his time statues and pictured representations of forms terrestrial and celestial were to be found at El Sheez, the seat of the Magi,—and this word we may observe is not properly restricted to the sense of Fire-worshippers; being in reality the fair equivalent of Deev, i. e. Enlightened or Superior. When we notice that these representations contained forms of stars, we are at no loss to recognize Sabæism and its idolatrizing tendencies.

We may notice also that the reign of Giamshid, celebrated for the architectural glories of Persia, agrees in all its details of other improvements with those of successive sovereigns in neighbouring lands—as described by other writers. From this and from the length of that one reign, 700 years, while his predecessors ruled only for a natural period of time, that sovereign certainly represents a dynasty. The attribution of Istakhur or Persepolis to his time is scarcely borne out by the best native testimony, and yet during the period in question, buildings might have been raised there: but the remains we now admire were, it is now clearly established by the decyphered Cuneiform inscriptions, raised in the time of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, who are represented by their own inscriptions,* as sometimes erecting a building, sometimes only a gate or entrance; perhaps to more ancient structures. Let us notice too, after Morier's acute observations, that the style of some of the buildings is precisely analogous, or rather identical with that of Solomon's temple, 1140 B. C., i. e. of 500 years before the time of the Achæmenides.

We can only glance at the Etruscan sculptures of doubtful date and inferior skill to the Greek, but preserving the characteristics of individual and national feature.

The origin of painting is held utterly doubtful by Pliny, who states that "the Egyptians claimed it 6000 years before it was introduced into Greece; clearly, as he observes, an idle affirmation;" but one of the thousand proofs of their ignorant extravagances of history. Euchirus is said to have been the

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XXXIX. pp. 193—5, article "Lassen;" and see also Grotefend, Persopol. Inscript., 4to., and Burnouf, Essai sur les Inscript.;—by no means the least able of the three.

inventor; and the account which makes him the ancestor of Dædalus is borne out by the remark of Pliny, that, according to Homer, some of the shields in the Trojan war bore figures. Now as Philocles the Egyptian, or Cleanthes the Corinthian, invented painting in outline soon after this period as we are told, but probably introduced it into Greece; and Ardices the Corinthian, and Telephanes the Sicyonian much about the same time used lines within the figures instead of colours; (sine ullo etiamnum colore, jam tamen spargentes lineas intus) since communications between Greece and Egypt after the time of Cadmus and the Exodus could not have been very unfrequent, the art of painting can scarcely at utmost have originated in Egypt above one or two centuries before it came to Greece. This fact may greatly assist us to examine Egyptian dates of painted tombs, &c., and may fairly raise the question whether the marks consulted by Thoth were more than outline forms, and thus, somewhat discriminatingly in contradistinction to pictures, designated by Sanchoniathon στοιχειον, a *sign*, and perhaps *outline*.

In confirmation of our doubts as to the claims of Egypt we may notice additionally that about the time when that country began to be freely visited by the Greeks (B. C. 600—500), Cleophantus of Corinth first began colouring, and this, according to Pliny, testâ trita: with a ground or powdered material, which we should hesitate to call brick, though usually so understood. Probably therefore colouring was only in its infancy in Egypt at that time. From the testimony of Cornelius Nepos, it was known at the same period in Italy and doubtless amongst the Etruscans. We find, previous to this, Candaules patronizing Bularchus, and buying his picture of the battle of Magnete—700 B. C.

Recurring to the commencement of the second era with Dædalus, we find that, cotemporary with painting, Cora the daughter of Dibutades, of Corinth, first sketched an outline, that of her lover's profile in shadow; and her father filled it up with clay—thus originating plaster-casts, or medallions—1200 B.C.;—that about 400 years subsequent the soldering of iron was invented by Glaucus in the 25th Olympiad; and a little before which Bularchus the painter appeared in Asia. Two hundred years after, in the time of Solon and the Seven Sages, two brothers, Cretans, named Dipænus and Scyllis, became famous in sculpture of marble. But while among the sculptors of Greece Athens makes but little figure, Callon (514 B.C.), Glaucias (490), Synnoo and Anaxagoras (480), and Onatas (467), all of Ægina, particularly distinguished themselves.

Pisistratus the tyrant claims the glory of founding her school, and the name of Eucharis in particular illustrates and immortalizes

his taste and judgment in the arts. Yet even in his time so little had the art of colossal statuary prevailed in Greece, though undoubtedly common to Asia then, (the time of Cyrus,) that Bathycles the Amyclean, raising a statue of thirty cubits high to Apollo, is said to have left the body a mere pillar of iron, giving form only to the head, hands, and feet. Shortly after this, 488 B. C., Pythagoras of Rhegium introduced a bolder practice, and might justly boast to have turned the art of sculpture into a science, by establishing the system of abstract proportions, and giving to it a spirit and a soul unknown to his cotemporaries.

But Athens, if her parturition, as we have noticed, was slow, at length played the lioness's part; for about the year 490 B. C. she boasts the birth of Phidias; and a galaxy of genius and talent, native and foreign, adorn the long period of his life and predominating influence over art. His rivals, confessedly his inferiors, yet include the great names of Alcamenes, Critias, Nestocles, Hægias; as well as Ageladas, Callon, Polyclitus, Phragmon or Phradmon, Gorgias, Lacon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, Perelius; and their worthy successors, amongst whom we can only particularize Aristides, Dinon, Athenodorus, and Myron the Lycian. The latter portion of the time of Phidias was enriched by the names of the great Grecian painters, Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Timanthes.

From the appearance of Lysippus and Euphranor, and more especially of Praxiteles, and Scopas, the architect of the Ephesian Temple of Diana, we may date the great change, if not decline, of the art of sculpture; or at least that first step, and glorious in itself, which substitutes the perfection of grace and elegance for the loftier grandeur of majesty and might. This age boasts also Apelles.

The death of these great names brings us at once to the absolute commencement of the decline of Grecian art, which had thus run its natural course with a splendour never since to be renewed. In the 71st Olympiad, Demophilus and Gorgasus practised painting and plaister-cast making at Rome, 500 B. C.; and now, at the beginning of the period to which we have last pointed, we find Fabius Pictor decorating with paintings the Temple of the Goddess Safety in the Eternal City (306 B. C.). Names on whose diminished celebrity we need not dwell, bring down the long catalogue of Grecian glory to the time of Augustus, and the falling mantle of genius descended with no accumulative power to the colder spirit of the Roman artists. The Laocoon, and its sculptors, Polydorus, Agesander, and Athenodorus his son, conclude fitly the eternal triumphs of the statuaries of Greece.

The original labours of M. Sillig are so far improved upon in the translation before us, that our remaining observations must be directed to this in chief. We take the editor's preface at its commencement—

"The reader is here presented with what has been long regarded as a great *desideratum* in English literature,—*A Critical History of the Artists of Antiquity*,—by one, whose learning, acuteness, judgment, taste, and scientific acquirements are competent alike to decide questions of classical criticism and philology, and to appreciate the recorded performances of ancient Artists, and the existing remains of ancient Art,—with a noble impartiality and independence, and with a modesty and patience equalled only by the ardent zeal, and generous devotion,—and in whom is happily blended the spirit of candor which adorns the pages of a Markland, with the nice perception which distinguishes an Elmsley, and the laborious research which immortalizes a Heyne."—*Pref.* p. v.

We have a protest to make hereafter upon this assertion.

"Such a Work, executed in so admirable a manner, can scarcely fail to meet with proper encouragement, not only from Royal Academicians, practising Professors of Engraving, Painting, and Sculpture, the lovers of the Fine Arts, and the youthful and aspiring pupils, but also from Classical Scholars, who will find in this *Dictionary* the solution of many difficulties, which surround their favorite Authors in *Cimmerian* darkness, and arrest the reader in his career of poetic enthusiasm, or of philosophical contemplation, or of historical research,—disenchanting his imaginative musings, and disharmonising his ratiocinative processes.

"The Editor regrets,—(a fault, which may be remedied in a future edition,) that Mr. Sillig has not noticed at greater length, and with more minute investigation, the *Biography of the Ancient* Artists. He admits that he has examined carefully such facts in their personal histories, as bear on the Fine Arts, and many particulars, which have no such reference. But in a *Dictionary* of this kind every incident, narrative, or fact, which antiquity has recorded, respecting each Artist, should be specified, and any questions, which are connected with them, should be examined, whether they have or have not any direct relation to the Fine Arts."—p. v.

We agree with the editor, that the Greek and Latin extracts were necessary in a work of such profound criticism; but we think a translation of these not less indispensable if the work is intended for popularity; and surely, though we wish to speak with all the deference due to the valuable labours and profound researches of M. Sillig, the public, if not the publishers, had an undoubted right to require from the translator and editor of such a work, some, however slight, attention to the critical emendations; occasionally in cases too where they seem to require but a slight knowledge of a dead language, and the exertion of a little common sense, for their elucidation.

It is, however, but fair to the editor to extract his reference to this point.

"Such *typographical* errors, as the Editor has observed, he has noticed at the end of his Work; the want of access to books for references in cases of doubt, and the distance of the press, have been obstacles in the way of typographical accuracy; he is conscious of certain errors, which he had not the means of correcting, but on the other hand he believes that he has corrected several, which were in the original Work, while he is aware that with the aid of the proper books, he could have corrected more."—p. vii.

From M. Sillig's prefatory dedication we select two or three explanatory passages. No really great work was ever purely original.

"Some, who compare it with the *Dictionary* of Junius, may consider it defective, inasmuch as it does not embrace several articles mentioned in that production. The nature and reasons of the various omissions require explanation. In the first place, I have discarded all those names, which originated in the corrupt readings of passages since restored to purity; and I have introduced them at the end of the Work in an '*Appendix*.' Thus, if a reader should seek one of the terms Geladas, Eladas, which are not included in the *Dictionary*, he may turn to the *Appendix*, which will guide him to the article Ageladas, and in this article he will learn that they are only corruptions of the name last mentioned. If an Artist has been styled differently by different authors, (as Dinocrates, who is by some termed Diocles, by others Stasicrates, by others Dinochares,) I have given his history in the *Dictionary* under that name, which is most usual and approved, and the other appellations I have referred to the *Appendix*. Some Artists were called into existence by Junius, through a misapprehension of ancient Authors; thus, 'Mendæus,' which properly signifies 'of, or belonging to, Menda,' is received by him as the name of an individual. All such Artists I have of course rejected. I have excluded also, all mere mechanics, of whom a large number was introduced by Junius,—all inventors of instruments,—all artists celebrated only in mythology, as Agamedes, Trophonius, and the fabulous Deity Vulcan,—all who lived at Byzantium, after the division of the Roman empire,—and from among the artists known only by means of *Inscriptions*, I have admitted those who are mentioned on the base of some production, (whether the production itself is extant or destroyed,) as having executed it, and I have referred to the *Appendix* all, whose names are merely found in funeral monuments. I have deemed it inconsistent, likewise, to introduce in separate articles, the names of countries and cities, the inhabitants of which were remarkable for particular arts, and the names of princes, who patronised by their liberality."—*Pref. Ded.* p. xiii.

Again, upon a point utterly hopeless, we conceive,

"A distinction is made between '*scalptor*' and '*sculptor*;' but it has been a matter of dispute among the learned, in what the precise dif-

ference between these terms consists. Salmasius, (*ad* Solin. p. 1101. ed. Par., *ad* Justin, 15, 4.) and Lessing, (*Epist. Rem. Antiq. Spectant.* 1, 140, Berol. 1778,) contend that the word '*scalptor*' intimates '*an engraver on precious stones*,' while '*sculptor*' precisely corresponds to the English term '*sculptor*' immediately deduced from it. Other critics equally eminent, reject this opinion; and Oudendorp maintains that the verb '*scalpo*' was used in reference to sculpture less finely polished, and '*sculpo*' in relation to that, which was more elegant and refined. This opinion is supported by F. A. Wolf, who urges in his favor that the Greeks applied their verbs γλάφω and γλύφω, with a similar distinction of meaning."—p. xii.

"Even that MS. of Pliny, which is designated *Reg.* I., of the full value of which I was not aware, when I addressed to you my *Letter from Paris*, which you honored with insertion in the third Volume of your *Amalthea*,—considerably varies in the application of the terms before us, and frequently interchanges the expressions, 'marmora *scalpsisse*,'—'marmora *sculpsisse*.' In one passage, which appears very suitable to the present inquiry, 'Pasiteles plasticen matrem cælaturæ et statuariæ sculpturæque dixit,' (35. 12. 45,) this MS. exhibits the reading just stated, while all the other Parisian MSS. have 'scalpturæ.'"—p. xii.

M. Sillig observes further—

"How greatly ancient Writers differ in their modes of describing particular arts;—a circumstance clearly illustrated by the terms πλάσται and '*fictores*,' which have been excellently explained by Welcker and Jacobs, to whom we are indebted for a correct edition of the works of the Philostrati. (See also Hemsterh. *Anecd.* 1. 17.) On the word '*statuarii*,' occurring in the title, I need not comment; but some notice should be taken of another term,—'*cælatores*'—the import of which is not so definite and perspicuous. This word was at first applied to those who made small articles of metal, and was afterwards transferred to those who worked in bas-relief, whether their productions were of marble or of metal. As, however, the term '*sculptor*' is usually applied to those who carved on marble, I have employed the term '*cælator*,' '*engraver*,' in relation to an artist whose attention was bestowed on the engraving of vases and similar articles."—pp. xii. xiii.

We must now give our readers specimens of the work itself, and commence with the article Smilis, to which we have already referred, and which we grieve to find omitted, even to the name, in the new edition of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, enlarged as this is with most material information for the scholar from all preceding editions, and greatly increased in size.

"Smilis, one of the most ancient artists of Greece, son of Euclides of Ægina, contemporary with Dædalus, whom, however, he did not equal in reputation. He executed many wooden statues, the most celebrated of which was that of *Juno* placed at Samos,—a work noticed by *Paus.* l. c., *Clem. Alex. Protr.* p. 13. 51. Sylb., and *Callimachus*, as quoted by *Euseb. Pr. E.* 3, 8, in the following passage:—"Ηρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι

ξύλινον εἶχον εἶδος, (rather ἕδος, as *Bentley* properly remarks,) ὡς φησι Καλλίμαχος :

Οὔπω σκέλμιον ἔργον εἰς ξόανον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμὸν
Δὴ νεόγλυφον ὦναξ θεᾶς ἧσθα σανίς.
Ὧδε γὰρ καθιδρύοντο θεοὺς τότε, καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης
Ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λεῖον ἔθηκεν ἕδος.

The restoration of this very corrupt passage to purity, has engaged the attention of many learned men, and in particular of *Bentley*, *Fr. Callim.* 105. p. 477. Ern. Instead of *σκέλμιον*, *Wesseling* (*Probab.* 34,) *Valkenaer* (*Diatr.* 215,) and *Ernesti* have rightly proposed Σμίλιον. Receiving this conjecture, *Bentley* suggests the following alteration of the first two lines :—

Οὔπω Σμίλιον ἔργον ἐΰξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμοῦ
Δηναίου γλυφάνῳ ἄξοος ἧσθα σανίς.

Probably, however, a slight change proposed by *Thiersch*, (*Epoch.* 1. *Adnot.* 7.) improves this emendation, ἐπὶ τεθμῷ Δηναίῳ γλυφάνων, though the latter critic errs in suggesting as the concluding part of the second verse, ὦ θέα ἧσθα σανὶς, and as the fourth line,

Ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λᾶαν ἔθηκε βρέτας.

Bentley also has committed an error in proposing in the last verse, the substitution of κίον' for λεῖον. My own opinion is, that ἕδος should be retained, because it signifies, in the best writers, 'a statue in a sitting posture,' (*Böckh. Corp. Inscr.* 1. 248.) and this meaning seems to be powerfully supported in this place, by the fact, that Smilis made statues of the *Hours* in this posture, which will be afterwards noticed. The word λεῖον, which *Toup* (*ad Longin.* 365) and *Thiersch*, wished to change into λᾶαν, signifies 'smooth,' 'polished,' and thus the phrase, λεῖον ἕδος, means 'a well-polished statue in a sitting posture,'—an import which may be consistently retained, however it may at first seem to be opposed to the connection of the passage, because it is often impossible to ascertain from a *fragment* the full and precise meaning which a writer intended to convey. I confess, however, that the term λᾶαν proposed by Toup, gives a very consistent sense to the passage; for if it is received, we may translate, 'Danaus also fixed at Lindus a stone, in the place of a statue of *Minerva*.' The entire stanza of *Callimachus*, I would give in the subjoined form :—

Οὔπω Σμίλιον ἔργον ἐΰξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμῷ
Δηναίῳ γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἧσθα σανίς.
Ὧδε καθιδρύοντο θεοὺς τότε· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης
Ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λεῖον ἔθηκεν ἕδος.

" Besides the statue of *Juno* at Samos, just noticed, Smilis made another figure of this goddess, which was fixed at Argos : it is slightly adverted to by *Athenag. Leg. pro Christ.* 14. p. 61. Dechair, (see *Thiersch*, l. c. p. 7.) He made also, figures of the *Hours sitting on Thrones*, which were placed in the Heræum in Elis. This statement rests on *Paus.* 5. 17. 1. compared with 7. 4. 5. and *Thiersch*, p. 23 ;

and the correction of Ἕμιλος in the former passage to Σμίλις, is fully established by *Valckenaer Diatr.* 215.

"The age in which Smilis flourished has been accurately investigated by *Müller*, *Ægin.* 98. who controverts the opinions of *Thiersch*, l. c.; and his conclusion is, that this artist flourished about 100 years after the fall of Troy, so that the general remark of *Pausanias*, that he was a contemporary of Dædalus, must be received with some restrictions.

"There remains one passage of Pliny which demands our attention. In 36. 13. 19. this historian speaks of the *Labyrinth* at Lemnos, and mentions as the artists who made it, *Zmilus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus*. The last of these will be afterwards noticed; but it is the united opinion of *Thiersch*, *Müller*, and *Heyne*, (*Opusc. Acad.* T. 5. p. 342.) that the words 'Zmilus' and 'Rholus' are only corruptions of 'Smilis' and 'Rhœcus.' Now if we are to refer the formation of the *Labyrinth* in question, to the age of *Theodorus* and *Rhœcus*, we must place it about Olymp. 1., but as Smilis lived long *before* this period, a very considerable difficulty appears to be created. To obviate it, *Müller* (l. c. 100,) supposes that there were two artists of the name of Smilis, and adds the remark that this name, like that of Dædalus, may have been employed to intimate a person naturally adapted to the arts, and regularly trained to cultivate them. In this observation I concur; but if it is deemed preferable to refer the word 'Smilim' in Pliny, to the well-known artist of that name, and to suppose only *one* Smilis, we may adopt the plausible hypothesis, that the *Labyrinth* was commenced, but left imperfect, by Smilis, and that about 200 years afterwards it was completed by Rhœcus and Theodorus."—pp. 119, 120.

We next quote Dædalus—

"Dædalus I. In treating of this artist, it is requisite first to mention, that the statements of ancient writers respecting him, cannot be understood as exhibiting the true history of an individual, but rather as obscurely intimating the origin and progress of the arts in Greece; and in particular, the information, which is afforded respecting the place of his birth, and the countries in which he lived, seems to reflect light on the districts in which the arts were at first cultivated. The narrative of *Diod. S.* IV. 76—78, respecting Dædalus, is to a great extent, fabulous; and no reliance can be placed on any portion of it, unless confirmed by other authority. In this article, I shall first adduce the statements of ancient authors as to the personal history of the artist himself; in the second place, I shall notice the works said to have been executed by him; and in the third place, I shall consider the inventions which he is considered to have left to posterity.

"In noticing the information, which has reached us, of the personal history of the artist Dædalus, the name itself first claims our attention. We learn from *Paus.* 9. 3. 2, that all statues and images were anciently styled δαίδαλα, and as this designation was common long before the birth of the Athenian artist, it is inferred, that the name Dædalus was given to him on account of his productions. We have many similar instances of names given to individuals, to show either the origin of particular arts,

or the talents, ingenuity, and other excellencies of artists. *Diod. S.* (*l. c.*) and *Paus.* 7. 4. 5, 9. 3. 2,) together with other writers, state that he was born in Attica, but *Ausonius*, (*Idyll.* 12, *Techn. Mos.* 301,) and *Eustathius*, (*ad Il.* Σ. 592,) designate him a Cretan, probably because a large portion of his time was spent in the island of Crete. See *Paus.* 8. 53. 3.—The correctness of the assertion, that Dædalus was by birth an Athenian, is evident from various considerations. Thus *Philostratus*, (*Icon.* I. 16. p. 27, *Jacobs*,) says, Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Δαίδαλος ἀττικίζει μὲν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὑπέρσοφόν τι καὶ ἔννουν βλέπων· ἀττικίζει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα. —In *Plutarch*, *Thes.* 18, (on which passage see *Leopold*,) Theseus mentions his cousin-german Dædalus, as the son of Merope, who was the daughter of Erectheus; and hence *Diod. S.* places this artist among the Erechthidæ.—The name of his father is variously stated by different authors, *Plato*, (*Ion.* 363,) and *Diod. S.* designate him *Metiones;* and in partial accordance with this is the remark of *Paus.* (7. 4. 5,) that Dædalus was descended from the family of the *Metionidæ*. *Hyginus*, (Fab. 274.) *Suidas* (v. Πέρδικος ἱερὸν,) *Servius* (*ad Virg. Æn.* 6. 14,) Tzetzes (*Chil.* I. 19, XI, 379,) and the *Schol.* Plat. *Reip.* VII. p. 354. 14. Bekk., mention *Eupalamus*, as the father of Dædalus; but this person is said by *Diod. S.* to have been his grand-father. *Pausanias*, (9. 3. 4,) styles the father of the artist *Palamao;* and thus we have three names, contended for by different authors, all of which imply descent from some skilful and ingenious person. The Schol. Plat. (*l. c.*) calls the mother of Dædalus *Phrasimede*. It is commonly related, that Dædalus left Attica, after he had murdered a nephew, by hurling him from some eminence, under the influence of an envious fear, lest the rising talents of this young man should rival his own; and that he fled to the island of Crete, then under the government of Minos, (*Ovid, Met.* 8. 241, *Serv. l. c.*, *Hygin. Fab.* 39, *Paus.* 1. 21. 6, *Suidas*, *l. c.*) This king of Crete was disliked by the Athenians for reasons sufficiently obvious; and on the contrary, was highly extolled by the other Greeks, and particularly by the Dorians; facts, which inattentively considered, have led some to suppose two kings of this name. In the island of Crete, Dædalus constructed a *Bull*, and the *Labyrinth;* but these productions are so generally known, that it is unnecessary to dwell on them. From Crete he fled to Sicily, placing himself under the protection of Cocalus the king, (*Philisti Fragm.* I. p. 145. *Göller*,) and here too was he employed in erecting several great architectural works, some of which were extant even in the time of *Diodorus*. This author states that he died in Sicily; but others mention that he went to Ægypt, where he left monuments of his ability. (*Scylax Peripl.*) and others again assert, that he was a member of the colony, which Aristæus established in Sardinia. This complication of fables it is not within the design of this article, or indeed within the compass of my ability, to unravel; it must suffice to repeat the remark already made, that under the name of this artist are concealed facts respecting the origin of Grecian art, which took its rise in Attica, and then spread, in different circumstances, into Crete and Sicily, unless indeed we conceive, that the flight of Dædalus to Crete and Sicily was invented with a view to intimate the implacable hatred of

the Ionians and the Dorians. The passage of Homer, which will be afterwards cited, does not prove the *antiquity* of the assertions in question, because that passage simply states, that the *Ariadne* at Cnosus was made by Dædalus, and as the name of *Dædalus* is of extensive application, it may have been used by Homer in relation to any artist who had attained great eminence. There are many particulars in the narrative which show the hatred of the Athenians towards Minos; and it is particularly observable, that the names of Theseus and Dædalus are associated in the account of the *Cretan Labyrinth*.

"We now advance to an enumeration of the works ascribed by ancient authors to Dædalus. And in the first place, we must notice, among those in which he acted as an architect, the *Cretan Labyrinth*, made by him in imitation of that in Ægypt, according to the statements of *Diod. S.* and *Pliny*, 36. 13. 19. He erected in Crete, likewise, the temple of *Britomartis*, (*Solin.* 11.) and in Sicily, by the command of Cocalus, a place styled *Colymbethra*, from which the river Alabo empties itself into the sea,—a city near Agrigentum, built on a rock, and strongly fortified,—a warm-bath at Selinus, and a wall on Mount Eryx. (*Diod. S. l. c.*) In Sardinia he reared, at the request of Iolaus, many magnificent palaces, which existed in the age of Diodorus. He built a temple of Apollo at Capua, (*Sil. Ital.* XII. 102,) and at Cumæ, (*Virg. Æn.* 6. 14.)

"Among the statues, which he made, the following are noticed by ancient writers:—

"1. One of *Hercules*, fixed at Thebes, (*Paus.* 9. 40. 2,) dedicated to Hercules by Dædalus himself, on account of his son Icarus buried by him, (9. 11. 2. *Apollod.* 6. 5. 2.) probably this statue is referred to by *Hesych*, *v.* πλῆξαι.

"2. Statue of *Trophonius*, kept at Lebadæa.

"3. Statue of *Britomartis*, fixed at Olus in Crete.

"4. Statue of *Minerva*, placed at Cnosus.

"5. One of *Venus*, kept at Delos, which was presented by *Dædalus* to Ariadne, by her to Theseus, by Theseus to the inhabitants of Delos.

"6. Another statue of *Hercules* as *naked*, kept at Corinth. *Paus.* 2. 4. 5.

"In addition to these statues, all of which were made of wood, Dædalus formed several others, which have perished through the ravages of time, (*Paus.* 9. 40. 2, a passage which throws great light on 8. 46. 2.) and among the statues, which have been lost, was one of *Hercules*, which stood on the boundary of Messenia and Arcadia, (8. 35. 2.) Dædalus carved also of white marble, a very celebrated representation of a *dance*, respecting which *Paus.* says, Παρὰ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀριάδνης χορὸς, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειργασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. (This passage may be collated with 8. 16. 2. and with *Philostr. Jun. Imag.* 10. p. 129. Jacobs. See also the remarks of *Olearius* on the latter place, and *Heyne ad Il.* VII. 559.) The words of *Homer* referred to by *Paus.*, are the following:—

Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
Τῷ ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

" *Heyne* and other philologists rightly consider, that this was a piece of embossed work; and it has been excellently treated of by *Thiersch*, (*Epoch. Art. Gr.* I. *Adnot.* 19.) *Paus.* (1. 27. 1,) ascribes to him a *chariot* or *seat*, which he styles δίφρος ὀκλαδίας, and thus it is evident that he possessed considerable talent as a mechanic. There were also two statues of his placed in the islands termed Electrides, (*Pseud-Aristot.* 2, 1092,) compared with *Steph. B. v.* Ἠλεκτρίδαι Νῆσοι,) and one of *Diana Monogissa*, (Steph. B. *v.* Μονόγισσα.)

" In the last place we have to notice the discoveries with which Dædalus is said to have enriched Grecian art. Those *general* statements of his consummate ability, which are found in various writers, we shall not here adduce, because they suggest nothing definite or explicit. In regard to the statues commonly ascribed to him, *Paus.* says, (2. 4. 5.) Δαίδαλος δὲ ὁπόσα εἰργάσατο, ἀποπώτερα μέν ἐστι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις. The remark is compared by *Thiersch* with *Plato Hipp. Maj., Opp.* 3. 281. Τὸν Δαίδαλόν φασιν οἱ ἀνδριαντοποιοὶ, νῦν εἰ γενόμενος τοιαῦτ' εἰργάζοιτο, οἷα ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τοῦνομ' ἔσχε, καταγέλαστον ἂν εἶναι, and with *Aristid. Orat. Plat.* I. *pro Rhet.* 2, 30, Jebb. Οὐδεὶς τὸν Δαίδαλον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄνω θαυμάζει παρὰ τὸν Φειδίαν. It is well known that Dædalus made statues in the attitude of moving forward, and opened the eyes, which by preceding artists had been represented as closed; and this fact has given rise to the fabulous statement invented in later periods, that Dædalus communicated motion to statues by an infusion of quicksilver. (See *Plat. Men.* 97. St. = 384. Bekk., *Aristot. Polit.* 1. 4, *Anim.* 1, 4. *Suid. v.* Δαιδάλου ποιήματα. See also *Böttiger, Andeutungen*, p. 49.) Dædalus is mentioned as the inventor of the *saw, axe, plumbline, auger*, and *glue;* and as the person who first introduced *masts* and *sails* into ships. (*Pliny*, 7, 56. T. 2. p. 152. 156. Brot., *Varronis Fragm.* p. 325. Bip.)

" The sons of this artist were Icarus and Iapyx, (*Strabo* VI. p. 279, *Mart. Capella* VI. *Eustath. ad Dionys.* p. 379,) and he instructed Endœus, the Athenian, (*Paus.* 1. 26. 6.) Some have erred greatly in representing Dipœnus and Scyllis as his pupils, (*Paus.* 2. 14. 1, coll. 3. 17. 6,) because we know from other authorities, that these artists flourished about Olymp. 50. Among the contemporaries of Dædalus, was Similis of Ægina, (*Paus.* 7. 4. 4.;) so that from these two, who flourished about the time of Theseus and Minos, the history of Grecian art must be considered to commence."—p. 48—50.

The next extract we conceive deserves the strongest reprobation :—

" Polycharmus, sculptor, age and country uncertain. *Pliny* mentions as his works, according to the reading generally given, '*Venerem lavantem sese, Dædalum stantem*,' (36. 5. 4.) This reading is, however, far from being satisfactory; for it is by no means probable, that the artist would have represented Dædalus in an erect attitude. To remedy it, we must have recourse to the sole authority of Reg. I., (for all the other Parisian MSS. agree with the received text,) which exhibits, '*Venerem lavantem sese de dalsa stantem.*' At first view, these words present

no meaning whatever, but they may lead us to the following conjectural reading,—"*Venerem lavantem se*, sed et aliam *stantem* Polycharmus (fecit.") In order to perceive clearly the force of these words, and the distinction made between *Venus represented as washing herself*, and *Venus in an erect attitude*, we have only to recall to mind several statues of this goddess having the first of these forms; and we may appropriately cite the remarks of the learned *Visconti*, in his *List of the Works of ancient Art preserved in the Museum of the King of France*,—remarks offered in illustration of a statue of *Venus* of this kind, numbered 344 in the Catalogue just adverted to, but 698 in that of *Clarac:* 'Polycharme, sculpteur Grec, est connu pour avoir fait une *Venus au bain*. On la voyait à Rome du temps de Pline. La conformité du sujet traité dans cette figure pourrait faire conjecturer que c'est une répétition antique de cet original.' I remember, likewise, to have seen another statue of *Venus washing herself*, made of Parian marble, below the human stature, in the house of *Schweighœuser* the Younger, at Strasburg; and I trust, that this distinguished literary character, whose kindness I have often experienced, will no longer delay to favour those interested in the arts, with a description of this statue, and a very handsome brazen one of *Mercury*, now in his possession."—p. 101.

Now we cannot conceive, in spite of the ingenuity thus displayed, and the room for its introduction so ingeniously made, why Dædalus should not have been represented standing and in repose, especially in contradistinction to Venus washing herself. Ancient Greece was not like modern America we believe, where persons in the act of walking, it is affirmed, occasionally melt away with the heat, and leave only their clothes to terminate the journey. This might have been the case with the statue in question had Polycharmus represented him *flying:* but unless this *dissolution* was the artist's object, there is no reason that we can discover why Dædalus might not occasionally have been allowed to stand, like other men.

The discovery of *de dulsâ*, whatever that may be, in the Parisian MS., can little assist the case, unless M. Sillig had at the same time discovered its meaning also. At the first view, M. Silling confesses, "these words present no meaning whatever;" and we do not think the matter much improved by his effort at *second sight*. That the two letters in Pliny (&c.), or even the seven in the MS. quoted, should afford room for almost as many words, and making the author mean the reverse of what he says, is a mark of intrepidity in the subject of emendations before which we must reluctantly confess Markland and Elmesley must hide their diminished heads, in spite of the editor's compliment. We do not venture upon any such abnegation on the part of Heyne, keeping in mind the somewhat insidious courtesy of Porson towards that distinguished scholar, namely, that he should have left a certain

difficulty to him with the greatest confidence if he had shown as much skill in simplifying the doubtful as he had in confusing the clear. We ourselves should recommend M. Sillig, instead of effacing, to leave Dædalus as Pliny, and probably Polycharmus also left him, *standing*, in the passage.

We cannot refer, however, to the gratuitous correction made by M. Sillig of Pliny's text in this instance, without noticing another alteration, improvement we cannot call it, which immediately precedes it in the extracts from that author at the end of the volume, subjoined from the German writer's emendations. In the original it stands thus, commencing with a statue of Apollo :—

" Eum, qui citharam in eodem templo tenet, Timarchides fecit. Intra Octaviæ verò porticus in æde Junonis, ipsam Deam Dionysius et Polycles: aliam Venerem eodem loco Philiscus. Cætera signa Praxiteles. Item Polycles et Dionysius, Timarchidis filij, Iovem, qui est in proxima æde, fecerunt."—*Pliny*, l. 36.

It is tolerably clear that the passage to which we would point attention signifies, that Dionysius and Polycles, in conjunction, wrought the statue of Juno, in her temple; and that another statue, of Venus, in the same place, was made by Philiscus. This sense is so obvious, that to our humble comprehension it did not even require to establish it that following passage, where Dionysius and Polycles are specified as brethren, and as jointly forming the image of Jupiter also. M. Sillig, however, having forcibly given the statue of Juno to the one, and that of Venus to the other; though the word aliam, we submit, refers simply to the word statue, understood, and is placed in apposition with Venerem; leaves out in the subsequent passage the repetition of the two brethren's names, rendered imperatively necessary from the intervention of two other statuaries in the intermediate passage, in order to designate Dionysius and Polycles as the sons of Timarchides; and thus transfers the parent of these last to Philiscus and Pasiteles, if to any body. We give his emendated reading of the whole.

" Eum, qui citharam in eodem templo tenet, Timarchides fecit; intra Octaviae vero porticus, in aede Iunonis, ipsam deam Dionysius, et Polycles aliam, Venerem eodem loco Philiscus, cetera signa Pasitiles. Timarchidis filii Iovem, qui est in proxima aede, fecerunt; Pana et Olympum luctantes, eodem loco Heliodorus, quod est alterum in terris symplegma nobile; Venerem lavantem se, sed et aliam stantem Polycharmus."—p. lx.

We take another instance of this system of most extraordinary misconceptions, serving only, so far as we can see, for introducing a discussion or dissertation utterly useless, and proving how

learning itself is benefitted by the addition of a little common sense at times.

" Euthycrates, distinguished statuary, flourished in Olymp. 120, son and pupil of Lysippus, *Pliny* (34. 8. 19,) " Is constantiam patris potius æmulatus quam elegantiam, austero malnit genere quam jucundo placere. Itaque optime expressit *Herculem* Delphis, et *Alexandrum*, *Thespin Venatorem* et *Thespiades: Prælium equestre*, simulacrum *Trophonii ad Oraculum*, *Quadrigas Medeæ* complures, *Equum cum Fiscinis*, *Canes Venantium*." The reading of the passage is given by *Harduin*, *Brotier*, and others; but there are many difficulties connected with it, and which press, in particular, on the concluding words. In the first sentence, Reg. I. presents the more elegant reading, '*Constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam.*' Then it appears, that for the terms '*Thespin*' and '*Thespiadas*,' which interpreters have been unable to explain satisfactorily, we should substitute '*Thestin*' and '*Thestiadas*,' because these words have been frequently interchanged by transcribers, *Markl. ad Stat. Silv.* 3. 1. 42, p. 257, *Heyne Obs. ad Apollod.* p. 47. 136.) That the sons of Thestis, viz. Prothus and Cometes, (*Paus.* 8. 44. 4.) were distinguished huntsmen, is evident from the fact, that they were present at the Calydonian hunt, in which they were killed by Meleager. Thus it is highly probable, that their father also was a celebrated huntsman; but it is impossible to ascertain to what particular hunt the painting of Euthycrates referred. The opinion of *Heyne*, (p. 136,) that the daughters of Thespis, who became pregnant by Hercules, were the subjects of this painting, is certainly erroneous; for such subjects were not chosen by the Greeks for their paintings. In the next place, the words '*quadrigæ Medeae complures*,' cannot but create surprise. We may ask, 'Is Medea said to have been ever borne through the air?' or even if this be allowed, can we suppose that Euthycrates painted *many* chariots of Medea? Then also the expression employed, is not that required to convey the idea of Medea carried through the air: we should have had '*Medea in quadriga*,' not '*quadrigæ Medeæ*.'—The words which follow, '*equum cum fiscinis*,' are ridiculous; and the attempt of *Harduin* to defend them, has altogether failed. The closing expression, likewise, '*canes venantium*,' is inconsistent. From the statement of these difficulties, we must now proceed to the correction of the passage; and to commence with the last expression, which can be rectified more easily than the others, we propose to alter it to '*canem venaticum*,' on the sole authority of Cod. Voss.—In the preceding phrase, all the Parisian MSS. and those of Gronovius exhibit '*fuscinis*' instead of '*fiscinis*;' and that term is certainly preferable, though its connection with the context is not very clear. As it respects the expression, '*quadrigas Medeae complures*,' the Paris. MSS. support this reading, but Acad. has '*quadrigas Mede cum plures equin cum fucinis*,' and Voss. '*quadrigas Medei complures aequin cum fuscinis*.' On the authority of these readings, J. F. Gronovius proposes two corrections of the passage, neither of which is likely to be generally approved: '*quadrigas in ædes complures, Neptunum cum fuscinis*,'—'*quadrigas in ædes complures seque cum fuscinis*.' If my own conjectures as to the true lection of this passage are required, I will state them, though not without considerable doubt and anxiety. In the first place, instead of '*Medeæ*,

which in Cod. Voss. is written 'MEDEI,' I would read '*in Elide*,' a phrase which may be understood either of the district termed Elis, so as to refer particularly to Olympia, or of the city of Elis. The insertion of a preposition before the name of a town, is a usage frequent among later writers, and even among those of the golden age, (*Muncker ad Hygin. Fab.* 10, *Gronov. ad Liv. Epit.* 102, *Oudend. ad Frontin. Strateg.* 3. 11. 5. p. 412, ed. alt.) and such a usage has place in *Pliny*, 34. 3. 8, 'in Cyme dicaverat;' 34. 8. 19, 'in Pario colonia.' Of the truth of this conjecture I am confident; but that which I am about to mention, is more liable to suspicion. The reading of Cod. Voss. is ÆQUINCUMFUSCINIS; instead of which I have conjectured ATQUEINUNADEUMCUMFUSCINIS. An attentive inspection of these two phrases, will show that the alteration is by no means violent; for DEUM may have been omitted through its nearness to CUM, a corruption of which several instances are given by *Heins. ad Ovid. Fast.* 1. 287, *Markl. ad Stat. Silv.* 1. 3. 50. p. 190. Dresd. The same reason may account for the omission of UNA, or we may suppose that a transcriber employed the character I, to intimate this word, which character could have been easily blended with the terms connected with it. The signification of the clause thus altered, involves a much greater difficulty, because there is no clear and certain instance, in which Neptune is represented with *two* tridents; but that the clause does refer to Neptune, is evident from the very word '*fuscinis*,' as Gronovius has properly observed. Euthycrates made also several statues of *Prostitutes*, (*Tatian. Orat. in Græc.* 52. p. 114. Worth.) By some he is mentioned as the tutor of Xenocrates."—pp. 59, 60.

We must observe that the change to Thestis and Thestiadas, the king and princes of Pleuro, is scarcely open to question, but that Pliny makes no mention of a hunt, only of *the hunter*, which by no means implies a chace at the time. The doubt here is therefore superfluous. Of Medea we may say, that if there was a necessity for her being carried *through the air*, this she undoubtedly was, by her dragons, to avoid the rage of Jason. There can be no reason why the painter should not have painted several pictures of the chariot of Medea, and Pliny evidently asserts this when he puts *quadriga* in the genitive case, and governing also Medea in the same case.* The very context absolutely requires this sense, for the word *complures*, governing *quadrigæ*, governs also *equum*, which is but a contraction of the genitive plural. The word *fuscinis*, which we consider the correct reading, need offer no difficulty whatever now; for as Euthycrates painted several pictures of *Medea's chariot*, he also painted several of *horses with tridents*; that is to say, as in Neptune's contest with Minerva. We have seldom met with so gratuitous a set of difficulties as here started; and the last we shall come to is no less deserving the epithet; *Canes venantium* is perfectly correct and intelligible; the former being the accusative case, like *Herculem, Alexandrum*,

* "Many chariots of Medea," the Paris MS. reading, is far more ridiculous than any thing in the common text.

Prælium, Thestin. It is in fact in apposition with them, and not with the *quadrigæ* and *equum*, for Pliny does not mean to say that there were several pictures of dogs of hunters. Unless such difficulties and such conjectural solutions absolutely stared us in the face, we should be tempted to consider them impossible.

Of the notice that Phradmon is spelt *Phrammo* in the MSS. we take advantage to observe that this sinking the first of two consonants into the second, is a principle in nature, as regards speech, everywhere, and obtains abundantly as a rule; for instance, in Sanscrit and Arabic. We turn to the edition of Pliny by Gelenius, 1513, even, and there find this word spelt *Phragmon*, as by Pausanias *Phradmon*, and also find Polycletus specified immediately before him and after Ageladas and Callon, 87th Olympiad.

We give some portions of the life of Phidias, as a fair specimen of the author's learning, talent and zeal in elucidating the nicer points of antiquity:—

"Pliny (34. 8. 19,) observes, that he flourished in Olymp. 84; and the reason of this statement is obvious. In the period in question Pericles became the leading statesman of Athens, (*Clinton, Fast. Hellen.* ad a. 444 and 429,) and immediately procured the formation of many illustrious works of art, some of which were executed by Phidias himself, and others were made under his inspection. In the third year of Olymp. 85, B. C. 438, while Theodorus was archon, Pericles dedicated in the Parthenon the celebrated statue of *Minerva*, composed of ivory and gold, (*Euseb.* ad h. a.) and this fact confirms the statement of Pliny, or rather of the writer whose testimony Pliny approved, because it shows that Phidias must have commenced this very laborious performance in Olymp. 84. A different account, however, seems to be given by *Philochorus*, as quoted by the *Schol. Aristoph. Pac.* 604.)"

"We must first observe, that there never was an archon of the name of *Scythodorus*, and that the term Σκυθοδώρου must be an error of the Scholiast, or of a transcriber, who finding in Philochorus the word Πυθοδώρου, and conceiving that it involved difficulty, introduced a new archon, who should be considered as ruling B. C. 429,—a year in which Pericles was dead. These views are advanced by *Palmer*, (*Exercit.* 746,) and are approved by *Corsini*, (*Fast. Att.* 3, p. 217;) but it is questionable whether another opinion of *Palmer*—that Πυθοδώρου, in the commencement of the passage, should be changed to Θεοδώρου—is equally satisfactory and probable. The design of the proposed alteration is to reconcile Philochorus and Eusebius; but *Heyne* has properly remarked, (*Antiq. Aufs.* 1, 197,) that Philochorus, in narrating the transactions of the archonship of Pythodorus, had in view not the statue of *Minerva* made by Phidias, but the *accusation* brought against the artist, and that he adverted to the former only for the sake of illustration. The correctness of this method of understanding the passage will be evident on attentive inquiry; and thus the first remark of Philochorus must be considered to imply, that Phidias died in Olymp. 87. 1,

B.C. 432,—a circumstance confirmed by the second *Scholium* adduced, when the stops are correctly arranged, (ὡς Φιλόχορός φησι ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος,) and there is consequently no contradiction between Eusebius and Philochorus. (See the remarks of *Müller l. c.*)"

"I come now to the question of the *time*, in which Phidias made his statue of *Jupiter Olympius*. This statue is thought by most critics, as *Heyne*, (*Antiq. Aufs.* I. 203,) and *Meyer*, (*ad Winckelm*, 6. 2. 66, *Hist. Art.* I, 61,) to have been formed *before* that of *Minerva* placed in the Parthenon; but *Corsini*, (*l.c.*) *Müller*, and *Hirtius*, (*Annal. Crit. Liter. Berol.* 1827, p. 241,) have correctly adopted the opposite opinion, and this decision is supported by *Winckelm.*"

"I must remove some difficulties which may arise from the account of the accusation of Phidias,—a fact adverted to by *Plutarch* (*Pericles*, 13,) *Philochorus* (in the passages already cited,) *Diod. S.* (12. 39.) All these writers agree, that Phidias was accused of embezzling some of the gold entrusted to him for the statue of *Minerva;* but they differ as to the time in which the accusation was brought. Philochorus states that Phidias, after his trial and condemnation, fled to the Eleans, among whom he constructed his statue of *Jupiter*, and by whom, as some understand the passage, he was killed, as if in return for his services as an artist. But as Philochorus does not intimate, either in the former or the latter passage adduced, that any theft was committed by Phidias in making the statue of *Jupiter*, it appears strange and inconsistent that Phidias should have been punished with death by the Eleans; and as neither Plutarch, nor Diodorus S., nor even Pausanias, has at all adverted to such an act on the part of the Eleans, I regard the words, ὑπὸ Ἠλείων, usually inserted in the passage of Philochorus, as a ridiculous interpolation of the Scholiast. Philochorus *could* not have designed to make the statement in question; and in the latter passage, where he repeats his narrative respecting the statue of *Minerva*, he adverts to the violent death of Phidias, but does not state that it was inflicted by the Eleans. The words ὑπ' αὐτῶν can only be understood respecting the Athenians, since Athens had just before been expressly mentioned. Away, then, with the second embezzlement attributed by some recent critics to Phidias! Away, too, with the supposition, that the Eleans inflicted on Phidias the punishment of death! To the statement of Philochorus, or of the Scholiast, who cites his words, respecting the flight of Phidias, after his impeachment and condemnation, to the Eleans, we must oppose the following passage of Plutarch." * * *

"Here we have nothing respecting the *condemnation* of Phidias on the charge of *theft*,—nothing respecting his *flight*, and his statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, as *consequent* on it. It is explicitly stated that Phidias, after refuting the charge of embezzlement, was condemned on the ground of having acted irreverently, in connecting his own figure, with that of Pericles, with the hand of the goddess,—and that he died in imprisonment, though it is left uncertain whether he was merely confined, or was subjected to the actual infliction of punishment. *Diod. S.* (12, 39,) so far agrees with Plutarch, as to mention the refuted charge of embezzlement; and there are many considerations to prove the great probability of the narrative of Plutarch. Heyne (*Antiq. Aufs.* 1, 197,)

remarks, on the authority of Philochorus and Heliodorus as cited by Harpocratio, (*v.* Προπύλαια ταῦτα,) that the *Propylæa* were commenced, while Euthymenes was archon, in Olymp. 85, 4, B. C. 437, and finished during the archonship of Apseudes, in Olymp. 86, 4, B. C. 433. As the completion of the vestibule of the Athenian citadel was considered to render the citadel itself perfect, the statement of the entire expenses incurred was in this year presented to the λογισταί. After this period we have no mention of any public work projected by Pericles; nor indeed could this statesman afterwards engage in the improvement of the city, because the Peloponnesian War immediately arose. Thus we have an explanation of the fact, that Phidias was impeached in the year in which Pythodorus held the office of archon, and the whole series of facts becomes perspicuous and consistent."

The space we have already devoted to this subject precludes us from noticing with the praise we should otherwise bestow upon them, the articles Agoracritus, Antenor, Lysippus, Polygnotus, Ageladas, Mico, &c. The last-mentioned artist was fined by the Athenians, because in his painting of the battle of Marathon he represented the Persians as larger men than the Greeks—a fact which, if correct, was mortifying to the national vanity of the nation in general, though enhancing the peculiar merit of the victory itself.

We cannot however pass over the name of Praxiteles:—

"Praxiteles I., statuary, and sculptor of the greatest eminence, flourished together with Euphranor in Olymp. 104. This is expressly asserted by *Pliny*, 34, 8, 19, and is confirmed by the following remark of *Paus.* 8. 9. 1. Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τριτῃ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ, (see *Alcamenes.*) *Vitruvius*, VII. *Præf.* s. 13, mentions Praxiteles as having assisted in the construction of the Mausoleum; and from this statement we must infer that he was living in Olymp. 107. (*Amalth.* 3, 286.) The city in which he was born is uncertain. *Cedrenus* (*Annal.* 265,) notices him as one of Cnidus; but this is evidently a mistake, arising perhaps from the previous mention of the statue of *Venus* at Cnidus. *Meyer* (*ad Winck. Opp.* 6, 2, 162, *Hist. Art. Gr.* 2, 101,) contends that he was a native of Andros, and adduces, in confirmation of this opinion, an epigram of *Damagetas* in *Anthol. Palat.* 7. 355. But no one who peruses this epigram, free from the influence of preceived opinion, can view it as establishing this conclusion.—

Τὴν ἱλαρὰν φωνὴν καὶ τίμιον, ὦ παριόντες,
Τῷ χρηστῷ χαίρειν εἴπατε Πραξιτέλει·
Ἦν δ' ὦ 'νὴρ Μουσῶν ἱκανὴ μερὶς, ἡδὲ παρ' οἴνῳ
Κρήγνος· ὦ χαίροις Ἄνδριε Πραξίτελες.

The writer of these lines speaks indeed of *some* Praxiteles of Andros; but the name *Praxiteles* was exceedingly common among the Greeks. Our attention must be directed, then, to other sources of information as to the *country* of the artist under notice; and there is a passage of *Propertius*, the true reading of which has formed a subject of much

critical inquiry, which may throw some light on the subject. The verse in question (3. 7. 16,) is thus given by *Burmann*;—

'Praxitelem Parius vindicat urbe lapis.'

This reading, however, is properly discarded by *Lachmann*. Every good MS. exhibits "propria;" and this has led *Brouckhusius* and *Lachmann* to read "paria," though it would be difficult to explain how "paria" should be universally corrupted to "propria." For my own part, I prefer the reading of MSS.; and I would explain the word 'lapis' as designating alone *the Parian marble*, and the phrase 'propria urbe,' as pointing out the capital of the island of Paros. Thus read and explained, the verse implies that Praxiteles was a native of Paros, and that by his skill in the arts, he obtained there the greatest influence.

"There are two passages of *Pliny*, relating to this artist, which I will adduce, rectifying the text according to the evidence of MSS., and illustrating the statements which they contain. The former is 34. 8. 19, in which Praxiteles is noticed as a *statuary*:—

"'Praxiteles marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit. Fecit tamen ex ære pulcherrima opera: *Proserpinæ Raptum*, item *Catagusam*:* et *Liberum Patrem* et *Ebrietatem* nobilemque una *Satyrum*, quem Græci *Periboëton*† cognominant. Signa etiam, quæ ante Felicitatis ædem fuere, *Veneremque*, quæ cum ipsa æde incendio cremata est Claudii principatu, marmoreæ illi suæ per terras inclytæ parem. Item *Stephusam*, *Spilumenen*, *Œnophorum*, *Harmodium et Aristogitonem Tyrannicidas*, quos a Xerxe Persarum rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus Alexander.‡ Fecit et *Puberem Apollinem subrepenti Lacertæ cominus Sagitta insidiantem*, quem *Sauroctonon* vocant. Spectantur et duo signa ejus adfectus exprimentia, *Flentis Matronæ* et *Meretricis Gaudentis*. Hanc putant *Phrynen* fuisse, deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis, et mercedem in vultu meretricis. Habet simulacrum et benignitas ejus. Calamidis enim quadrigæ aurigam suum imposuit, ne melior in equorum effigie, defecisse in homine crederetur.'

"The other passage of *Pliny*, in which *Praxiteles* is treated of as a *sculptor*, is 36. 5. 4:—

"'Praxitelis ætatem inter statuarios diximus, qui marmoris gloria superavit etiam semet. Opera ejus sunt Athenis in Ceramico;§ sed

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* "The import of the word 'Catagusam' has been mistaken by *Harduin* ad loc., and *Meyer Hist. Art.* 2, 112, who apply it to Ceres leading back her daughter. This idea would obviously require the term 'Anagusam.' The former word relates to Ceres conducting Proserpine to Pluto, according to an arrangement between them; and the statement of Pliny seems to intimate, that Praxiteles made this figure in contrast to that, which represents the rape of Proserpine. This view is perhaps confirmed by an excellent painted vase, in Millingen's *Ancient Inedited Monuments*, p. 1. tab. 16."

† "Respecting this figure, see *Paus.* 1. 20. 1. *Pliny* seems to have confounded *two Satyrs* made by Praxiteles; for that styled Περιβοητός, stood *alone* in the "Via Tripodum' at Athens, and was quite different from the one which was associated with the figure of *Intoxication*, and that of *Bacchus*. *Meyer Hist. Art.* 1, 117."

‡ "*Pliny* here strangely confounds the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogito*, made by Praxiteles, with other figures of these heroes, of a much more ancient date. See *Antenor*."

§ "It is altogether uncertain *what* works of Praxiteles were placed in the Ceramicus."

ante omnia, et non solum Praxitelis, verum et in toto orbe terrarum, *Venus*, quam ut viderent, multi navigaverunt Cnidum. *' "

The lines immediately following we separate from the preceding portion, in order to point them out as an additional instance of learned oversights, as we shall presently show from the notes:—

" 'Duas fecerat, simulque vendebat, alteram *velata specie*, quam ob id quidem prætulerunt, quorum conditio erat, Coi, cum alteram etiam eodem pretio detulisset, *severum* id ac *pudicum* arbitrantes; rejectam Cnidii emerunt, immensa differentia famæ.' "

After details so interesting it is painful to recur to a note like the following, referring to our last Latin quotation from Pliny:—

" The expression " velata specie" presents difficulties, which no philologist has hitherto been able to solve. *Böttiger* (*Andeut.* 171,) and *Meyer* (*Hist. Art. Gr.* 2. 109.) consider the historian to mean, that the lower part of the body was represented as covered; but I am unable to discover how such a meaning can be consistently assigned to the words. The term 'species' corresponds to the English 'appearance;' and this may lead us to conjecture, that the true reading is 'velatam specie,' 'covered in appearance,' i. e. invested with a garment, which, while it seemed designed to hide the person, really exposed it to view. Several considerations, however, militate against this conjecture; and I am rather induced to believe that Pliny wrote 'velatam speciose,' 'clothed beautifully,' or 'handsomely.' But this hypothesis I must leave to the decision of others. It is the opinion of *Visconti*, (*Descr. des Antiques du Musée Royal*, Paris, 1817, p. 59,) that a statue still preserved in the Royal Museum at Paris, (nr. 185, *Catal. Clarac*,) was made in imitation of the statue of *Venus* purchased by the Coans. But this opinion is inconsistent with the fact, that the statue of *Venus* at Paris has the figure of *Cupid* associated with it."

The merest Tyro, we imagine, would scarcely be at a loss to understand that *specie* here does not necessarily differ in case from *velata;* and though placing this last in the accusative might furnish a plausible reading, especially as *m* so frequently suffered ellipsis, the text gives a purer style as it stands, velata specie, this being simply the ablative case; or, to our thinking, more probably the ablative absolute. The difference of these however is certainly trifling; for it is of no consequence whether we read in the former " the other, with the figure clothed," or as the latter, " the other, the figure being clothed." Such oversights as these are surely injurious alike to the author, the editor, and the work itself.

The following enumeration of the labours of this immortal artist will, we think, be highly interesting to even the most careless reader, as well as to every lover of the arts:—

* " Usually the comma has been placed after 'multi,' not after 'viderent;' but such a mode of punctuation is evidently ridiculous."

" Having adduced and illustrated these passages of Pliny, I will now enumerate some additional productions of Praxiteles, mentioned by ancient writers, beginning with those of males, whether among the deities or among men, and then adverting to those of females. It is, however, to be regretted, that in many instances we are unable to specify the materials of which the figures in question were composed :—

" 1. Statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, placed at Megara, (*Paus.* 1. 44. 2.)

" 2. A statue of *Bacchus* in Elis, (6. 26. 1.)

" 3. A statue of *Mercury carrying Bacchus when an infant*, made of marble, (5. 17. 1.)

" 4. A figure of *Æsculapius*, placed in the grove of Trophonius at Lebadea, (9. 39. 3.)

" 5. A figure of a *Satyr*, made of Parian marble, and kept at Megara, (1. 43. 5.) This production must obviously be distinguished from the *brazen* figure of a *Satyr*, executed by Praxiteles, and styled Περιβοητός.

" 6. A figure of *Pan carrying a leathern Bottle, and accompanied by the Nymphs and Danaë.* All the figures of this group were made of Parian marble. *Nicomedes* in *Anth. Palat.* 6. 317, *Poët. Incert.* in *Append. Anthol. Palat.* 2, 705. The particular way in which they were associated is uncertain.

" 7. Statues of the *Twelve Deities*, placed at Megara in an ancient temple. All of them were considered to be the work of Praxiteles, with the exception of that of *Diana*, which was made by Strongylio.

" 8. Figures representing *the Labours of Hercules*, placed on the roof of a temple dedicated to this hero, at Thebes. His *Contest with the Birds of Stymphalus*, and his *Cleansing of the Stables of Augeas*, were not introduced; and in the place of them, the sculptor gave his *Wrestling-match with Antæus*, (*Paus.* 9. 11. 4.)

" 9. A figure of a *Soldier with a Horse, standing on a Tomb.* It is uncertain whom the artist designed to represent. The production was kept at Athens, (1. 2. 3.)

" 10. A figure of *Juno sitting on a Throne, with Minerva and the Goddess of Youth standing near.* This work was placed in the temple of Juno at Mantinea. (8. 9. 1.)

" 11. A large figure of *Juno as the Goddess presiding over Marriage*, and one of *Rhea delivering to Saturn a Stone bound up in Cloths.* Both these statues were made of Pentelesian marble, and were placed in the temple of the former goddess at Platæa. (9. 2. 5.)

" 12. A statue of *Diana Brauronia* in the citadel of Athens, (1. 23. 9.) See also *Böttiger, Andeut.* 163.

" 13. A statue of *Diana* at Anticyra in Phocis, *Paus.* (10. 37. 1.) Δᾷδα ἔχουσα. ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν κύων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. μέγεθος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην γυναῖκα τὸ ἄγαλμα.

" 14. A statue of *Ceres, accompanied by Proserpine and Iacchus*, placed in the temple of the goddess at Athens, (1. 2. 4, *Clem. Alex. Protr.* p. 41. Sylb.)

" 15. A marble statue of *Venus*, at Thespiæ, (*Paus.* 9. 27. 4.)

" 16. A statue of *Venus*, placed at Alexandria, a city of Caria, near Mount Latmas, (*Steph. B. v.*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια.)

" 17. A figure of *Latona*, dedicated in the temple of this goddess at Argos, (*Paus.* 2. 21. 10.)

" 18. A figure of *Latona accompanied by her Children*, kept at Mantinea. On the base of this production were carved a *Muse*, and *Marsyas playing on the Flute.* (8. 9. 1.)

" 19. Figures designed to represent the goddesses of *Persuasion* and *Consolation*, placed in the temple of Venus at Megara, (1. 43. 6.) In his remarks on this passage of *Paus.*, *Siebelis* has erred in the explanation of the word Παρηγόρος: it points out a goddess, whose peculiar province it was *to console married females on the loss of their virginity.* See *Böttiger, Nupt. Aldobrand.* p. 40.

" 20. A statue of the goddess *Fortune*, placed in her temple at Megara, (*Paus.* 1. 43. 6.)

" 21. A marble statue of *Phryne*, placed at Thespiæ, (9. 27. 4.)

" 22. A gilt statue of *Phryne*, placed by this prostitute herself in the temple of Delphi, (10. 14. 5, *Plut. de Pyth. Orac.* 15, *Athen.* 13, p. 591, *Tatian adv. Gr.* 53, p. 115. Worth.)

" In addition to these productions, *Strabo* (XIV. p. 641,) mentions several works of Praxiteles, placed in the temple of Diana at Ephesus. It was disputed among the ancients whether the figures of *the Children of Niobe dying*, were made by this artist or by *Scopas;* but the author of an epigram in *Anth. Gr.* 4. 9. 129, (*Append. Anth. Palat.* 2. 664. Jac.) and *Ausonius*, (*Heroum Epit.* 28.) ascribe them to Praxiteles.

" In regard to a colossal figure at Rome, bearing the name of Praxiteles, see the remarks of *J. M. Wagner*, referred to at the end of the article *Phidias.* *Junius* (*Catal.* 182.) mentions, on the authority of one *Zygomalas*, two figures of *Horses* made by this artist, and dedicated at Athens by the emperor Hadrian; but the correctness of this statement may be left to the decision of those who are acquainted with the work of Zygomalas.

" The narrative given in *Diog. L.* 5. 2. 14, respecting a will of *Theophrastus*, in which he requested Praxiteles to finish a statue of *Nicomachus*, is either totally fictitious, or, at the least, cannot be understood in relation to the artist under notice. *Theophrastus* died in Olymp. 123. 2. (*Clinton Fast. Hellen.* 161.) and at that period Praxiteles could not have been living.

" Praxiteles availed himself of the assistance of *Nicias* the painter, in embellishing his statues, (*Pliny*, 35. 11.)

" In respect to the peculiar merits of this artist, *Quintilian* observes, (12. 10.) that he and *Lysippus* were eminent for the near approach of their figures to nature; and *Auctor ad Herennium*, 4, 6, particularly commends the arms of his statues.

" His sons were Timarchus and Cephisodotus the younger, (*Pseudo-Plut. Vit.* X. *Orat.* 843—4, 258. W.) They are alluded to by *Paus.* (1. 8. 5, 9. 12. 5,) but without the mention of their names."

This work on the whole is invaluable for the library of the amateur and the lover of antiquity, and also for artists, &c. as filling up many chasms in the History of Art.

ART. V.—*Das Leben Jesu* (The Life of Jesus), von Dr. David F. Strauss. Tübingen. 1837.

THE Reformation produced amid the intelligent population of this country an effect analogous to the motives of its originators. It was their intention to arouse the thinking spirit of Christianity, to awaken men to a vivid and strong sense of heavenly hope, to revive the torpid reason, and to apply its powers to all subjects on which they possessed a capacity of investigation. Accordingly we find the theology of England of a careful and guarded character, full of the rational power, and but slightly inclining to the pathetic or the passionate. The very spirit of Protestantism has in it the stubbornness of Luther, and it rarely stoops below the high rationality at which the Reformers placed it. Hence it may be, perhaps, that much has been lost to us of that oratorical splendour and those affecting touches of sympathy which are found anywhere rather than in the stern dogmatism of school theology. It is certain that we have defined somewhat too faintly the extent of the power of the Church, and that there exists already a deep necessity for some serious alteration in discipline. Luther cleared the great question from the lumber of ages, by proving satisfactorily that we are justified by faith only, and not by our own works or deserts in a meritorious point of view. Whether in placing that point clearly before the eye of the world he may not have stretched the doctrine as far as its limits admit, and something further, we shall not here discuss; suffice it say that he opened the arena of disputation, and the children of thought and reason soon filled it with numerous able and efficient combatants. The Bible became in consequence the Book of Earth; and every man, qualified or not, felt disposed to draw his own conclusions from particular reading. The immediate successors of this class of men soon drew rash and sweeping conclusions; a variety of opinions became current on the passages of Scripture; and large sectarianism necessarily followed the ill-guarded assertion that the Scriptures are altogether capable of private interpretation, which would supersede the necessity of a priesthood to teach them. These and a cry for liberality and toleration, both to such an extent that licentiousness and indifferentism were far properer terms of description, were the early effects of the novel system. Penal statutes consequently vanished; alterations were made in all restrictive enactments; and by a singular working of the reformed principles round upon the great political engine, the Roman Catholic and the Dissenter have been admitted on equal terms into the senate. All this for a time may appear distracting; and certainly the position of

the government of this country, which has been all things to all men, and has merged the legislator in the wrangling partisan, affords at present any but an agreeable prospect to the calm defender of the truths which the Reformation brought to light. But still amid all this commotion we think that we can trace wide and vast combinations already exhibiting moral and religious power of the highest character; and we trust that a careful examination and removal of the incidental errors incrusting our institutions will give us in glorious detail the mighty tracery of the past, and teach us that the sources of real elevation of thought and mind lie in a just combination of the wisdom that has been with the power that *is*. No man should slight the experience of ages. Could we cite the exploded errors of antiquity, such as we imagine them; could we call up the Magian from his sleep of centuries, he would tell us of many mighty common principles, and astonish us by developing truths akin to Christianity, and which partake even of modern lustre and light. Great truths have been seldom unknown, however veiled in allegory and obscured in mysticism. In this country the voice of time brings with it a deep and soul-hallowing feeling, which forms while it lives the best guarantee for our ancient institutions; and when the love of novelty and change supersedes this feeling, we shall become sunken in strain, and lost even to the sense of the sources of our national elevation. But it is not so on the continent, and more especially in the country of the great reformer which is, becoming filled with a class of certainly original thinkers, though too often most originally wrong. Neology, and not Theology—Variation and not Fixity is their united pursuit. These men understand an apostle infinitely better than he did himself.*

The neologist is not content with harmless originality; he lops and cuts away the Scriptures, reduces the whole system to his own views, and without denying overtly their truth, covertly insinuates that the Evangelists were constantly in error, and their Master a deceiver. A different conclusion than this from their mystical interpretation, their sly insinuations, and their contempt of all the miraculous portion of the Scriptures, cannot be drawn. Many of them have in their very writings so buried and involved themselves and their thoughts, that but few readers will be at the pains to extract any thing from such literary lumber, however

* This conduct recals the remark once made by an excellent but eccentric divine, who speculated largely in a visitation sermon on certain opinions possibly held by the Apostles, but never expressed by them: one of his audience observing that he came to church to be taught the positive opinions of the Apostles, and not their putative notions according to the showing of the Rev. Doctor.

vividly here and there the flash of intellectual discussion may show itself. These observations, however, cannot be understood as applying to the author of the Leben Jesu. Close, argumentative, discriminating, he rarely pens a line that does not contain in it, even if the argument itself be not new, at least a new method of putting it forth. There is not much of originality in what he has to urge, but it is briefly condensed and closer pressed than in any writer of the same class. To describe precisely what he is relative to Christianity would be difficult. He certainly discredits all miraculous operation—trims the evangelistic account to what he considers should be its form—denies our Lord a divine nature—and attempts to mysticise the whole subject: all this, too, in so strange a manner, that to us it is only wonderful he does not appear conscious that the Book of Life cannot, on his own showing, be taught to any but a few gifted individuals who enter into his precise views. Few works have entailed upon their author so many attacks; and without creating alarm in our readers, for our own observations will be brief, it may be safely affirmed that the controversy would form a library in itself.

It is clearly impossible to include within a review all the subjects of these two formidable octavos; and we must content ourselves therefore with the most material points, passing over the genealogy, which has been so often answered; the early history of Jesus; the account of John the Baptist; the character of the apostle John; and other points of minor importance.

We grieve to confess that our own opinion of the book is far below its appreciation abroad. Freely bestowing upon the author the praise we have already given in the conduct of the arguments as selected by himself, we still must often consider these in themselves as vague, insufficient, and even puerile: priding himself evidently upon ingenious reasoning, various research, and profound learning, we most reluctantly state that these but too often are quibbling, bounded, shallow, and inaccurate.

We willingly concede to Dr. Strauss his early facts, viz. that the Jewish nation, at the time of our Lord's advent, expected miracles from their Messiah, anticipating in him a second Moses and the greatest of the prophets. The expectation was perfectly natural with such a passage as this in Isaiah,—"Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence; he will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert."—

xxxv. 3—6. The whole tenor of the ancient Jewish writings possessed the leaning and the force of the above extraordinary passage; the strain was continuous; and the evangelists only struck the national chord when they wrote of the miraculous power of the Saviour.

It cannot then but excite surprise in every intelligent and candid reader of Scripture, to find Neology adducing this continuity, which the rest of the world in its wisdom has deemed satisfactory evidence to the truth of Jesus, as itself opposed to Christianity, between which and Judaism there must be the most perfect concord up to a certain point. We have seen in the above-cited passage, which covers a large portion of the miraculous history of our Lord, that expectations of a very clear nature were raised in the Jewish mind, and that Moses, Elijah, and Elisha, viewed through the typical medium, were but early precursors of one who was to be endued with all their powers and to be mightier still than they. We therefore naturally, in looking into the character of Christ, expect to find him, like Moses, feeding his people miraculously; like Elisha, cleansing from leprosy; and, similarly to this prophet and his master Elijah, raising the dead to life. We look for this character of the Christ, and we find it exhibited to the full: save when, as he expresses it, an evil and adulterous generation, before whose eyes signs had been wrought, and for whom no sign would have wrought conversion, demanded, for their own utter ruin, an evidence which, had it been tendered, would but have deepened guilt, and rendered the hand of God almost an instrument to promote the blasphemy of men. He would give them no sign but the sign of Resurrection, which must be recognized by all; the only sign that the law of Being renders absolutely verified in every mortal form. It was this only sign that Christ vouchsafed to say would be acknowledged despite themselves by that generation; and in not working a visible miracle on the instant, he followed strictly the rabbinical precept, which is borne out by common sense and reason, viz. that signs and miracles are not to be wrought save for a fit generation. The inference, then, of Strauss, that Christ did no miracles because he refused to perform one whenever and however required, is equally futile and absurd; and the assertion by which this is attempted to be supported, viz. the alleged silence on the miracles in general, and that reference to the resurrection* only is made by the apostles in their epistles, may be classed as an assertion so untrue that it is only surprising how a writer of such acumen, however biassed, could be induced to make it. Thus in the Acts, iii. 16, the lame man

* Two direct passages in St. Paul and St. Peter speak of the *Ascension*.—Heb. i. 3; 1 Peter, iii. 22.

is restored by Peter expressly stating *his* "name" (the Christ's)—"through faith in his name has given *him* [the lame man] this perfect soundness in the presence of you all." The miraculous principle is again referred to in the Acts, "Jesus healed all that were oppressed with the devil."—Acts, x. 38. "Christ working in Paul."—Rom. xv. 19. "Gifts of healing."—1 Cor. xii. 28; James, iv. 17. So continuous is the reference to miracles. Neither, were the fact as stated, would it be very remarkable that, in books of which a large portion is devoted to the duties of life, these notices were unfrequent, nor that the resurrection, the *fact* on which an eternity depends, and the very corner-stone of Christianity, as it has been termed, should command that importance which its bearing upon ultimate destiny impresses on all. Hence then this attempt to equivocate on this question is a complete failure; the silence, if it existed, would be natural, and the omission of miraculous mention no proof of such history being untrue; borne out as it is, on the writers' own statement, by the most leading miracle of all, the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and continued, as its importance requires, throughout the entire strain of the Acts and Epistles. Furthermore, miracles were necessarily all merged in this the last and mightiest; all power of giving life or curing maladies sank before this the one general principle from which all have life, and from whose commencement *all* disease ceases.

Let us now, having disposed of this wicked and foolish attempt to invalidate the truth, proceed to review the miracles that our Lord wrought, and take the order, the beautiful order, in which Strauss has arranged them, and which order springs from their own singular nature. They naturally fall under three degrees. Cures of the mind; cures of the body whose organism had not been deranged by the separation of the spirit; and lastly, the reanimation of such bodies after the vivifying power had fled.

With respect to the first, cures of the mind. Under this head we include, of course, the case of diabolic possessions. On this subject we cannot forbear extracting *in limine* the singular testimony of Eusebius, who lived as late as the commencement of the fourth century,—ὃδ' ὡς εἰς ἐτι καὶ νυν τῆς ἐνθεν δυναμεως τὴν ἀρετὴν δεικνυται μοχθηρους τινας καὶ φαυλους δαιμονας ψυχαις ἀνθρωπων καὶ σωματων ἐφεδρευοντας, ἀπελαυνων δια μονης τῆς ἀρρητου προσηγοριας αὐτου, ὡς αὐτη πειρα κατειληφαμεν.*—*Lipsiæ*, 1709, p. 431. This is a fearless assertion, and it is from one who declares that he had tried the validity of exorcism himself. Eusebius is not alone in these assertions.

* "Even now is shown the truth of his godlike power (the exorciser), expelling the troublesome and evil spirits who lay in wait against the souls and bodies of men, by the simple invocation of Him, as we ourselves have verified by experiment."

Exorcism seems to have been admitted as receivedly efficacious by all the early Fathers. The hypothesis on which Strauss proceeds to the rationalizing the demoniacal possessions is certainly ingenious, but it is not original, and his remark that St. John is silent on the subject of demoniacal possession comes to nothing, as St. John embraces a field of view entirely varying from the other evangelists. The following statement comprises our author's view of the *Δαιμονιζομενοι, i. e.* possessed; by disease, or devil.

"In the description of the ministry of Jesus in Galilee, the *δαιμονιζομενοι* are placed first in the list of the sick and afflicted healed by Jesus, and in many instances their cure is very minutely detailed. In the one whose cure is mentioned by the evangelists in the synagogue at Capernaum, in the Gadarene, and in many others, we find a derangement and loss of consciousness or self-identity, by which the possessed speaks in the character of a devil; in others we meet convulsions and spasms accompanied with violent cries. This convulsive state is clearly of the same character as epilepsy in the *δαιμονιζομενος*, who is called lunatic. Matt. xvii. 14. The sudden falling down (and often in dangerous places), the gnashing of teeth, and the foaming, are well known symptoms of epilepsy. The other peculiarity, derangement of consciousness, appears especially in the Gadarenes; besides which the devil, or rather a number of devils, speak through them, as if the persons affected had assumed their character; and the malady is still further marked by delirium, which makes them fly from the society of men, and urges them to violent and deadly attacks against themselves and others. But not only delirious and epileptical but also dumb persons and those suffering from contractions of the body through palsy, are distinctly called *δαιμονιζομενοι.*

This statement contains in it little to object to, but it may be as well to note at this point a fact to which the epithet is chiefly traceable, viz. that Jesus resolves all maladies into demon afflictions, *i. e.* visitations on sin. Thus in the instance of the woman healed on the Sabbath-day, Jesus demands of the ruler of the synagogue, "Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom *Satan hath bound,* lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond upon the Sabbath-day?"—Luke, xiii. 16. In this he spoke the just and popular sense, which one of the oldest books extant, that of Job, strictly confirms, where Satan is personally represented afflicting man with maladies. Josephus, the Targums, Maimonides, all hold the same view. The mere hypothesis of Strauss, and to which he does not appear himself to attach much importance, viz. that our Lord humoured the hypochondriacal fancy of the patient, will not staud an instant under direct affirmations like the preceding. Dr. Strauss then seems to consider that great light is thrown on these actions by contemporary writers, such as Josephus, Lucian, and Philostratus. Cer-

tainly the accounts in Philostratus have one tendency, and that rather against his argument; for all that they prove is simply that, the exorcism might be delusive: but that none such could occur in the cases which Jesus selected is most evident, since the throwing down a statue near to the exorciser is a very different thing in point of facility of execution to affecting demoniacally a herd of swine 2000 in number, and very distant from the exorciser. One brief notice in Lucian, who, be it remembered, died, aged 90, in A. D. 180, may, from its brevity, fairly be transcribed, and it will afford a proof of the prevalence of a belief in demoniacal possession even then.—Αλλα παντες ισασι τον Συρον τον εκ της Παλαιστινης, τον επι τουτων συφιστην, οσους παραλαβων καταπιπτοντας προς την σεληνην, και τω οφθαλμω διαστρεφοντας, και αφρω πιμπλαμενους το σωμα, ομως ανιστησι και αποπεμπει αρτιως, επι μισθω μεγαλω απαλλαξας των δεινων· επειδαν γαρ επιση κειμενους, και ειρηται οθεν εισεληλυθασιν εις το σωμα, ο μεν νοσων αυτος σιωπα ο δαιμων δε αποκρινεται ελληνιζων η βαρβαριζων, η οθεν αν αυτος η, οπως δε και οθεν εκηλθεν ες τον ανθρωπον. ο δε ορκους επαγων ει δε μη πεισθειη και απειλων εξελαυνει τον δαιμονα.—"All men know *that Syrian from Palæstine*, skilled in these matters: how many soever he takes in hand, lunatic, vision distorted, even when foaming at the mouth, yet does he raise them up and dismisses them sound, freeing them for large sums of money from dreadful maladies. For when he stands over the possessed laid before him, and demands of the demons from what direction they have entered the patient's body, the patient remains silent, but the demon answers in Greek or Barbaric language, both whence he is, and how and from whence he has entered into the man. Then he by exorcism, or, if he does not yield to this, by threats, drives out the demon."—*Lucian, Philops. ed. Bip.* vol. vii. p. 267.

From this passage and similar descriptions in Philostratus also we gain this fact, that such practices were current in the time of Lucian and earlier; and the singular passage above quoted connects their origin with Palestine. We purposely abstain from large quotations from the early Christian writers, who all attest the same facts. So far then from bodily possession of men by evil spirits owing its origin to the Oriental or Persian pneumatology, as affirmed by Dr. Strauss,* we conceive had this been the fact it would have been specified by some writer as having its source in that. The writings to which the name of Zend is affixed, admitting them to be the issues from remote transmission, are not thought in their present form to be of high antiquity. Those writings, all oriental writings of a spiritual character, bear in

* This is certainly untrue and a grievous error in the Eastern studies of Dr. Strauss. —*Ed.*

them the vestiges of the Hebrew traditions; and certainly supposing the Zend to possess in reality, either mediately or otherwise, the antiquity which some are inclined to assign it, Zoroaster lends no mean aid to the cause of Christianity, from showing us an ancient type correspondent to the Hebrew primeval notions.

Dr. Strauss next proceeds to state that the evangelical hypothesis for these evil spirits is, that they pertain to the realm and sovereignty of Satan, to whom their actions are consequently ascribed. It follows, as a matter of necessity, that the Evangelists and Jesus maintain a common hypothesis, and we have already developed the latter. Josephus, Justin, and Philostratus, together with the rabbinical writers, term these the spirits of deceased evil men. Justin defines them, as do some of the rabbins, with still greater precision, as not only thus, but as the souls of the giants sprung from the angels who had intercourse with the daughters of men. They are also described as the souls of the perished antediluvian race and of the Babel builders. It is scarcely fair to state the above as exactly the opinion of Justin, since he is simply arguing with the Pagans on the supposition that the demons were the souls of departed men.

Assuming that the deeves of the Zend religion were the source of the Hebrew doctrine on this head, which we do not believe, these were, according to Dr. Strauss, evil spirits who had forsaken their homes. They were also prior to the mundane creation. For the two assertions Dr. Strauss has no authority whatever, deserving the name, and he is decidedly wrong in both. But even granting them, for argument, the Hebrews held a system quite distinct from this, for their devils are fallen angels, the souls of the children of these angels, (according to rabbinical tradition, which ever leans to the marvellous,) and of the wicked generally, before and immediately after the deluge. Beyond these souls, according to Dr. Strauss, the Hebrews had no idea of inferior spirits. It may be here requisite to note that our author is in this place, perhaps intentionally, somewhat obscure; but he possibly alludes to a government of hell, and relative gradations of spirits. He then proceeds to a candid admission, that the synoptical, the first three, evangelists possibly taught the pure and original Hebrew system, unincumbered with the above rabbinical errors; and he might have called the former the elder type or impress, current through every nation. Voltaire boldly asserted, and if assertion had been proof he would have far surpassed Euclid, that the Hebrews drew from Babylon their whole angelic system. It certainly appears most wonderful that he condescended to allow it that antiquity; but in the following passage of Hesiod it might rationally claim a higher, since the date of the Captivity

is only 587 B. c. and that of Hesiod 907 B. C. Now as Judea had Hellenized considerably in the time of Jesus, it is almost surprising that he did not assert the doctrine to be based by the Greek Jews on the passage in question. Hesiod has been stating to his wondering listener the early race of gods and men under the reign of Saturn. He then describes that golden age as perishing, and the men who walked with immortals of that age are thus represented in their second state.

> " But when this race became concealed in earth,
> As *demons thence* they drew a glorious birth,
> As gods they rose, receiving Heaven's command,
> Pure, earth-bound, *guardians over every land.*
> The good, the ill their eyes attentive heed;
> In æther robed; and to the good the meed
> Of wealth they minister. Endless watch they keep,
> And circle round us in their mazy sweep."
>
> *Hesiod, Opera et Dies*, b. i. l. 120.

Here then we possess the Christian fact of the angels as " ministers to the heirs of salvation," at as early a period, even in a Greek writer, as the 14th century from the Deluge. We need not trace the deep antiquity of the entire angelic system, with which if Mahomet had been better acquainted, he would have inclined closer to the Hebrew type; for that type is the elder form, and borne out by all records of high Persian antiquity, almost to the letter. But he imagined that the corrupted angelic system which he seized and applied, with some skill in the marvellous, was the elder system; and in this he erred. We think it right to remark of him in addition to this generally, that he found the Arabs principally idolaters, of the most corrupt form of Sabæism; and the rest perhaps not very unequally divided into Jews and Christians, and some Magians. To these his mingled system of politics and religion was addressed, possibly excepting the last. His separate existence of the soul, his system of spirits good and evil (purely Persian), and in short his whole metaphysical system, seems to be taken, unchanged, from the theology of the Jews, Christians, and Magians, between whom it is probable he observed only a difference in degrees of faith, not in kind. The centre point of all he thought to hit in that splendid lie, the Koran.

But to revert to our author.

" The theology of the first fathers has adopted the idea of the actual possession of men by devils, in consideration of the authority of Jesus and the Evangelists. Modern theology, since Semler, traces these effects to natural causes, and ascribes the supernatural cause supposed by the New Testament to the ideal conceptions of the time. The reason why

in our days epilepsy, madness, and even the total loss of consciousness, similar to that of the possessed mentioned in the New Testament, are no longer imputed to the influence of devils, is to be found in the great progress made by science in natural philosophy and psychology, which now better enables us to account on natural grounds for their condition; whilst the contradictions which appear in this hypothesis of possession by devils, have made the matter at least obscure. For independently of the difficulties which we have shown are connected with the existence of such devils and spirits, whatever idea may be formed of the relation between the intellect and the bodily organs, it still is impossible to believe the connection so loose as to admit the influence of an extraneous moving power which displaces and supplants the organized system of the mind. Thus the only course left to those who wish to consider the visible symptoms of such diseases with enlightened eyes, and the accounts of the New Testament with orthodox intentions, is to suppose that what now is accounted for by natural causes was effected in the time of Jesus by supernatural means."

We conceive the Fathers not so very far wrong in the guides they followed in Christianity. Most assuredly they took as their authority persons who, as founders and teachers of the system, must have known a little of its bearings.

"'The Christians,' says Irenæus, lib. ii. c. 56, 57, 'truly cast out devils and heal the sick by the imposition of hands.'

"'Let there be brought to me,' cries Tertullian, 'a demon possessed. At the bidding of any Christian that spirit shall be forced to confession. Produce me one of your inspired whose inspiration is from the fumes of *your* fat altars, one of those agonized by the God, and who call gasping, prophecy. If the Christian does not compel the demon to a true confession, pour out his blood. Can any operation clearer determine issues? Can any proof be more faithful?'"—*Apologet.* c. 23. Havercamp, Lugd.-Bat., 1718.

Ancient theology, it would then appear, was cursed with an inconceivable blindness, but the modern is decidedly opposed to this view! We know not from what quarter Strauss draws the grounds of this assertion, but we believe that we speak the entire sense of the whole Anglican Church when we assert the reverse to be the truth. One single commentator, Hewlet, ventured on this dangerous heterodoxy, and we believe he has seen great reason to regret the publication of these sentiments, as they injured the sale of a Bible valuable in other respects. No error of the time, no psychological mistake could be involved in so clear a statement as that of Tertullian. No principles of natural philosophy or psychology with which we are acquainted touch the maladies in question in the slightest degree; and as for the argument that the organized system of the mind and the body will not admit of any extraneous moving power, this is re-

futed by the current testimony of all nations, and by the whole fact of our inspired system which is based upon this very hypothesis.

Why bodily power of one being over another should be conceded, and mental denied, we cannot understand; but we will now proceed to examine how Strauss can explain on natural causes the demoniac possessions. This is a point easily attainable, he tells us, from an examination into the ideas of the time and the nation.

Three instances are selected for the express object of trying his hypothesis; or any other, but the true one: viz. Jesus healing the man with the unclean spirit in the synagogue at Capernaum—Mark, i. 23; the Gadarene possessed by many devils; and lastly, the lunatic whom the disciples were unable to cure:—

"According to St. John, the conversion of the water into wine, and according to Mark and Luke, the healing of the man with the unclean spirit in the synagogue at Capernaum, was the first miracle performed by Jesus after returning from being baptized in Galilee. Jesus had just made a powerful impression by his teaching—suddenly one possessed cried out in the character of the devil who influenced him, that he had nothing to do with him; that he knew him to be the Messiah who was come to destroy devils: whereupon Jesus commanded the devil to be silent and to go out of the man, which came to pass, to the great astonishment of those present: the sick man crying aloud and being violently convulsed. We might, indeed, suppose with the advocates of rationalism that this happened thus: the sick man who had entered the synagogue during a lucid interval being impressed by the forcible discourse of Jesus, and having heard from one present that he was the Messiah, might easily have fancied that the impure spirit which possessed him could not abide the presence of a holy Messiah, and thus have fallen into a paroxysm and loudly expressed his fear of Jesus in the *character, speaking as* a devil. When therefore Jesus saw the state of this man, his evident course would be to avail himself of the impure man's opinion of his divine power, and command the devil to go out; a proceeding which could not fail to be attended with success in accordance with all regulations for mental derangement, which prescribe the dealing with the deranged patient according to his own imaginations; and Paulus conjectures, that from this case Jesus was induced to conceive the notion of employing his authority as Messiah in curing others similarly affected. But many difficulties impede the natural explanation of the occurrence. According to this view the man must have been informed by the people in the synagogue that Jesus was the Messiah; not only is the text silent on this point, but it is in express contradiction with such a supposition. The exclamation of the devil speaking out of the man—Οἶδά σε τίς εἶ*—would prove that his knowledge

* I know thee who thou art.

of the Messiah was not derived from human information, but was a natural consequence of his diabolic nature. Besides, when Jesus exclaims to him, Φιμωθητι, this refers to what the devil had previously said of his mission as the Messiah, for Jesus ὐκ ἤφιε λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια, ὅτι ἤδεισαν αὐτόν;* or ἵνα μὴ φανερον αὐτόν ποιησαν.† And if Jesus intended, by imposing silence upon the devil, to prevent his confessing that he was the Messiah, he must have done so under the conviction, not that the possessed had been informed by any persons in the synagogue, but rather that the assembly would be told by the impure man of the Messiah's presence: for at the time of this first appearance of Jesus, in which this occurrence is placed by the Evangelists, no one had heard of him as the Messiah. If it is now asked how the devil, without any previous communication or information, should have immediately discovered Jesus to be the Messiah, Oldshausen has recourse to the fact that in persons possessed, as also in somnambulists, there exist an unnatural nervous excitement, a greatly increased power of perception and clear-sightedness, by means of which the person so situated might have taken the declaration of Jesus as referring to the whole kingdom of spirits. It is true the evangelical account ascribes that knowledge, not as belonging to the man, but to the devil which dwelt in him: which account is conformable to the Jewish notions of that time. The Messiah was to appear in order to destroy the kingdom of Satan, to hurl the devil and his angels into the fiery gulf; and it was therefore a natural consequence that devils should look upon him who was destined to visit them with such a judgment, as the Messiah. This, however, might be passed over as being merely an insertion of the relator, without prejudice to the remainder of the narrative, if such an extensive faculty of presentiments can be conceded to the possessed. But as it is highly improbable that nervously affected persons, however excited, should have acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah at a time when no one held him for such, (and perhaps not even he himself); and considering also that this acknowledgment by the devil accorded so entirely with the popular ideas, we must conjecture that the Evangelical tradition has not strictly conformed itself to historical truth on this point, but has fallen in with, and been influenced by, those ideas. The more such a confession tended to the glory of Jesus, the greater inducement was there to this. As in case he should be denied by men, praise was prepared for him from the mouth of children; and as likewise he was convinced that if men were silent, the stones would cry out (Luke): so it must seem natural (in the Evangelists) to make him, who was denied even by his own whom he came to save, to be acknowledged by devils whose testimony, from the circumstance of their having nothing to expect from him but destruction, must be impartial, and from their superior and spiritual nature irrefragable."

On what authority Strauss asserts that there is a discrepancy between John and Mark and Luke, as to the first miracle that Jesus wrought after his return from being baptized in Galilee, it

† Suffered not the dæmons to speak because they knew him.
‡ That they might not make him known.

is difficult to discover. John says, after the miraculous change of the water into wine, "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee." This statement does not absolutely bear out the assertion, that it was the first miracle that Jesus did; and even supposing that the text did bear that interpretation, neither Mark nor Luke contradicts it: for they make *no numerical* assertion of any kind as to the first miracle. Rationalism is next tried to see what that can effect; and we may add, in cumulative power to Strauss, who settles this point himself, that there is no recorded instance of any failure of miraculous energy on the part of Jesus; no one instance of any want of success: this, had he worked on speculative principles, must have been the fact. The disciples fail, but Jesus is invariably successful. So much so, that when the Pharisees found the denial impossible, they said the devils were cast out by the power of Beelzebub. This alone settles the Rationalist, for it is a clear admission that this extraordinary power did reside in Jesus. As for the argument of Oldshausen, it is so utterly absurd, that we have only to try it on the case and it demonstrates its own futility. If the demoniac fancied that Jesus, by the words "Hold thy peace and come out of him," meant to say "Man, hold thy peace and come out of thyself," he must have added to the curse of uncleanness, that of dulness also. But Strauss gives up Oldshausen; and to what does he apply his boasted insight into "that day and hour," his Rationalism, Psychology, and Natural Philosophy? With all these powerful adjuncts he is unable on the very first of his own selected cases to reconcile it with all or any of these. He tries hard at Oldshausen; he is even willing to discredit the single-minded Evangelist in a part of his story; but all will not do: and he then conjectures that the Evangelist has not conformed to historical truth but to Jewish tradition, in despite of all the internal evidence from the admission of the Pharisees, that his power over demons was from the prince of demons himself. There is no trace in any Evangelist of the artful climax which Strauss predicates as aimed at; but it was true that Christ drew strength out of weakness, that the redeemed child rendered him honor, and perfected his praise by fulfilling that declaration in the Psalms, which describes this as a crowning perfection to his glory.—Psalms, viii. 2. Without this witness he would have wanted one condition, one requisite characteristic of the Messiah. Had the disciples not magnified him when they saw him in this power and might, mute nature would have raised her voice against insensate animal life; and had all else been still, how magnificent is the image! hell itself could not withhold the confession of its guilt and fall. An artful impostor would have so arranged all this that the great conclusion could

instantly be gathered; but it is not so with the Evangelist; he relates the exact moral position of the demon spirit, the agony of the man, the astonishment of the multitude, the confession of the Pharisees, and the unfailing power of the Christ.

We shall remark here, by the way, that this solution by Strauss is no solution at all; the objections urged by him against the rationalist hypothesis would satisfy any but a rationalist; but with regard to his own explanation, why, if we are, with Strauss, to take the Evangelist's word for the occurrence should we impute to him wilful falsity for the details. We must take or we must reject the inspired writer on his own showing, but open scepticism is more rational and consistent surely than this incredulous belief.

Hence then we pass to the more complex miracle in the case of the Gadarenes; *complex* as not a case of simple ejection, but of ejection from one body and injection into another. This transmission contains also the singular feature that it is from the body of man into that of a beast.

But Dr. Strauss affirms that the single case mentioned by Mark and Luke contradicts Matthew's statement of two. But Matthew, adhering always to ancient recollections, calls it the land of the Gergesenes; i. e. the Girgashites, of Joshua's time. Mark and Luke use the later denomination of Gadarenes. Now even if the same district, it is by no means clear that it preserved the same limits precisely: and the names of the two towns would seem to bear out this suggestion. Matthew, the most ample narrator, mentions two cases in the district generally; Mark and Luke particularize one, the greater miracle, (which includes for all purposes the second or minor,) and expressly specify, agreeing also in other particulars, that this lunatic met Jesus so soon as he had come out of the ship.

If the learning of Dr. Strauss cannot help him to the question of limits, it can scarcely serve him better for turning a whole district into one spot on the shore.

This view of course treats as surplusage all speculations so idle as those with which Dr. Strauss has busied himself; viz., that the plurality of devils gave occasion for increase in the number of the possessed, which is unfortunately completely put out of the question by the direct converse; many devils—*the legion*—in one man. It is also urged that in their united accounts they make the legion spirit inconsistent with ordinary motives; that this spirit or spirits would rather have shunned Jesus than approached him; that the dreadful state of impending doom would have driven them from his presence rather than into it. Surely, more puerile reasoning never disgraced the manhood of intellect. According to this, every received judge of nature has been wrong in his conclusions. Hector flies from Achilles and then approaches him by a sudden

change of sentiment. Turnus shuns Æneas in a similar manner; after having approached him he recedes, and again approaches. These revulsions are the ordinary development of the mixed principles of the moment. And the demons stood in the same moral position.

Of an equally weak character with the preceding is the criticism on the period when Jesus addressed the devil, which might have been during the exclamation or else anterior to it; and to us this seems worse than childish quibbling, since the order to come forth was given. As to the argument next drawn from the multitude of devils in the man, that all identity had ceased, and that, even supposing a single diabolic possession, it is impossible to conceive numerous devils dwelling in a man and destroying this identity; it reduces itself into one fact, that such is stated to have been the case with Mary Magdalen; and that viewing these as all under one head, Satan, their possession is after all but his possession, and all self-consciousness ceases in some instances in the possession of a man by even one of these evil spirits, though there are instances where a mingled will at unnatural revulsion, human and diabolic, appears developed. Our old indictments presume this mastery, "suadente diabolo:" what then must have been the power and might of these spirits when their arms were not confined as under the present long continuation of a moral and religious kingdom the reverse of hell? We are taught that Satan as lightning fell from heaven, and that his power has ever since been on the decline, one evidence of which, in the negation of this very bodily possession of men, is before us.

The next point we have to consider is the possession of an animal; this appears to have a colouring of the doctrine of the metempsychosis. But the probable reason of bestial possession was to demonstrate the Saviour's clearness from any collusive attempt at deception. It might be urged that the man possessed was a deceiver in conjunction with the exorciser, as we shrewdly suspect the recent magnetic influences to be, but this could not extend to bestial possession. As to the circumstance of animal possession, Balaam might be quoted as proving it in the Old Testament: and if we were to gather up the dim notices of a union of the two natures, we might trace a curious argument downwards from the Xanthus of Achilles, which prophecies his death.* Carrying on the argument, Dr. Strauss demands what the

* And this too in words perfectly applicable to Dr. Strauss, in his issue from this controversy—

" —————— αλλα σοι αυτω
Μοιρσιμον εςι θεω τε και ανδρι ιφι δαμηναι."
" Fated thou art by *God* and *man* to fall."

devils gained by animal possession, since the animals, their new abode, became instantly destroyed. To this it may be replied, *freedom from the abyss*;—that eternal dungeon where eternal chains, bonds on their volition, confine their essence. They passed from the choked animal awfully demonstrating their desolating reign to consist in the ruin of man and beast. They furnished probably to the proselyted Gadarene, if not to the Israelite, by the presence of an unclean spirit in the unclean animal, a proof that in keeping them he had sinned against the yet unrepealed law of Moses; they struck, in the ruin of the herd, the heart of the herdsman, who clearly loved property beyond principle in entreating the Demon-Expeller to quit his region. Though Dr. Strauss considers the reasoning as overstrained that states the creation of this impression as the object of the demons in destroying the swine; and that the impression was produced and evil wrought by it, the demons' interest being thus served, and, in addition, worldly unpopularity against Christ excited in the region; still we do not exclude this motive in conjunction with what has been urged. It certainly also, when we consider all facts, must prove satisfactory to trace the rational saved, and the irrational as the means of that salvation. The parallel between Pythagoras and Jesus does not hold as to the reimbursement of the fishermen, whose fish he had allowed to escape, by the former, for Pythagoras conveyed all the moral he could in preventing cruelty to animals, like our modern Society, but Jesus indicated far more extensive bearings. Dr. Strauss, disbelieving as usual the accounts before us, conceives he has discovered the mystery of the whole matter.

"Instead therefore of striving to invent some new version of this affair, which may account for it upon natural grounds, independent of miraculous causes, for which we can have no authority, and which will not explain the origin of the wonderful and ornamented accounts of the Evangelists, let us rather see whether, in the times in which they wrote, there did not exist in men's minds ideas concerning spirits, by the aid of which this passage relating to the swine may be effectually interpreted."

All this resolves into a poor attempt on the part of Dr. Strauss to reconcile the Gospel narrative with the events of the time, the habits and practices of exorcists. First we have a Jewish conjuror who drove out devils, and to demonstrate the reality of the expulsion, placed near the possessed a vessel of water. Into this vessel the ejected devil entered and troubled the water, so that the spectators were certain that he had forsaken the man. The inference then is that this practice was imitated in the case of the Gadarene, which was ejection from a man into an *animal*, and not *into* water. The next fancied affinity from Apollonius of Tyana con-

sists of a story framed on the personal narrative of that juggler, when the spirit in a young man offered, on expulsion, to throw down a statue which stood near; and this was immediately done, to the astonishment of all present. This story, together with the exorcist practice, and the assumed fact that spirits according to the Jewish notion preferred to dwell in bodily organs, is deemed adequate to account for the singular history of the Gadarene, together with the usual alteration of the Scripture to make all right. But surely we may well object to all this the fact of Apollonius living after Jesus, and as borrowing from Jesus. Equally futile is the argument that censures Jesus for allowing the demons to enter the swine, giving them an habitation and then destroying it instantly. Christ simply granted permission to *pass* into the animal, not to *abide*. There is not a single word uttered similar to μένειν, or any of its affinities. Thus then the failure is more complete here, than on the first incident; and we now proceed to the last.

This is the singular case of possession by a dumb and deaf spirit, for we speak of the effects from the spirit. Jesus on his return from the Mount of Transfiguration with Peter, James, and John, found the rest of the disciples embarrassed and unable to cure a young man who had been brought unto them by his father. Some early circumstances not worth noticing are commented on by Dr. Strauss, to the effect that a rhetorical climax was the object of the Evangelists in the early part of this narrative, but the facts work so naturally out of the circumstances, that we put this down as of no moment. The first remark of any moment is on the expression in Mark, that on the descent from the mountain, the multitude that were assembled, when they saw Jesus, ἐξεθαμβήσε, wondered. The presence alone of a person miraculously endowed, or even reported to be so, might cause this sensation. We may also, without any difficulty or straining of sense, conceive that the disciples, after their fruitless attempts to cast out the devil, had stated their conviction that if their power failed, their Master's would not. The Master comes, the glory of transfiguration possibly not past the expression from the communing with sainted spirits in a glorious state enduring, and these things excite wonderment in the multitude. Had the case been otherwise, it had been a very different assembly from any that has yet appeared. Suspicion is next attempted to be thrown on the relation of Matthew, that the Scribes were with the failing disciples, questioning them, and no doubt exulting in their weakness. We know well, especially from that Gospel which most directs itself to exposing the Pharisee and the Scribe, and therefore most naturally does the like here, that

they surrounded Jesus to blacken, to accuse, to traduce. Can we imagine them absent when his ministry appeared to exhibit symptoms of failure?

The words of Jesus, when the disciples demanded the cause of their inability to cast out the devil, "This kind can come forth by nothing but prayer and fasting," are next examined, and the utility of either Christian office questioned. This objection is as old as Porphyry, and to the candid reader of Scripture it points out a fact deeply needed to complete the structure of faith, that it is by a union of the physical and moral, in its highest point, that these wondrous powers become developed. This unfortunately proves, that unless the Evangelists be false, and the whole strain of ancient Scripture and universal rites under nature's law are with them, it was by *virtue* out of Jesus that these things were done. Analogy with the conduct of Moses, David, Ahab, (when successfully propitiating God), all the Judæan system proves the like. An attempt is next made to show analogy with the prophet Elisha to have been the intention of Christ. This prophet (how singular does the perfection of Jesus transcend all other perfection of the human nature!) erred apparently on the calculation of the power within him to effect a miracle. A fact that never befel Jesus. The staff of power never passed from *his* hand. This prophet sends his servant Gehazi to place upon the child he desired to raise to life his staff. It fails when applied to the face of the dead, and the prophet himself next appears, and is successful. None of this miscalculation of power, if we are right in our view of the prophet, no particle of doubt, no reiteration of operation occurs with Christ. Neither will the argument of Dr. Strauss, that the reputation of Jesus formed a psychological cure, carry with it the faintest weight to the attentive reader of the New Testament, since it will be apparent that the numerous cases operated on embraced in some instances total strangers to him; and we presume the last instance, possession by a dumb and deaf spirit, was rather a difficult case for a cure on these principles. Not a single case of Dr. Strauss's is successful on psychological principles, nor with all the other adjuncts which he claims and applies; as for the hypothesis of supposititious cures, this fails entirely, both as applied to Jesus and the Apostles. The cases of recovery from disease, and even death, were unquestionably permanent cures. Mary Magdalen remained at the cross and grave, restored from sevenfold possession,—Lazarus sate by Jesus alive from the dead, partaking of mortal food in his risen form,—the man born blind, whose parents by their singular evidence to this fact, must convince every candid reader,—all these exhibit permanency in operation. This latter affecting detail in

St. John, together with the numerous instances of healing the diseased, on the Scripture doctrine demonstrates per se the fact of demon possession of a modified character, since all disease according to these writings has that origin. St. John's not recording positive instances of demoniacal possession, like the Gadarene, in the varying scheme of a Gospel devoted to the discourses of Jesus rather than to the incidents in his life, is not singular; the wonderment would be on the other side of the question. As for the hypothesis of the higher Grecian mythology omitting demoniacal possession, and that the Hellenized state of St. John's mind led him to the rejection of these facts, this is clearly not correct. Hesiod, we have seen, supported the pure doctrine of guardian influences; Homer represents an evil spirit or a demon working Agamemnon on to unsuccessful battle; the description of Ate by the same king, in the same writer, is familiar to the Greek scholar, and her expulsion from heaven to earth. The furies possess the souls of men, and drive them into demoniac madness: witness Orestes in the Choephoræ. The entire elder mythology, had St. John adhered to that supported demoniac possession, and had it been his design to win by a Pagan uniformity, ample means were in his hand. Every vestige of argument vanishes under this simple ground of testing it on antiquity or psychology, or natural philosophy. From this subject thus amply treated, we proceed to our next head.

Cures of the body whose organism had not been deranged by the final separation of the Spirit.—Amid the first of these, the cleansing of the lepers occupies a leading position. Here we notice the fact connected with leprosy; viz. that the obvious reason of Christ not inflicting the disease appears from the general hypothesis we have shown; the origin of all disease being in the opposite evil principle. We shall here have a triumphant victory claimed over us by the citation of the instance of Elisha and Gehazi. But disease called down by sin does not when predicted in issue separate it from its source, and even Satan ministers to the service of God under the mysterious system of the Christian Providence, which makes him the instrument of the judgments of God. In this disease, in blindness, and similar maladies, of course the only refuge left Dr. Strauss is to deny their truth, and as denial is not argument, we pass to the third head.

Reanimation of bodies after the vivifying power had fled.—Of this kind only three instances are enumerated in the New Testament: one common to all the Evangelists,—one related solely by St. Luke,—the third simply by John. Up to this point the incredulity of Dr. Strauss works the following climax. He believes some of the demon possessions to be proved by his rea-

soning to be psychological, whereas he has not shown it in a single instance; the cures of the body are decidedly in his notion more difficult and incredible; but that any man can restore life once departed passes his conception entirely. He notices with peculiarly happy classification that each succeeding miracle is enriched with something wanting in the preceding. The daughter of Jairus is raised from the couch upon which she expired,—the young man of Nain from the bier in which he was proceeding to the grave,—Lazarus from the grave in which he had laid four days. The tissue of events connected with the Resurrection certainly does unite the couch of rest, the bier for bodily support, and the grave in which mortal form is lost, singularly with Jesus; and Christians, under all these circumstances, are emboldened to a hope stronger than death. The notion entertained by Dr. Strauss of the cases of resurrection is truly singular and original. He conceives apparently that Jesus ought to have confined his wonderful restorations from the grave to the illustrious and the noble. Had they been thus confined he would not have been esteemed the Saviour of the poor as well as rich. The one case of destitution that he touched was possibly that of all most needing the consolation of the Great Restorer. *The only son* of his mother, and she was a *widow*. The daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, and the Βασιλικος of St. John, whose cure is effected by the distant volition of Jesus, amply prove that all cases were taken for the display of his power both among the poor and rich. Had John the Baptist been raised from the dead by Jesus, as Dr. Strauss suggests, this would from early intimacy between them have been stated to be collusive between John and Jesus, and would have been the worst instance for an evidence of the resurrection conceivable.

The miracle of Lazarus contains in itself such inward power and reality of representation, that it scarce appears necessary to reply to the insinuation that Jesus wished rather to show his power of raising the dead, than his skilfulness in healing. The friend of mankind, according to our notion, knowing that the elements of eternity depend on an assured and fixed faith, might well rejoice, as Jesus does, in this salutary effort to produce solemn and deep-based conclusions as to futurity. It was for the world's eye he then wrought, and he announces at this miracle the extent of his power and the holiness of his Being—"I am the Resur-"rection and the Life. He that liveth and believeth in me though "he were dead yet shall he live: and he that liveth and believeth "in me shall never die." Words that imply life, self-existent life, to be in Jesus; a promise that the dead body shall again be

raised; a pledge that the spirits *that are in Christ* never see death; nor do they, for they pass from the death of the body to the life of the soul. But we must not allow ourselves the privilege of dwelling on the holy intuition by faith, to which fine sense the perception of this writer, however gifted in acquirements, is wholly alien, as we must resume the subject of the Resurrection under another head.

Passing the remarks on the treading on the sea and the miraculous loaves, we proceed to the marriage in Cana. On the marriage in Cana we have worse than doubting incredulity again continued, an incredulity that lends ample credence to all that can vilify and degrade Jesus or the Evangelists, and an utter indisposition to give fair play to any considerations that may lend service to the miraculous hypothesis, or to the fair discussion of the question, without anticipating the issue. Thus the Virgin Mother is thought singularly inquisitive in the expectation of a miracle at the marriage supper. She of whom it was written "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, the power of the "Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that Holy Thing "that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," is represented as ignorant of the gifted nature of her own offspring. The objection as to the quantity of wine produced, taking each ὑδρια, or water-pot, at 13½ gallons English, (Tholuck's estimate), amounts simply to eighty-one gallons, no great quantity for a marriage solemnity attended by throngs of visitants, and lasting an entire week. The object of the miracle, the creation of the deified emblem of antiquity, the triumph over the wanton God who was worshipped for the supposed production of this principle, is clear, and no doubt it was from a fear of too close an amalgamation of the Moslem and the Christian, that Mahomet prohibited his followers the use of wine, the creation of one whose perfect system he felt in itself contained the sure elements of ruin to Islamism, when its political power had become dissipated. It is with many *anterior* circumstances of high moment, and many *ulterior*, such as that we have distinctly alluded to, that this miracle is to be considered. Dr. Strauss in his notes on this miracle falls into a singular blunder. Remarking on this miracle being alluded to only by St. John, he says, "though neither of "the three Evangelists were Apostles, they might have learned it "from common tradition." *St. Matthew* was assuredly an *Apostle*, and is as such enumerated in the synoptical Evangelists. It is somewhat singular that *Tom Paine* has made a similar *blunder*.*

* Had St. Matthew, as Dr. Strauss supposes and argues in another portion of his book,

The next miracle commented on is the withering of the fig-tree. The object of this miracle was to awaken in the disciples confidence in his power. The words with which it is accompanied, "Have faith in God," indicate the object plainly. Too strong a notion is entertained by Dr. Strauss, in common with many other writers, on the cursing of the tree. Remain in thy barrenness, thy sterility, seems to be the sum of all Jesus intended to convey. As for the idle argument, that to enforce the principle of moral productiveness, the tree ought not to have been blighted, or any argument being established that Christ opposed the law of the Creator—the lightning that blasts the oak in its glory, might be alleged with equal reason as proving God's mutability, since he destroys what he has made. Yet for just and physical reasons we can trace in this no wrong; where a clear case then is instanced of high and spiritual motives being inculcated by such a procedure, is it wrong or unfair to justify it on a spiritual as well as a physical principle? Dr. Strauss however seems quite to misunderstand the botanical part of the question, and we therefore take the liberty of extracting from Norden the following passage:—

"This sycamore is of the height of a beech, and bears fruit in a manner quite different from other trees. It has them on the trunk itself, which shoots out little sprigs in form of a grape stalk, at the end of which grows the fruit close to one another, most like bunches of grapes. The tree is ALWAYS GREEN, *and bears fruit* SEVERAL TIMES *in the year*, WITHOUT OBSERVING ANY CERTAIN SEASONS, for I have seen some sycamores which had fruit two months after others. The fruit has the figure and smell of real figs; but is inferior to them in taste, having a disgustful sweetness. Its colour is a yellow, inclining to an oker, shadowed by a flesh colour: in the inside it resembles the common fig, excepting that it has a blackish colouring with yellow spots. This sort of tree is pretty common in Egypt. The common people, for the greater part, live on its fruit."

The words ὁ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς, "It was not the season of figs," are better rendered "the season for *general* fig-gathering was not come."* But on this tree figs might have been expected. The subjoined argument of Dr. Strauss is reduced to nothing. "So far from there being any defect in the tree, it was acting according to the course of nature, and the unreasonable expectation of finding figs upon a tree before the bearing season had arrived, increases our surprise at the unaccountable conduct of Jesus." Jesus comes to the tree, it is *always green*, it bears fruit several times

not been an Apostle, how are we to account for the admission of this fact, on which the tradition of the Church is uniform, by Porphyry and Julian, authorities this author will scarce dispute, and too sharp-sighted to have omitted this question, especially since they censure his eagerly embracing Christianity?

* It might equally refer to the particular tree as behind the general season?

in the year, so that a person viewing it from the distance, could not determine whether it had fruit or not, which accounts for the "if perhaps" of St. Mark. The *Ficus fatua* thus explains the question, and our author may improve his botany. Even supposing Christ, like a skilful gardener, to cut down by his word instead of the knife the barren tree, to what does this reasoning amount?—nothing more than striking out of life a deceptive semblance. We fully concede to Dr. Strauss that a sublime γνώμη is derived from this source, a γνώμη which Christians only can infer. For the whole tale connects itself with the externally beautiful state of fruitless Jerusalem—that city of which Jesus might fairly point to for outer seeming and inward emptiness.

It was to the sunken strain of that people—it was to those "battlements once the Lord's," that Christ directed this sublime γνώμη.

The remarks on the transfiguration and last journey to Jerusalem, together with the entry into that city in the form predicted by Zechariah, we pass, simply noting that the arguments on the first are by no means new; the second would require a map to make our view of it intelligible to the public; and the third, on the evangelical account, embraces no contradiction. The predictions of Christ relative to his death and resurrection, are so repeated and under such varying circumstances, as naturally to connect with them the chain of mutual dependence. And we freely concede the fact that humiliation, when predicted for a holy object, ceases to be such; and this we maintain is exactly the position of Jesus. The remarks on the prediction of the coming to judge the world, contain nothing remarkable except the impudent assertion that St. Peter reckons a 1000 years as a day, 2 Pet. iii. 8. The postponement of the day of judgment for many revolving centuries seems most just, because more subjects are admitted into the great Gospel Kingdom, and more souls added daily to the Church. The subject next worthy of consideration is the *Betrayal.* The words of Christ to Judas may refer to any course of action, say repentance, ποιησον τάχιον. St. Chrysostom does not view them as hortative but dissuasive: but Jesus in any case saw his mind; and Judas putting the guilty purpose into the guiltier act, forms no contradiction to the accounts of the other Evangelists, who represent the deed as meditated. The sudden impetus to realize guilt does not prove its absence in motive beforehand. The Apostles as men are also amenable to the ordinary laws of God. That which forms their acceptation becomes to Judas exclusion, and Mathias naturally rises to the lost throne of the betrayer. It is a gratuitous assertion, unsupported by a particle of argument, as is clearly evident from every Evangelist and St. John's

express contradiction, that Jesus knew of the betrayal before the last supper, since he predicts it at the last supper. The precognition of Jesus of the treachery of Judas being the salvation of the world, answers amply the demand why he was retained by Jesus, when known as the betrayer. Jesus shunned not the fated city, the fated punishment, the fated ignominy, nor the fated betrayer.

The crime of Jerusalem was not altered by his death being atonement for the sins of all mankind, any more than the murderer may be considered as giving the estate to the heir of his victim. Rome followed out her policy, and yielded to the Jews in a question of their law, yet are we not indebted to her for salvation. The sordid avarice of Judas worked the betrayal, yet who blesses the betrayer?

The next point on which we have to offer battle, and we do it, feeling that, like true templars, there is no crevice in our coat of plate through which the spear of the infidel can glide, is in the agony in the garden. Luke, according to Dr. Strauss, does not record the returning of Jesus to the disciples three times and awaking them; neither do Matthew and John, who were both in the garden, confirm Luke's statement of the appearance of an angel. The only question between historians of a fact is simply this:—Do they contradict each other? Is omission contradiction? Luke mentions the last occasion of the three, and what then befel. St. John does not detail the scene in the garden, which had been described by the synoptical Evangelists, but he states that Christ and the disciples were in that garden, that it was his ordinary place of resort, and that it was the scene of the betrayal. The unities of time, place, and action, are all minutely observed by the Evangelists. Dr. Strauss might have added, that Mark does not record the angelic appearance any more than Matthew and John, which latter Evangelist does not record the scene at all, and therefore his omission is not surprising; but the Doctor is surprisingly incorrect in simple details. With far greater reason might it be demanded, why does not John detail the entire scene in the garden, than why he omits one peculiar feature of it? Dr. Strauss demands, why neither Matthew nor John mention the visit of the angel? John, we have shown, does not relate the garden-scene; but as to the fact of the angelic appearance not being recorded by Matthew and Mark, the reason probably was, that the angel was not visible to any but Jesus. This messenger of heaven was visible only to Jesus, for according to our view of the text, it is said, "ωφθη αυτω"—and not to the disciples. Those Evangelists, therefore, have simply recorded what they witnessed themselves; St. Luke, traditionary circumstances; communicated to him probably by John, the best

authority, from his confidential intimacy with his beloved friend, who possibly recounted to him verbally much of what we find in his own Gospel. Look at the detail. Luke describes the angel, as seen by Jesus, under that tremendous bodily conflict succeeded by the bloody sweat. At this instant of extreme anguish a holy spirit became visible to the suffering Saviour, and supported him in human agony.

We can show satisfactorily from a physical fact respecting the *bloody sweat*, known now to but few, that this story was not mythical, was never intended to be mythical. So far from the bloody sweat being improbable, as Dr. Strauss contends; so far from there being any mythical allusion conveyed, we refer this writer, whose physical ignorance is extremely gross, to the following confirmation of this fact, which he considers an utter impossibility. Here let us offend no son of the faith by entering into the natural confirmation of this awful agony. Let us not be deemed as resolving into low physics the sublime metaphysical character of Christ. Let it be remembered we are arguing with an infidel; and on his own hypothesis that the bloody sweat was an impossibility. The following is the opinion of a most eminent medical authority:—"Pathology, even in modern times, authenticates the statement of the 'bloody sweat,' for instances are recorded of its occurrence from divers causes, especially from such as greatly affect the nervous system; as sudden terror, great agony, whether induced by torture or hanging, and great sudden exertion; and to add to the possibility of the thing, a thin and dissolved state of the blood, together with great relaxation of the cutaneous vessels, may exist." Many instances of this are recorded in Arist. Hist. Anim., lib. iii. c. 19; Thuanus, Hist. Temp. lib. ii.; Mélanges d'Histoire, par M. V. Murville, tom. iii. p. 149; Acta Phys. Med. Nurembergæ, vol. i. p. 84, vol. viii. p. 428. To all this we subjoin, from a distinguished modern writer, the following clear instance:—

"*Bloody sweat.*—In some cases of epilepsy the impetus of blood in the head is astonishing. I knew a young gentleman in whom, during the paroxysm, the blood was propelled into the extreme vessels with such force that it exuded through the pores; and the whole surface of the scalp was covered with blood, in the manner we commonly see sweat. His intellects before he died were greatly impaired; and upon his death, which occurred suddenly, on one of those dreadful paroxysms there was discovered a great effusion of blood on the brain. The paroxysms are produced or excited by a variety of causes."—*Burrows on Insanity*, London, 1828, p. 154.

It was our business to justify on his own narrow physics this circumstance, and it is done. For our own parts we might in

common with many commentators object to take so strong a sense as Dr. Strauss assigns to *wσεὶ*, and give the passage the sense of "like thick *viscous* drops of blood." As to the disciples being unable to discern the agony of Jesus from the darkness of the night, his repeated approaches to them fully enabled them to do so, and the darkness of night in Palestine; to say nothing of artificial lights, such as Judas brings, torches and lamps, if needed. Reasoning of this character scarce merits castigation. The limits of a review will not enable us to enter on all the topics we could wish to discuss; we shall therefore, with a few remarks on the arrest, pass to the Crucifixion. We have here a weak and unsuccessful attempt made to implicate the Evangelists in a contradiction:—

"The synoptical Evangelists describe Judas as stepping forth to betray Jesus; John informs us that Jesus went forward to them and voluntarily delivered himself up, and that the band fell to the ground through the influence of his presence or power."

The account is deemed contradictory in circumstance, and the behaviour of the satellites incredible. Dr. Strauss does many bold things, and discovers facts that have been hid from every saint and martyr of the Church, asserting John to be the brother of the Christ, on the strength of the words uttered to the Virgin, "Woman, behold thy Son," as if Jesus had never applied the terms of kindred figuratively;* but we were not prepared for the assertion, that Christ and Judas were the same. Until they can be shown to be so, the Evangelists contain neither inconsistency nor contradiction.

The approach of Judas to Christ has nothing whatever to do with his ulterior offering himself as a captive to the soldiery. The effect of the character of Christ, either real or imaginary, might well lead to at least as much instant astonishment as the assassins of Coligny are represented as feeling. The stiller of the tempest, the feeder of thousands with miraculous bread, the reviver from the tomb of various individuals, such a character as certainly never before or since has appeared, might naturally be expected to excite personal dread.

It is with a feeling of unutterable dislike, that we apply our narrow reason to scan so holy and awful a subject as the next. The Crucifixion to us is a subject of faith simply, and has never

* All the synoptical Evangelists contain the instance of a figurative application of these words, Matt. xii. 50; Mark, iii. 35; Luke, viii. 21. We extract Matthew, "Behold my mother and my brethren, (pointing to the disciples,) for whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Is it very improbable that these very words were alluded to on the Cross? their sense unquestionably was.

been treated otherwise from childhood; but we must lift the banner of the Cross and show that the account of this hallowed mystery is correct as far as human senses can fathom so immense a subject. Dr. Strauss observes:—

"The time of the Crucifixion varies. The Evangelists all agree that the darkness after the death of Jesus lasted from the sixth until the ninth hour, from twelve in the afternoon until three. Mark says, that Jesus was crucified at the third hour (nine in the morning), whereas, according to John, Pilate sat in judgment upon him at the sixth hour, by which time, according to Mark, Jesus had been fastened on the cross three hours."

No statements ever involved a larger portion of artifice and untruth than the above with respect to ancient writers. No one knows better than Dr. Strauss, were his mind not deflected from right reason, the indefinite character of the Greek ὡσεὶ. St. Mark's assertion Ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν.—"It was the third hour, that is, the third hour had passed, (we should say it had struck *nine*,) and they crucified him." St. John, xix. 14, Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὥρα δὲ ὡσεὶ ἕκτη*—τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. "It was the preparation of the passover, and *about* noon, (verging on noon, getting to mid-day,) then Pilate gave up Jesus to them to crucify him." We shall not demand for St. John the indulgence conceded without any difficulty to any profane author on such a statement as this, which is strictly correct, and the direct reverse of the definite language used by Dr. Strauss. We shall not plead that the feelings of John rendered him an inaccurate observer of time; feelings as deep and as intense in their opposite emotions as those that filled the bosoms of the battling hosts at Thrasymene, and rendered man insensible to the earthquake beneath his feet. We shall not claim this, but we do claim for St. John consistency with Mark to the letter. The night was at this period divided into four watches. The day was also divided into four quarters. Of this early division we find traces in Matthew, xx. The first quarter began at six, A. M., and continued until nine, A. M.; the second ended at *twelve*; the third at three, P. M.; the fourth at six, P. M. The first quarter was called the third hour; the second the sixth hour; Matthew, xx. 5; the third the ninth hour; and by this division John and Mark are perfectly consistent. Mark says it was the *third hour*, and they crucified him. Just as in our language we say it was

* Luke confirms both Mark and John, for he says, Ἦν δὲ ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη—"It was about the sixth hour," when the conversation on the Cross with the penitent thief took place. Jesus then, on the showing of this Evangelist, was crucified before the sixth hour, confirming Mark and taking the ὡσεὶ of John widely, being perfectly consistent with that Evangelist also. Dr. Strauss has omitted to notice this coincidence.

nine o'clock and *he was executed.* What was the exact time? Past nine. John then is rigidly correct, for the sixth hour division, the second quarter, had begun, it was about the sixth hour. No contradiction is here visible, but the closest coherence. We need not remind the classical student of the indefinite sense of ὥρα in Homer, where hours are not named, the word simply implying one of the *four* quarters of the day. It was not then *nine,* but past *nine,* according to Mark, and the* ὡσεὶ would well cover from its indefiniteness a longer time than the space of a single hour, which is all we need to bring us to about *twelve,* but it is needless on our hypothesis. We do not resort in this hypothesis to any changes of the MSS., which we are free to say, in the best uncial forms confirm the received reading. We do not require to adopt the notion of even so distinguished a commentator as the Rev. Hartwell Horne, of a change of Γ to the episemon ϛ. Mark and John are reconciled, without any alteration of the MSS. *Hour* by a singular coincidence in all languages receives an indefinite sense. In Italian it is used for a season of the year. " Les quatres heures du jour" imply Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night. Mechanical agency has placed us widely removed by accurate admeasurements of time, from ancient habits, but yet we have proved on this vitally important question that a degree of accuracy of a surprising character has been maintained throughout the narrative. It would, we feel, be needless to indicate to our readers while on this question the numerous passages of Scripture, where in extent of time the horary period of sixty minutes is constantly exceeded. We have next the following remarks on the death of Jesus.

" The thrust of the lance and flow of blood and water from the body of Jesus mentioned by John have probably originated only in the desire to establish incontestably the death of Jesus (who could not have been on the cross more than three hours, and according to John less—a very short time for death to ensue) and the literal accomplishment of prophecy."

The unfair character of Dr. Strauss, as a theological disputant, is unfortunately here too apparent. He adheres to Mark to contradict John. He next gives him up to establish a fresh assault. According to his notion, as Jesus was crucified at the third, and

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* To affect to confine the sense of this indefinite particle to an exact affirmation is perfectly absurd. Thus we have it in Xenoph. Hell. 1, 2, 9, Dindorf.; ἀναιτιασαντες ἐξ αὐτων ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν—" killing *about* a hundred of them," Judges, iii. 29; ὡσεὶ δύο καὶ χιλιάδες —*about* ten thousand. With respect to *time,* Luke, i. 56, ὡσεὶ μῆνας τρεῖς—*about* three months, ibid. iii. 29. The age of Jesus, ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα—*about* thirty. The indefinite character of these expressions would alone, without farther reference, extend the ὡσεὶ to the limit we want, and even more.

died at the ninth hour, six hours were consumed in the agony of the cross. But for the sake of argument, allow the smallest possible limit. Was it wonderful that a person severely scourged, buffeted, insulted, agonized by every conflict of conceivable sensation, half dead probably when affixed to the cross, certainly in too great a state of inanition to be his own cross-bearer, was it, we demand, wonderful; would it have been a mighty marvel had he died instantly? A prophecy too became fulfilled in the sudden death—"a bone of him shall not be broken:" a death of a lengthened nature would have prevented this prophecy reaching its fulfilment, and that of Jesus was therefore requisite for prophetic verity. However short the death may seem to Dr. Strauss, it was sufficiently lengthened to fulfil a great variety of prophecies of difficult limitation, and to promise deliverance to the penitent malefactor. St. John's account of the Crucifixion embraces a great variety of facts, found in no other Evangelist, and relates principally to the person of Christ. On him then was concentrated the eye of John. When the Roman spear pierced the pericardium, St. John saw it, and from this singular physical fact, unknown to many of us from our limited experience, even now when anatomy has been studied for hundreds of years, we draw the irresistible conclusion as in the bloody sweat, that he who chronicled these extraordinary instances must have seen them or gained from ocular witnesses the holy verity. The wound of the pericardium is mortal. The blood and water were no mythical illustration. They were a positive testimony to the actual death of Christ. Such a testimony as the fact needed. It incontestibly established the death.

The limits of the present article will allow of no further extension than simply to notice the last point connected with Jesus, the Ascension. The long argument of Dr. Strauss may be reduced into the following form.

"The first difficulty in this supernatural occurrence is suggested by the question,—How can a material body as that of Jesus was, and must have been, be conveyed through the air? The next is found on the supposition inferred by this ascent, that the seat of God and of the righteous is situated in the sky alone. A childish absurd notion, (it being well known that the seat of God is in no one definite invariable spot,) and one which belongs only to the ancient ideas of that time. Matthew and John relate nothing of this ascent, and Mark and Luke do not agree in their account; Mark makes Jesus ascend into Heaven after he had been speaking unto the disciples as they sat at meat, and Luke after he had led them to Bethany. According to Luke likewise Jesus ascended on the third day after his Crucifixion, whereas the Acts of the Apostles mentions the period of forty days, a favourite mystical number in sacred history."

As to the fact of a material body ascending into Heaven, this is of the purely divine portion of holy writ, and its credibility or not as a deed of God (to whom all things are possible), depends on testimony. We have the Apostolic in its favour, a testimony given in the teeth of the unbelievers; and one from which, when fully assured of this, nothing human in its most powerful extent could detach the timid disciple of Jesus who had once forsaken him and fled. The second difficulty refers to the locality of Heaven, to the ubiquity of God. It is most true that God is everywhere, that the wheels of his throne are over all space; but it is equally true that the Divine Being has places of superior development of his might: and orders exist inferiorly gifted with vitality from himself, from angels to man, from man to the zoophyte. Nature is not all animated: even in her then the *life of God* is not equally developed—all is *not mind*. *In mind* God chiefly develops himself. The Supreme then having formed a mingled system of spirit and matter, himself thereby gives proof of Heaven and Hell; spots of high development of himself, spots of inferior lustre or abstraction of *himself*. Hell is an early, primal truth, impressed upon the *records of all nations;* developed like the idea of God universally, whether in natural or revealed religion. It is seen in the deeds of the evil, as the opposite principle appears in the opposite acts. God has developed himself in a widely different manner in the hearts of Strauss and Newton, in Aristotle and Plato, in Socrates and Christ; and this is but the silent symbol of the overhanging futurity. Those nearest and dearest to God are those most illumined by his sacred will. In the knowledge of that is their heaven; and the stainless angel that stands in the presence of God in the pure light of his early creation, and the holy that on earth have sought God and found him in his general development, will retain hereafter, in a state separate from sinners, a general view of Divine mercy, with a peculiar exemplification of it in themselves, in their own eternity and purity. To this things mortal were the type, and to this the heavenly will bear the strictest analogy.

The subject of the Ascension presents a difficulty indeed, but it is one equally so to the believer and the Atheist, the enthusiast and the sceptic; to the Etherialist, whether Brahmin, Buddhist, Mage, Mahometan, or Christian; or the Materialist of Europe and China. All alike confess their inability to solve the mysterious union of mind and matter, which all admit, and none can deny. Why then should the solution be imposed on the believer alone? Can the finite take in infinite?

Yet though the subject cannot be, from its very nature, unexplained, it may be brought partially within the grasp of human

conception, and made, if we may use the phrase, demonstrably tangible to reason itself, by the process of analogy. We shall here make the attempt. True it is that even physics minister in themselves to these sublime metaphysical conclusions. If we take three of certain ponderable substances, and mix them together, so far from producing any additional weight, as might be expected, they become in their union imponderable—apply this fact in physics to the Ascension—is it too much to imagine that the human nature, when united to the Divine, became imponderable, and retained affinity to the master principle.

As to the Ascension, it is not true that, as Dr. Strauss affirms, Matthew and John relate *nothing of this event*. Dr. Strauss is not fortunate in the accurate development of his deductions; we have here again to set him right on collation, which he does imperfectly, and which is essential to the accurate development of any biblical notion. St. John, he ought in fairness to have stated, considered the Ascension as an unquestionable fact that must have completion, or he would not have recorded the words of our Lord to Mary: "Touch me not; for I am not ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God."—John, xx. 17. I need not say that omission of this event, the Ascension, when chronicled by two Evangelists and thus recognized by John, who expressly lays down the principle that omissions are not contradictions,* forms no argument against Christianity. For St. John, as above, expressly states that he has to lay down the fundamentals of Christianity; and this done, when enough is developed to give us life in the name of Christ, he considered his work complete. We presume also that St. Matthew, closing his narrative with the appearance of our Lord to his disciples in Galilee, and with the wonderful general charge to the Christian Church, may be considered as confining himself to such facts as he was best qualified to detail. We will not say how far *life* might have been continued to that Apostle, so as to embrace the Ascension also in his history. It is enough for us that each Apostle shows no design to make his narrative artfully correspond with another, and that fresh facts, each involving in itself fresh sources of revelation, are developed—all consistent with each other, all eminently conducing to the same great conclusion of life from the dead, and holiness and beatitude to the just.

But Dr. Strauss affirms "*Mark and Luke do not agree in*

* "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name."—John, xx. 30, 31.

their account. Mark makes Jesus ascend into Heaven at meat, and Luke after he had led them to Bethany." The accounts are perfectly consistent on the great principle of St. John, that an omission is not a contradiction. Xenophon omits the name of Epaminondas, as the leader of the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra; does any one doubt that the noble Theban gained that battle? But it will be said we expect in things divine greater accuracy; and we have it assuredly, for the fishermen of Galilee in their simple story are never contradictory. Thus St. Mark and St. Luke are perfectly consistent. The first states that the eleven were at meat when Jesus appeared anterior to the Ascension; the second, that Jesus ate before the Apostles. St. Mark states that after conversing with his disciples on this occasion he ascended: St. Luke, that he led them forth to Bethany, a Sabbath-day's journey from Jerusalem, a brief walk after the repast, and that he then ascended. St. Mark clearly never contemplated the ascent from *the interior of a dwelling*; he simply adds the fact, that after a peculiar conversation with his disciples which he details, and the points of which are in perfect agreement with the same discourse in St. Luke, the Ascension took place. St. Luke represents this conversation as continuous, and protracted during the course of an evening's walk, and that then the divine Peripatetic ascended to Heaven, developing thereby his divine affinity to the holiest of Beings. We have in this no inconsistency. St. Mark's omission is no contradiction to St. Luke's affirmation.

Again, *According to St. Luke, and Mark likewise, Jesus ascended on the third day after his crucifixion, whereas the Acts of the Apostles mentions the period of forty days, a favourite mystical number in sacred history.* Were this the fact, St. Luke would be the most singular of writers, for as the author of the Acts of the Apostles he would then be made to confute himself. The general detail of all the Evangelists is entirely in favour of a long period of communication between Christ and his disciples after the resurrection; and we shall instance this in one simple fact, to the development of which, if we are right in our remembrances, we are indebted to that malleus hæreticorum—Bishop Watson. We shall however substantiate our recollections by references. Tom Paine, if we rightly recollect, viewed with the same felicity with which he classed Luke as an Apostle, the whole period between the Resurrection and Ascension as three or four days. In this he has some affinity to Dr. Strauss; but the peculiar distinction of the Neologist is, that it is difficult to appreciate his sense of Christianity, whereas in Paine it was nearly *nil*. We have in St. John the benefit of a continuous narrative of many days after the Resur-

rection, and we shall from thence be enabled to run on to a large extent of time. Christ appears (from John, xx. 19,) to the disciples and Mary Magdalen. The same day, "τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων," Thomas disbelieves this interview when informed of it; eight days after it Jesus appears to the disciples and Thomas. (xix. 26.) Then the disciples leave Jerusalem and proceed to the Sea of Tiberius. Now this was in Galilee, distant sixty or seventy miles from Jerusalem; certainly we may conjecture four or five days as intervening before they could reach Galilee from Jerusalem, poor and without the means of other aid than their own feet. Suppose some stay a day or two before St. Peter's fishing. We are now advanced to sixteen days from the Resurrection. Our Lord then appears to his disciples. They return to Jerusalem, say they arrive on the twenty-first; and therefore in nineteen days after the return from Galilee to Jerusalem the Ascension takes place from Bethany. How well, then, as far as we can collect evidences of this kind, do these clearly undesigned coincidences cohere. With this detail St. Mark is quite consistent; and St. Luke* says nothing that can negative it, but goes on in continuous narrative from the return of the disciples from Emmaus to the general meeting at Jerusalem. After this general meeting the departure into Galilee ensues, and then we are to take the words of Luke, from the 46th verse, as descriptive of the words of our Lord before the Ascension. So that, unless we view from the 33rd of Luke to the 50th verse of his Gospel as one continuous conversation, Dr. Strauss's argument involves in it an impossibility and a clear discrepancy with the other Evangelists, to each of whom Dr. Strauss himself gives credit, in order to obtain his evidence to discredit any other when it suits his own views. As to the holy number 40, the period of Moses on the Mount, of the Deluge, it is indeed a mythical number to which the Christian Church has ever attached a value, as in the name of the beast; far beyond the cyphers that compose it; but we have shown that the natural course of events leads mainly down to an analogous conclusion. The assertion then of Luke, that

* The τότε of Luke, xxiv. 45, is clearly used in the same sense as in Matthew, xxiv. 9. Circa ista tempora—"about that period." It does not bear any other sense than this, as is proved by the above collation from St. John. Or in the season of the days intervening between this interview and the Ascension, at that period Christ expounded the Scriptures to the Apostle, and after the expiration of many days continuance was ended, he led out the disciples to Bethany and then ascended. This sense of τότε, as referring to a period broadly in the writer's mind, such as the Resurrection period in Luke, is borne out by every classical writer, consult G. E. Æschyl, Agam. Bl. 772, 1128. The wide sense in which Cassandra in the last cited line applies it, far exceeds the Evangelist's *days*, for she applies τότε to *years*. In a similar manner we must not confine the words of Mark "μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι," "after speaking with them," to the immediate conversation, but refer it to that protractive conversation to which we have alluded anterior to the Ascension.

Christ was ὀπτανόμενος over the space of forty days by the Apostles is borne out by the natural and undesigned coincidences to which we have alluded; and it would appear clear to any fair investigator, that the brief period of instruction to which, we have shown, our Lord had simply to confine himself a few days anterior to his Ascension, was not more than was requisite to unfold to the limited faculties of man the spirit of the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, as to his divine mission: to open their hearts to comprehend the Scriptures, to trace out the Apostolic path, to fortify them against the world in arms against the faith; to strengthen them, and make them victors over the devil, the world, and the flesh:—to effect this, and it was effected in human beings before the astonished Pagan, required the power of a God visible in human shape, working out human energies in the glorious enterprise.

Our readers will require some estimate of the author's powers: these we think far, very far, below his reputation; and of these we think dexterity the principal. It is not easy to refuse the praise of this to a writer who assumes and denies each authority in turn, as suits his own purpose; and by avoiding any fixed ground himself, reduces antagonism to the mere defensive; an incalculable advantage. He can boast with Hector—

'To right, to left, I shift the sounding shield.'—*Iliad*, vii. 237.

But he has none of the talent for open fight that distinguishes the Trojan hero. Small in honesty, great in ingenuity, he takes a simple statement merely to turn it into suppositions; values a fact only so far as it serves towards an hypothesis; and, requiring for his own theories and assertions the very indulgence he denies to the Gospel statement, favours us with a series of conjectural arguments in the modest shape of a Variorum reading to evangelical History! Thus expecting his own inferences to be received in preference to the very facts on which they are confessedly founded! Dr. Strauss has a decided predilection for hypothesis over history; when weak on fair ground, he drags his antagonist to the water: and he excels in arranging, distinguishing, and balancing non-entities. Veiled in a thick fog of profane authorities, profane only are authorities with him, he can never see the case as it is, but as it ought to be. He disdains the credulous scepticism of Paulus and his followers, to reach greater scepticism through wilder credulity. His reading is profuse, not correct; his deeper lore is inauspicious.

The Chaldaic references we have exposed; the Persian are worse. Oromasdes and Ahriman were *principles* originally. The deevs were not properly spirits, but earthly demons, (کوایش)

Kou-aish, mountain-men; absolute tangibilities, even to the close of Giamshid's reign, nearly the time of Solomon. They wrestle, fight, are chained, and slain. To a later period then must be referred the spiritual theories that originated Manichæism, &c. Our author has confounded the Deev with the Jin.

Dr. Strauss relies on the Zend-Avesta: to what does this amount? We give the Zend-Avesta the antiquity it claims; and that is, after the Greek invasion; the reign of Ardshir, the Sassanide. Now centuries elapsed between the ruin and restoration of this system, reputed Zoroaster's; and the books compiled then from memory by the priests or mobeds, or even let us admit them *saved*, are monstrous and vitiated; they cannot then be the pure doctrines of that pure teacher of truth. Late authorities for early doctrines are suspicious.

We can only observe, in conclusion, that the arguments of Dr. Strauss have all, or nearly all, been answered by English writers. If he cannot read them we regret it, as he might have learned straightforwardness from them. If the omissions of Evangelists are contradictions, then Mark and John, who do not mention the birth of Christ, while they narrate his life deny his existence! Dr. Strauss vaunts highly of his book; we could wish a better antagonist.

Art. VI.—1. *Palac w Kaniov. The Castle of Kaniov, a Poem in three Cantos.* By Severin Goszczynski. 1834.

2. *Dziady. The Festival of the Dead, &c.* By Adam Mickiewicz. Wilna, Petersburgh, Paris, and Germany. 1833.

The name of Poland has created everywhere the deepest interest, not merely from a feeling commensurate with the magnitude of the catastrophe that has involved it, nor yet only from the vain but heroic and desperate efforts recently made by its inhabitants for the rescue of their native land. The three great powers that assumed and partitioned that unhappy kingdom most undoubtedly view their own act in a light very different from others, and are, in the opinions of many, provided with an excuse for at least some portion of their conduct: this point we cannot here examine; but must proceed to observe that neither the powers alluded to themselves, nor their warmest partizans, have ever affected to regard the measure as other than deeply to be deplored, and excusable only by the presumed urgent necessity of the case.

If such then is the feeling of the partitioning arbitrary governments; if their subjects, though conscious of their own country's aggrandizement by this forced brotherhood, yet cherish and avow

their regret for the results at least, if not for the originating cause; we can scarcely wonder that lands more jealous of their proper liberties should deepest sympathize in the catastrophe that has deprived a nation of its existence, and should carry this feeling even to the generous excess of forgetting their errors in the severity of the punishment that has overwhelmed them.

But there exists a motive, and it is to this that we have alluded in the outset, stronger than admiring pity for the brave who struggle vainly with their fate, and warmer than either the abstract sense of injustice or those moral sympathies of our nature that, in the sorrows and sufferings of our brethren, confess our own weakness in the hands of destiny. Kingdoms before Poland have fallen and been crushed; nations have been driven by force or accident from their homes; and the native, a slave in his own land, or an outcast in that of the oppressor, in every age has afforded a subject for the historian, an example for the philosopher, and to the poet a theme of lamentation, vengeance, or anticipative restoration. But while in those cases the effects are before us, the cause is generally hidden, in distance, or in time: it is far otherwise with Poland: the catastrophe of her extinction is not merely an historical verity, or even a cotemporary grief; it is a catastrophe that occurred when the existing generation, they who reason, and they who rule, were in the very spring and freshness of existence; when the sterner concomitants of life and necessity were all undreamed of or unbelieved; and the world was but seen as through the mists of the morning, enlargening its glories and tinting its very shadows into charm.

At such a moment of calm and unsuspecting quietude the blow that extinguished Polish independence shook every youthful heart in its recoil, even to that of her very assailants. It shook even the bosoms of that more matured race who were listening to the first sounds of the revolutionary tempest, and who owned amidst dangers that dimly threatened themselves the deeper wail of that achieved destruction; the last groan of a co-existing independence which they should recognize no more; the Western Rachael weeping for her children; that would not be comforted because they were not.

In the physical world when the mind is otherwise occupied striking events will often leave a strong though unnoticed impression: and this, when the more immediate turmoil of passion is over, will come over the spirit like a voice of the past, an echo of its solitude; heard and felt more distinctly through each silent vibration of the pulse, and sinking deeper and deeper upon the ear and the heart. We cherish it we know not why, and dwell upon the accents till they seem mysterious as the utterance of a half-spoken doom: and such in truth they become when some

combination that had escaped our busier moments unveils itself in its effects, and we feel how closely it touches us. Such in the political and moral world is the parallel instance of the French Revolution and Poland. The more imminent danger is past; the less obvious catastrophe remains;—in struggling only against the passing *accident* of revolution, we have permitted the establishment of a yet more dangerous principle;—Extinction.

This then is the double source we referred to of our sympathy for the Poles, that to our youth they were as brethren, and torn from us then violently; and that our parents looked on at the extinction. We feel, however unavoidably, almost as accessaries—and we feel too, that, like the royal martyr's, their destruction is our own danger.—The sentence of Strafford was the doom of Charles; the Poles held the outposts against a power we now dread for ourselves.

We touch on the political question here only so far as it forms the basis of moral sympathies; for these are the foundation of poetry: and it is singular for England that while the generous voice of the most basely abused of her statesmen was alone among nations raised for Polish redintegration, and this as a moral right; yet that our countrymen alone among nations are wholly ignorant or regardless of the voice which still attests that country's nationality; which still, though stifled, outcast, sorrowing, and broken, binds the exile of all Europe to the one land of his home; and, marking a spirit that defies all vicissitude, forms the sole, last, best, and unquestionable earnest of the indomitable existence of Poland.

The living and inextinguishable voice of her literature has in truth awakened scarcely the faintest echo in our island. Though France and Germany, the Swede and the Dane, and even that sternest of her masters, the Russian, have caught and treasured in their several tongues the wild and mournful cadence of Polish harmonies, England, justly proud of her actual constellation of poets, has shown no curiosity for those that shine at distance, and whose beams have never glanced across the waves of her ocean zone. Their light in truth, like that of unknown stars, has never reached us to this very hour: and yet even prejudice must acknowledge that Poland at this very time boasts names that may well compete with all but the very highest of our own. If the combination of power and sweetness, simplicity and depth, the brilliance, the tenderness, the playful grace, wild melancholy, energy, softness, and impetuous passion of Moore have raised him to rank unrivalled as a lyrist by any writer of any age or country—with any name but his in that department Zaleski may fairly be compared. If the gloomy splendours of Byron alone veil

the stern summit of his own peculiar height, not the proudest of his countrymen who have caught and reflected those rays can aspire beyond the names of Mickiewicz and Malczeski; and though nothing perhaps since the time of Homer himself can equal, however careless, the torrent flow and eager energy of Scott, yet that traditionary lore and mystic gloom, so dear to the spirit of our mighty minstrel, finds throughout Europe its best but unequal representative in the mind of the youthful Goszczynski: destitute of Southey's elaborate but vivid and omni-picturing imagination, he yet unites his taste for preternatural powers, the sorcerer and the phantom, with a half-shrouded might and half-savage phantasticity that reminds us, sometimes of Coleridge, and sometimes of Monk Lewis. From the second and fourth writers alone we select our specimens in the present paper.

The peculiar temperament of the Poles, far less European than Asiatic, and which displays the restless levity of the modern Persian conjoined with the desperate valor of the ancient Scyth; a union not dissimilar to the Irish character; render them particularly sensitive to poetical impressions, and especially those which, like their history, bear the character of extravagance and gloom. In such temperaments, however, such impressions are generally fleeting, perhaps in proportion to their force and vividness. The most imaginative nations, therefore, are seldom the most poetical, for the essence of these habits is irregularity of impulse; whereas poetry, in its more serious strains at least, requires a fixity of thought and purpose, the offspring only of settled habits and institutions that train the mind for the loftier tasks. Compare the ancient Greek of Thrace or Thessaly with the Ionian; the inhabitant of Acarnania with the Athenian and even Bœotian. Weigh the Norwegian against the Swede, the Celt with the Saxon; the Swiss, the Biscayan, the Carpathian with the more cultivated inhabitants of adjacent plains. This case to, so obvious in Europe, is even more strongly exemplified in Asia; where the Tatar is mute before the Chinese; the Nepalese or Tibetan to the Hindoo; and the wandering Arab, despite his early boast of civilization and literature, kicks the beam when contrasted with the steadier Turk, and even with the more vivacious Persian. These last afford the strongest of striking contrasts, for it is with themselves in a different period of their history: under established systems and permanent institutions the efforts of the Persian muse rank high in the annals of fame: under a feeble rule and a desultory and irregular population she has dwindled into insignificance in all but the shortest flights.

But the foreign popularity of English poets of the day, and more especially of Byron, has produced a striking change, and

no where more than in Poland. The very egotism of that writer giving publicity to his own most private cogitations, threw a new light over the yet uninspired world. Men perceived with astonishment that their own pulses, passions, and experiences, all that they had passed over as indifferent, or concealed as peculiar, almost from themselves, and certainly from the rest of their kind, were feelings not merely incident to humanity itself, but common to the race instead of confined to the individual. They found also that the very breathings of the highest genius claimed and received solely from its accurate delineation of these experiences, that meed of praise, that submissive admiration, which had been previously deemed the tribute to only an undefined and indefinite faculty, such as genius was vaguely imagined to be. This lesson, we repeat, which the wider generalities of preceding poets had brought home only throughout ages to the gifted few, the bold egotism of Byron forcibly established for the many. Hence the multitude of writers have learned to look within themselves for the truths their predecessors timidly fancied to exist in external nature alone; and hence, abroad in some degree, and far more so at home, the vast improvement as to truth and observation within the last few years, so soon as the first sickly and sickening folly of imitation and affected misanthropic sentimentality had marred its own aims by rendering it impossible to read and ridiculous to purchase those trashy whimperings of factitious facts.

If such was the case at home, it can scarcely be wondered at that a country so humbled and bowed to dust as Poland, every particle of whose spirit was as by homœopathic tyranny, ground down and crushed into energetic expansion, should turn to seek in the realms of imagination that solace which the world of actuality denied; and since the present was dark, and the future but a doubtful gloom, should search for consolation from the records of the past. But whatever the efforts to drive away despair, a tone of sadness will spring from desolation; the hand of depression falters in its energies, and a damp, as of coming death, relaxes the chords of its lyre. Thus every line of the effusions before us is pervaded by a tone of undisguised and fatal sadness; and however varied the powers or warm the general spirit of the poet, we feel from the first that the burthen of his theme can be but fear and slaughters, ill-omens, desolation, and doom.

Though still in youth, and last in order of succession, our first specimens are taken from the writings of Severin Goszczynski, as the least matured of the poets for whom we have claimed attention; and this slight sketch of his character may not be uninteresting to the reader.

Goszczynski was born in the Ukraine, and from his tenderest years was wont to feed his imagination with the traditionary tales of his native land. His taste for solitude and habits of meditation necessarily increased the impressions thus received; and it cannot be wondered at that the situation of his country induced him, from the first, to join in those secret associations whose object was her enlargement from thraldom. Persecution followed of course; and, compelled to save himself by flight, the youthful enthusiast long found safety only by concealment in the villages of his countrymen, and consoled himself by wandering along the banks of the Dnieper, the scenes of so much that had engaged his earliest aspirations. It was under these circumstances that he composed, among others, the poem entitled the Castle of Kaniov, from which we shall offer some extracts. It can scarcely be doubted that this state of uncertainty exasperated still more the spirit of the poet against the foreign oppressor; and accordingly we find Goszczynski amongst the foremost of those who surprised the Belvidere, and, by the capture of the Grand Duke Constantine, set the example of insurrection to his countrymen. In the succeeding struggle he signalized himself not less as a soldier than a poet, most of his compositions being written in the intervals of military duty, and these we trust hereafter to lay before the reader. At the conclusion of the war he quitted Poland, we believe, for France, and has ever since devoted himself to the cultivation of his favourite pursuit.

The writings of Goszczynski have been praised for their strength and originality of conception. They abound in passages of beauty, force, and imagination; but the reader will also perceive that the bias of his birth, early life, and subsequent position have tinted his thoughts with deepest gloom, and that, in his Castle of Kaniov at least, these and the defects of youthful judgment have carried him into an excess. Some slight oversights and contradictions also may strike the reader, but the genius of the poet and the difficulty of his position will amply atone for slight blemishes like these.

We proceed to the poem of the Castle of Kaniov.

" The lofty towers of Kaniov rise
Like giant arms to reach the skies:
A nation's standard crowns their steeps;
Their strength a nation's frontier keeps;
Whilst wide o'er hill and dale outspread,
Below the hamlet's dwellings lie;
As infants tranquil on the bed
That sleep beneath the nurse's eye;
And proud the giant's feet to lave
Broad Dnieper rolls his darkling wave.

Thick, virgin forests clothe the shore,
  By feet of man untrodden there;
And grimly frown the mountains' hoar:
  Stern as the forehead of despair.

'Tis autumn's night—a night of storm;
  A browner bed the billows make;
And sullen clouds the heavens o'erswarm,
  And fiends midst dangerous pathways wake.
The traveller breathes a whispered prayer;
Whistles thro' reeds the furious air;
The famished wolf his victim kills,
Whose lowings echo o'er the hills;
The raging wind in fury speaks;
The lofty gibbet harshly creaks;
The carcase swings;—dogs howling, moan
The death of sleep o'er nature thrown.

  His sounding sabre at his side
  Rings, as the gibbet-sentry's stride
  Swift pacing, keeps that valley wide.
Soothed by the silent hour of night
  His senses court some waking dream;
Yet turns he, sudden, in affright,
  Roused by that gibbet's creaking scream,
And looks, as though its tenant drear
Again in life should reappear.
And, bolder now, his glance he turns
  Where, o'er the sheltering castle far,
  Like symbol of protecting star—
The turret's guardian watch-fire burns.
Hark!—'tis a rustling sound, scarce heard
Perchance some nest-disturbing bird:
It looms—it moves his path along—
'Satan, avaunt thee with thy throng!'
He makes the cross's sign:—'tis fled—
And murky darkness reigns instead:
He scans his musket's lock and sword,
Then paces calm with soul restored.

The moon-beam struggles thro' the cloud;
  'Tis something white that wanders there;
That form, half seen, the bushes shroud,
  But woman's song is on the air.
The bold Cossack's fond pulses own
That well-known song's awakened tone
Nor deem it strange if woman's voice,
  Known by its dulcet notes again,
With throbs of wildest bliss rejoice
  The stormy hearts of the Ukraine.

Oh—he no longer keeps the hill!
Once more the moon hath veiled her head;
Once more the mist is darkly spread;
The gibbet creaks—the wild dogs howl;
Thro' desperate paths the phantoms prowl;
The wind prolongs its moanings still."

The Cossack meets Orlika; but taking advantage of his absence from guard, a stranger steals the dead body and throws down the gibbet, while a demon-form assumes for a time the place of the corpse, to deceive the eye of the fugitive sentinel, Nebabo. This scene is described, not without some, and scarcely inappropriate, confusion, in a dialogue between an owl and his mate. The shouts of laughter sent forth by these doom-delighting birds at the thought that Nebabo must on the morrow take the place of the corpse, at length scare away the lovers; but not till Orlika has stated her rejection of the governor's offer of marriage.

A passage of great beauty now introduces us to a scene of festivity. Some groups are employed in converse upon superstitions; as of the red spirit who at midnight feeds on the blood of sleeping infants, (for the vampire is native to the spot;) of the goblins often detected in shedding the venom of flowers to spoil cream; of despairing souls unbaptised; and of spirits that sour the milk in the breast. Sadness and terror reign through the party.

"'Ho-hoop!—ho-hoop!'—Hark to the cry,
That, like the night-owl's, rings on high:
Near and more near its shrieks resound—
'Tis drowned Ksenia!—'tis the drowned!'—
Exclaim the fear-struck crowd around.
Stilled is the dance and mute the song;—
In heaps the trembling maidens throng:
The bolder sex their terrors hide,
Yet glance in fear from side to side
To watch that cry's unearthly sound.

'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!—Attaman!
'Ho-hoop—ho-hoop!'—The accursed ban
Approaching, chills each breast with fears;
And lo,—the phantom-form appears!
As on the wings of drunken fiend
She jerks and flaps the labouring wind:
Foul garb, and hair's dishevelled flow
Torn rags, dead flowers, soiled ribbands show:
The skeleton's gaunt form she bears,
Her eye a wandering wildness wears;
With shrieks, and clapping hands, as wide
Flaps her dull weight from side to side,

Still ceaseless rings th' infernal ban;
'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!—Attaman!—
'Ho-hoop!—ho-hoop!'—Oh God! while fear
Chills the choked blood, the fiend draws near:
Made, as to Satan's self, by all,
The cross's sign repels her call:
Though human seems that shape of ill,
It shuns the sacred symbol still:
And happy he who breaks the spell;
For woe to him she loves too well.
'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!'—midst their fears
She shrieks, and flies, and disappears.

Too sure the threatening heavens forbode
That castle's walls a weary load;
Too sure above those fated towers
Destruction's fearful signal lours.
The fearful form that all too long
Wanders the towns and woods among,
To fright the wandering traveller's way,
Now heralds Fate towards destined prey.
With yellower hue than corpse from tomb,
She comes and flies like thought of doom:
Her mirth more drear than laugh of owl,
Her voice, as dogs o'er corpses howl:
'Oh heaven, avert her demon ban!
'Oh heaven, preserve the Attaman!'
Thus with pale lips the listeners said;
Pale, tho' that form of fear was fled."—

Although our rugged efforts at verse do not and cannot essay to give the native graces of the original, still less to supply their place by foreign and adventitious ornament, in spite of every disadvantage it will be admitted, we conceive, that there is considerable force, spirit, and beauty in the original: but it is also apparent to the eye of taste that the spirit is irregular and the force unsustained; defects scarcely avoidable under the double difficulties of youth and position with which the poet has, as we have noticed, had to struggle in the progress of composition. The verisimilitude of the description too with the traditionary superstition itself is a serious bar to the poetic finish and dignity, for the superstitions of the vulgar are always essentially vulgar: though Shakspeare and Byron had the art to fling the deepest folds of their genius round the ignoble proportions of witch and vampire, stifling dull prate or revolting allusions, such as weary or shock and disgust the reader through all the scenic skill of the Brocken meeting in Faust. Our author has nothing to answer for on this head, beyond a close adherence to the rags and ribbons of the original. We must however point out the decided error of taste,

as regards effect, which he has committed, in separating the attributes of the fiend's external nature into two portions, as shown in our extract; the first, narrative in his own person, the second exclamatory from his groups, instead of accumulating them into one successive impression.

But the Attaman Nebabo, the handsome and beloved, the first Cossack of the Starost, is seen no more in his wonted haunts. He has waited for Orlika in vain, for once again—

" 'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!'—Fiends are in the air;
Oh, heavenly cross! turn them to ashes there!
That glance of hell that eyes him with delight
Nebabo sees, and knows the ill-omened flight.
War with the devil is no children's play;
The demon's daughter fain to lead astray
Nebabo signs the cross, o'erveils his brows,
And hides beneath the poplar's sheltering boughs:
To wait until no more be heard or seen
That song accursed, that devil's go-between.
'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!'—still she flies around:
'Ho-hoop—Nebabo!'—still her cries resound:
Darting cold gleams from eyes of dreariest blue
That mock the burning sulphur's livid hue."

She goes at length, but Orlika comes not. Offered the choice of marriage with the Starost, or her lover's death, for suffering the body to be stolen from the gibbet, the miserable girl resigns herself for his life:—

" The shout, the tumult, and the throng,
The flood of light, the brilliant walls,
Dark chequered as each shadow falls,
Proclaim the entering married pair.
That stillness tells each guest is placed;
The board with costly silver graced;
Where joyous guests the toasts prolong.
And loud hurrahs ring thro' the halls,
Then hushed—while gladdening voices fill
The pause, and harps, resounding still.

And winds o'er Dnieper's waters blue
Love the soft tumult to prolong,
Thrill to the exulting harp-strings true,
And catch the voice of song.
Again, again, the wine goes round,
Again its rings the dance hath wound;
And earth gives back the sound of feet,
Light pattering o'er her joyful breast;
As some fond mother's pulses greet
Her children's sports with joy confest.

But, as the wind-gust bears along
The sullen gloom of darkest clouds,
Even thus Nebabo flies the throng,
And far aloof his visage shrouds.
Headlong descends the steepest streets;
Cleaves thro' the astonished crowds he meets.

He seeks the stream,—the timbal's strain,
The tones that languishingly plain,
The joyous dance,—all, all are vain:—
With listening ear and brow of cloud
He rushes through that festal crowd.

His darkling shadow doth it seem,
That form that floats along the stream,
As seeks the youth the further shore?
So close, as touching now the boat,
Now lightly cleaves where surges float,
How scuds beneath the glancing oar:
Now on the waters calm reclined
Follows where glides the furrowing keel,
Now right, now left,—before,—behind,—
Tho' from its lips no accent steal.

* * *

The youth a moment checks his course
With listening ear and searching eyes;
His name awakes that omen hoarse
The burthen of detested cries—
'Ah, demon-born!' he murmurs low,
'Earth shall no more thy being know!
Tho' hell enshroud thee with its power,
Let my arm reach thee but this hour—
Fiends take my soul to direst ill
If this clenched hand shall fail to kill.'"

The demon hastens to embrace him, to imprint the kiss of fire on the lips of her chosen; but in the act of throwing her arms round his neck she faints and falls, covered with blood: his fist has split her skull!

"'Ho-hoop, accursed!—thus take thine own:'
Nebabo uttered, and is gone."

We have no space for the sequel of this tragic tale, and must now turn to a higher name.

Adam Mickiewicz is the son of an advocate and was born in Lithuania in the year 1799. He commenced his studies at Novgorod and completed them at Wilna, where, in the year 1822, he published his first literary labours, consisting of translations, original tales and ballads, and Grazyna, an historical novel. These works instantly procured their author a high reputation, as not-

withstanding the devotion entertained there, in common with the rest of the continent, for the bold originality of Göthe and Byron, and by none more ardently than the youthful poet himself from his childhood, it was felt that he had particularly addressed himself to the sympathies of his countrymen, and that his admiration for his great models had not led him into servile admiration—that error of inferior minds, even in youth.

A second volume, published in 1823, was not less successful than the first, and procured the author the unenviable distinction of a political visitation from the Russian government; which in fact could scarcely be expected to overlook the spirited and daring allusions contained in the Ode to the Polish Youth,—taken, too, conjointly with the author's intimate connection with the Polish Literary Society of Wilna, one of whose express objects was to nurse the stifled flame of patriotism and independence. He was banished, and retired to the south of Russia and the neighbourhood of the Krimea, where he continued to write, and attracted much notice. He was driven thence to Moscow; there Prince Galitzin, duly appreciating his high merits, interested himself warmly in his behalf, and after some delay and difficulty procured his transfer to Petersburg, where he was eagerly received: he subsequently travelled into Germany, and thus made the acquaintance of Göthe, and to Paris, where, we believe, he now resides.

The writings of Mickiewicz abound in passionate and patriotic sentiments, the evident results of his own peculiar temperament, darkened by melancholy; his sarcasm is brilliant and severe: and the moody spirit that pervades his compositions is relieved and set off by great powers of poetry and sweetness.

We give all the space we can allow for extracts from this distinguished writer.*—

THE SONG OF THE WAJDELOTA.†

(FROM THE POLISH OF MICKIEWICZ.)

" TRADITION ! O Tradition ! thou of the seraph tongue,
The arch that links two ages—the ancient and the young;
True arch ! thou art not broken by any stroke of fate;
No tyrant's touch profanes thee—while millions consecrate:
In thee our warriors treasure up their strength of hearts and swords,
The tissue of their holy thoughts—the lightning of their words !

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* We take the following poem from the first number of the Polyglot Magazine, in which we are glad to perceive this notice. " We intend giving large specimens from the Polish, with the original words, and for that purpose we are about getting a small fount of type cast."

† " A Lithuanian word—A pagan priest who sang to the people during their national festivities the praises of their ancestors."

" Thou song of olden glories ! like incense from the shrine
Of a nation's fame and freedom, thou risest up divine.
Thou song of olden glories ! like an angel at the gate
Of a nation's storied temple, thou art ever seen to wait
With wings of golden light, and a voice of thrilling might,
And the sword of an archangel like a red flame waving bright.

" Time may rot the written stone—and royal brigands burn—
But the song we loved of old, untouched, shall to our hearts return ;
The heroic legend of the dead the crowd shall ne'er forget,
They quench its thirst with ardent hopes, and feed it with regret.
It shall go amongst our hidden glens, and to our mountains cling,
And from the rock and ruin shall that olden spirit sing.

" The hoary peasant goeth forth to till the grassy plain,
And riveth with his ploughshare the bleached bones of the slain ;
He prayeth for the noble dead—the long-renowned in story,
And he singeth unto echos wild the old song of their glory.
' Rest—rest upon your bed of fame, where the good fight ye tried,
And sword in hand for freedom ye conquered and ye died ;
The stricken-down invader rests here beneath your glaive.
Where are your children ? Fathers ! O answer me, ye brave ! '"

* * * * *

We now give a large portion of the same author's beautiful poem, The Festival of the Dead. For this we cannot do better than extract from an interesting account in the Athenæum, which has published, we believe, the only sketch existing in English of Polish poets ; and to which our readers will be delighted to refer for full details :—

" There is an ancient custom still kept up in some parts of Lithuania, in which Pagan superstition is singularly blended with the more elevated notions of Christianity. This is called Dziady, or the Feast of the Dead. ' It is singular,' says the author, ' that the custom of treating the dead is common to all Pagan nations. In the Homeric times of old Greece, among the Scandinavian tribes, in the east, and even now in the islands of the new world, we may trace its existence.' The celebration of that feast in Lithuania commonly falls on the day when the Catholic church offers its prayers for the souls of the departed. The people congregate at midnight within the ruins of some old church or house situated near a cemetery. There they dress tables strewn with all the delicacies their poverty can furnish. A popular poet or enchanter takes his station in the middle of that circle, and calls upon the dead to rise and to choose what may alleviate their pains. None but the oppressors of the poor and the traitors of their country are scared away from the participation in the feast. How the Polish poet dealt with this superstition, and with what magnificent touches of feeling and fancy he ennobled it, it is easier to conceive than explain. The second and the fourth cantos only were originally published : the latter being an episode of an unfortunate love, in which the wrong done to the Gretchen of Göthe is avenged by the retributive torment of a being of Faust's sex."—p. 535.

THE FESTIVAL OF THE DEAD.

"SCENE—*A Chapel in a Burying-ground*; SEER, CHORUS, and SPIRITS.

Chorus.

All is darkness—silent all;
Coming signs our hearts appal!

Seer.

Close our temple's doors; and round
This grave in silence stand profound,
Whilst I summon here the dead.
Neither torch nor lamp shall shed
On our mystic rites its gleam;
Nor the moon shall cast its beam
On our altar—on this tomb,
While I spell what fate may doom.
Quick: in gloom our mysteries hide.

Old Men.

With all thy hests we have complied.

Chorus.

All is darkness—silent all;
Terrors now our hearts appal.

Seer.

Spirits that in purgatory
Bide, till purified for glory;
At this solemn midnight hour
Prompt obey my word of power;
To you my herald-voice I send
Hither forthwith each one wend.
Whom I summon to appear
Let him, at my spell, be here;
Whether in some molten lake,
Where his tongue no waters slake,
Or in ice if he abide,
By crystal frost all petrified,
Or crushed within some rifted trunk,
Or deep in horrid whirpool sunk;
'Hither let him now repair
From his dreadful, torturing lair.
Here is incense, here is prayer;
And upon our altar lies
All that's meet for sacrifice.

Chorus.

All is darkness—silent all;
Coming signs our hearts appal.

Seer.

Flaky yarn of hemp now bring
Thus I burn it for a spell;
High the kindled train up-fling,
Let your breath its flight speed well.
Higher, higher, yet more high,
Let it blaze, and blazing fly.

Chorus.

All is darkness—silent all;
Coming signs our souls appal.

Seer.

First appear, ye infant dead,
Souls from earth that early fled,
Breath that kindled like this flame,
Soon extinguished like the same:
Whoso hopes for paradise,
There to enter spotless, pure,
By this spell I him conjure
And let this single spell suffice.

Chorus.

All your thrall'd souls can relieve,
I'rayer and incense here receive.

Seer.

Lo! two infant forms descend;
From yon rainbow-cloud they bend,
Hovering, while their golden wings
Radiant light around them flings:
As two doves—two rose-bud leaves,
One cherub to the other cleaves.
Like twin angels, from the sky,
Downwards, downwards, lo! they fly.

Chorus.

Like two angels, from the sky,
Downwards, lo! they seem to fly.

Spirit of an Infant.

Quitting yonder fields of light,
We visit here the dense of night;
Seeking in this death-like shrine
Our mother; how may she divine
We were once her children?—Bright
Now in sunny beauty dight.
In the sky our dwelling is:
Sporting on the verge of bliss,
Deck'd with rainbow-plumes that burn
Like radiant gems. Would we return
Again to this chill nether earth
That witness'd once our mortal birth?
No! our new abode is brighter:
Purer joys—our hearts are lighter.
Yet tho' airless spots are ours,
Tho' cull we there no earth-born flowers;
Mother, still, still must it grieve us
Paradise may not receive us.

Seer.

Say, sweet spirits, what may save you?
What of earthly service crave you?
Hymn, or incense?—holy bread?—
Prayer that's chaunted for the dead?
Here's a banquet consecrated,—
Cates and fruits that shall not fail ye,
Here is wine that hath been blessed,—
Say may aught of these avail ye?

Spirit.

Nought availeth of your proffering,
Welcome else your pious offering.
Fixed our doom, and fixed our fate;
Nought can change our present state,
For on earth we tasted not
Cares and griefs of mortal lot,
Tranquil liv'd we, and each day
In childish frolics passed away;
Every hour for us was fraught
With pleasure that no profit brought;

Now that we are summon'd here
To this solemn rite, no cheer
Offer ye—nor prayer; nor shed
Wine-oblation for the dead.
Rather take two unripe fruits—
Such the offering best that suits.
Haply such a mystic boon
Paradise shall open soon:
Learn that whoso hath not tasted
Sorrow, but his life hath wasted
In unmeaning joy below,
Higher bliss can never know.

Chorus.

Henceforth heed we, all and each,
Solemn warning that ye teach;
Whoso here hath never tasted
Sorrow, but his life hath wasted
In unmeaning joy below
Higher bliss can never know.

Seer.

May paradise its blissful gate
Open to ye—soon or late.
Lo! two fruits unripe and bitter,
Since ye deem them offering fitter:—
Now in peace depart,—farewell:
We release you from our spell.
He that will not with us join
In orison for your salvation,
Shall obtain no prayer of mine:—
His be excommunication.
In the Father's name we curse him,
In the Son's, and Spirit's too,
In his guilt let him immerse him:
Holy Cross be witness true.

Chorus.

In the Father's name, &c.

(*The Spirits disappear.*)

Seer.

Now 'tis midnight's deepest noon;
Faster bar the gates and soon.
Bring a vessel filled with wine,
O'er it let a taper shine;
Kindle next a ball of tow,
And when I make the mandate sign
Let it burn, and then its glow
In the quenching liquid throw.

Old Man.

See! it burneth, see! it gloweth;
Fiery now the wine-flame showeth!

Seer.

Now appear whom I invoke,
Whom your winding-sheets still cloak,
You whom guilty lusts so bind,
That still your prison'd souls confined,
Within your festering corses lie
And to scape thence vainly try,
If perchance alleviate
Mortal prayer such death-doom'd state,
If it may your torment lessen,
And remove your dread unblessing,
By that doom that else too sure
Awaits you, hither I conjure.

Spirit (at a window.)

Birds so ruthless, fell, and foul,
Savage vulture, raven, owl,
Let us, ye unpitying race,
Enter in this sacred place.

Seer.

Heavens! what dire, appalling guise
Of horror shows it to our eyes!
Ghastly aspect—spectral mien,
Like some loathsome ghoul obscene,
Like some corse amid the slain
That fester on the battle-plain.
Like coal each eyeless socket gleams,
Sulph'rous smoke from nostrils streams
As from baleful, kindling fire,
Or noisome tapers that expire.
Rais'd as quills, each horrid hair
Showeth with a deadly glare,
As pinnacles to blood flame turning,
When by night a city 's burning,
From yon fearful spectre's head
Lurid horror round is shed.

Chorus.

As pinnacles to blood-flame turning, &c.

Spirit.

What! then know ye not again
This body rack'd by ceaseless pain?
Though in shape thus vile, abhorr'd,
Once ye own'd me for your lord,
This is but the third-told year
Since ye bore me on my bier;
Since ye bore me to my grave:—
Would I now were meanest slave!
Wherefore still is being left me?
Wherefore is not sense bereft me?
To sepulchral darkness doom'd,
I rot, yet cannot be consum'd.
Darkness—horror, aye, surrounds me,
Hateful more this light confounds me.
Tho' I bide midst thickest night,
Demon forms assail my sight,
While gnawing hunger, raging thirst,
Makes each moment more accurst.
Birds more fierce my entrails tear,
While torture grows, the more I bear.
Is there respite none—nor pause
From their piercing beaks and claws?

Chorus.

What may from such anguish free him?
Who may thus endure to see him?
Is there respite none, nor pause
From his torturers' beaks and claws?

Seer.

What may ease thy anguish'd soul,
And liberate from sin's controul?
Wilt thou taste our altar's store;
Shall we heaven for thee implore?
Here is bread all-consecrated,

Wine by which the soul is sated;
If aught of these may pardon gain thee,
Paradise shall yet obtain thee.

Spirit.

Paradise! oh! name it not;
Paradise I never sought.
That my soul, by dread appall'd,
From this corse be disenthrall'd,
This is all your aid I crave:—
Better hell than such a grave!
Welcomer its direst doom
Than be my own sepulchral womb,
My own accursed, loathsome tomb.
And here so nigh yon sky so fair
To feel far more than hell's despair;
See the joys I taste no more
Flitting still my eyes before;
Memory's sting for all the past,
Dread of what must ever last;
From night till noon, from noon till night,
Suffering hunger, suffering thirst,
While by these felon birds in spite,
My limbs are every instant pierc'd.
Know that thus the fates ordain
I must linger thus in pain,
Steep'd in my heart's gory stain.
Nor tho' fled my vital breath,
May I rest the sleep of death,
Till I've tasted of the cheer,
Wine and cates ye offer here.
Nay, grant me but a single sip
Of water that may quench my lip;
Grant me but a single grain
Of corn to soothe fell hunger's pain.

Chorus.

Grant him but a single sip
Of water, just to cool his lip;
Give at least a single grain
Of corn to soothe his hunger's pain.

Chorus of Night Birds.

Vain his prayer, and vain his groans,
Nought of these to us atones.
Eagle, vulture, kite, and owl,
Birds of prey, night's omen'd fowl,
Whom this caitiff wretch pursued,
Waging with us deadly feud,
Let them not obtain their will;
Let us snatch, and let us spill.
Sharpen each his claws and beak,
And on the felon vengeance wreak.
We from him will pluck whate'er
Pity giveth him or fear;
Wrench each morsel from his jaws
With our beaks and with our claws.
Ne'er hath he compassion felt,
None to him shall now be dealt;
Pity never did he know,
None in turn to him we show.
Tear the blessed bread to pieces,
So his soul it ne'er releases,
Tear each mangled, quivering limb,
Spite of holy prayer or hymn.

Raven.

What! and doth not hunger please thee?
Or complain'st thou thirst doth tease thee?
Hast forgot, how once I sought,
By reckless famine sore distraught,
But to taste thy garden's store,
Whose fruit temptation's aspect wore!
Three days I had not tasted food,
Yet thy hind, in savage mood,
Call'd his hound and chased me thence,
With pity none for such offence.
Nor might I enter 'neath thy roof,—
Thou bad'st a slave keep me aloof;
Next thyself did sentence pass
For that I had plucked a root,
And herb; that as the stream or grass,
Or air, or fire, are general boot.
Worthy thy sentence was of thee—
This thy merciless decree:—
'Let his punishment be such
That none dare hereafter touch
E'en of grass a single blade,
Or his foot my land invade.'
To a stake they bound, and beat
As thrashers flailing harvest-wheat,
Every limb, each bone, too, breaking
While my skin was rent and reeking.
Oh! compassion had'st thou none
For shriek of suffering or for groan.

Chorus of Birds.

No! compassion he had none
For shriek of agony, or groan.
Eagle, vulture, kite, and owl,
Seize the wretch so fell and foul;
Pity none to him we'll show,
Since no pity do we owe.
Tear the blessed bread in pieces,
So his soul it ne'er releases;
Tear himself, too, limb by limb,
Spite of prayer, and spite of hymn.

Owl.

What dost thou too, famine feel?
Hast forgotten when a meal
Vainly sought I at thy gate,
A houseless wanderer o'er the wild,
Midst winter's frost—at hour so late,
All upon the hallow'd eve
Of th' holy birth, yet didst thou leave
The famish'd widow and her child
To perish in such helpless state.
For compassion when I pleaded,
Little was my prayer-plaint heeded:
'Husband in his grave is sleeping;
Mother sick, with sorrow weeping,
Thou my daughter prisoner holdest;
Cold are all but thou art coldest,
Help—I perish in my trouble:
Give, and heaven will pay thee double.'

Thou in chambering and in wine
With thy riot revellers joining,
Badest those menial knaves of thine
Give no ear to plaint or pining,
But, heedless of my cries, to ' drag
Through the snow the beggar-hag.'
Thy mandate was obey'd: I fell,
And bound to earth by icy spell,
With the infant which I cherish'd,
Unpitied in that snow-grave perish'd.
Ruthless! thou hadst feeling none
For my frozen death-bed groan!

Chorus of Birds.

Ruthless! feeling thou hadst none:
Feel now for thyself alone.
Eagle, vulture, kite, &c. *(as before.)*

Spirit.

Is no succour—rescue near?
See my food these harpies tear!
Nought prevaileth pious prayer;
Nought may save me from despair—
Nor churchly rites, nor holy lay,
Chaunted on this solemn day,
Nought can now their vengeance stay.
Then am I doom'd for aye to suffer still;
So hath stern fate decreed its sterner will,
Him who on earth wore but the shape of man,
No mortal prayer may free from judgment ban.

Chorus.

Yes thou art doom'd to suffer thus for ever,
From such a fate no prayers of ours deliver;
For who on earth wore but the shape of man,
Our solemn rites free not from judgment ban.

Seer.

If 'tis so, away, away!
Wherefore, Spectre, should'st thou stay?
Thee, not human when alive,
From our presence now we drive.
Expel him in the Father's name,
In the Son's and Spirit's, too;
Lo! the Cross thy guilt to shame!
Hence, and take thy portion due!

Chorus.

Guilty soul, away, away!
Wherefore should'st thou longer stay?
Who was not human, &c. &c.
Never may we meet agen,
So we pray.—Amen, amen!

(The Spirit vanishes.)

Seer.

On this snake-form'd wand of mine
Ye a chaplet fix, and twine;
And I its flower-leaves will kindle
Till to burning smoke they dwindle.

Chorus.

Again new signs to sight appear,
To fill our hearts with hope or fear.

Seer.

Now obey my invocation,
Ye who dwelt in youth and beauty,
Yet mid frailty and temptation
Never swerv'd from virtue's duty,
Mundane joys and gauds despising
While on earth,—nor higher prizing
Than these mystic herbs, that burning,
Are to ashes now returning.
As these too never yielded fruit,
Gave not food for man or brute;
Nor deck'd the brow of blooming maid,
But votively our fane arrayed,
Hung above our altar high,
So our thoughts were on the sky.
Still among ye if there be
Who Paradise may not yet see,
By this mystic rite we urge him
From his soul's last stain to purge him.

(Vision of a Maiden appears.)

As the bow the clouds athwart
Flings its arch with rich gems fraught,
Till mirror'd in the lake 'tis gleaming,
Yon form of more than earthly seeming,
Mien that may with angels vie,
Comes in robe like new-formed snow;
Yet a tear is in her eye,
Yet a grief upon her brow.

Chorus.

With that mien may angels vie;
Shines her robe like new-formed snow;
Yet dims a tear her sorrowing eye,
Yet a grief is on her brow.

Seer.

Round her head a chaplet wreathes;
In her hand a fair flower breathes;
Plays a lambkin wild before her,
A butterfly is hovering o'er her.
Fain would she the lambkin reach,
But it heedeth not her speech;
Fain to catch the insect trieth,
But its upward flight denieth.

The Maiden's Spirit.

Erst was I Tana fair and young,
My charms the theme of every tongue;
But though many for me burned,
Of none the passion I returned;
Cold to love, its prayers I spurn'd;—
Gay and careless never needed
Lover, nor his suffering heeded.
Happy as a sportive girl
With flowers to braid my tresses' curl,
The gold-wing'd butterfly to chase,
Or some fondling bird embrace,
Never did I lend my ear
When some idle youth drew near,
When his amorous suit would press;
Ne'er would I its meaning guess.
Twice ten summers' past like this
Free from sorrow,—void of bliss,

Were mine; and—wherefore, know I not,
No bliss is in my present lot.
I seem to pine for something miss'd:
Free to fly where'er I list,
With wing that far outstrips the gale,
I sweep o'er wood, and plain and vale.
Now, I of the rainbow weave
A bright-dyed veil for sunset eve;
Now, the dewy pearls I change
For gemmed flies o'er meads that range.
Still some wish—strange, undefin'd,
Ever haunts my restless mind;
Still I seem to lack some mate
To cheer my ever lonely state.
Yet there appeareth to me none;
Still alone where'er I rove.
Restless, listless, all in vain
I tell my heart, this is not pain.
As heretofore, so now I seem
To live but in a vacant dream.
Could I feel grief, it would grieve me
Earth nor heaven will now receive me.

Chorus.

Yes, it is for thee decreed,
In such state to rest, unfreed:
Nor to thee may it be given
To dwell on earth, or enter heaven.

Seer.

Still if aught our prayers avail thee,
At this hour, they shall not fail thee.
Is't for fruits of earth thou yearnest?
Or our supplication earnest?
Lo! we offer fruits or prayer,
So either save thee from despair,
Whate'er thou listest freely choose thee,
So paradise may not refuse thee.

Spirit.

Nought of those do I require:
I may know no state that's higher.
Wherefore with thine offers pain'st me?
Paradise is shut against me.
Yet, tho' heaven I may not enter,
Let me heavenward take my flight,
And from that sphere, peradventure,
I may draw some creature bright
To this nether world, and cheer
With him my solitude, till here
I seem to dwell in heaven's own sphere.

Seer.

Vain such wish: still do not grieve thee,
Yet shall paradise receive thee.
The veil of dread futurity,
Pierced by my prophetic eye:
When two circling years have pass'd
Such shall thy state be at last.
Vain our incense now, and vain
Our prayer to help thee heaven to gain,
Heaven, nathless, thou shalt inherit:
With this console thee, joyless Spirit.

(*Spirit vanishes.*)

Whoso doubteth—heedeth not,
Let him flee this sacred spot,
And in the Father's name avaunt,
In the Son's, the Spirit's too;
Let such abstain our mystic chaunt;
And this Cross's sight eschew.
Such enter not our fane again,
So we pray. Amen, amen!

Chorus.

Whoso doubteth, &c.

Seer.

Let us now our temple strew
With leaves of poppy and their dew:
Ended is our solemn rite;
Now your quenchèd tapers light.
Hark! the herald-bird of morn
Tells us 'tis already dawn;
Let me, then, ere ye disperse
Closing prayer for all rehearse.
But hold! what strange portent is yonder!
Filling all my mind with wonder.

Chorus.

Wonders still our eyes salute,
And our tongues are stricken mute!

Seer.

Who art thou in sable weed?
Woman, dost our voice not heed?
Wherefore sitt'st thou on that tomb?
Ah! the walls begin to shake,
The loosening floor to heave and quake,
And from forth its yawning womb
A phantom rises, grisly, grim;
Lo! in silence, by her side
He takes his seat, and she by him,
Her spectre bridegroom, she his bride.
On her turn'd that ghastly face,
As he waited her embrace.
Horrid sight! more frightful yet
Runs a sanguine streak all wet
From its bosom to its feet.
Doth our eyes some sorcery cheat?
See—it pointeth to its breast,
Yet what it means may not be guess'd.

Chorus.

See—it pointeth to its breast,
Yet its wish may not be guess'd.

Seer.

Spirit, I adjure thee, speak;
Tell us what thou here dost seek,
Prayer that heaven propitiates,
Earth's blessed fruits or other cates?
Phantom, give us answer some:
No! it still remaineth dumb.

Chorus.

Phantom, &c.

Seer.

If reply thou deignest none,
Hence, and from our fane begone.
Whoso heareth—heedeth not,
Let him flee this sacred spot,

In the Father's name avaunt,
In the Son's, the Spirit's too;
Let this Cross his rashness daunt,
Lest his daring he should rue.

Chorus.

So be it then;
Amen, amen!

Seer.

Stay'st thou! demon then thou art,
That will not speak, will not depart.
Be thou curs'd, or be thou blest,
Hence, nor more our rites molest.
See, the sepulchre gapes wide;
Sink thou down and there abide;
Else with this cross I'll exorcise
The fiend that in that body lies.
Hence! to wood, or stream, or fell,
There with loathsome monsters dwell.
Stay'st thou? Say what fiend thou art,
That will not speak—will not depart?

Chorus.

He stirreth none—he heedeth not,
But stands transfixed to the spot.

Seer.

In vain to ban him hence I strive;
Every adjuration faileth.
Bring holy water; that may drive
Away this fiend: it nought availeth.
He moves not—is by nought afeard;
As erst he stood, he standeth yet,
Like granite pillar huge uprear'd
Its base in earth all deeply set.

Chorus.

He stirreth none—he heedeth not,
But stands transfixed to the spot.

Seer.

Passing fearful this portent!
What may by such sign be meant?
Woman, thou in black array,
Who and what this phantom, say.
Thy husband liveth—children, too,
Then what the bond 'twixt him and you?
Wilt thou not vouchsafe reply?
Why this ghastly smiling, why,
When such appalling shape is nigh?

Chorus.

Doth the spectre please thy sight,
That thou show'st such sad delight?

Seer.

Bring yon consecrated taper
That this dread visitant I banish;
In vain it burns with incense vapour—
The evil spirit will not vanish!
Drag the sorceress hence,—away;
Break her spell without delay;
Drag her from our holy fane,
Lest she work some charm of bane.

(To the Woman.)

Why look'st thou on that form so hated?
As though therewith fascinated.

Chorus.

Why gazest, &c.

Seer.

Ha! the corse-like spectre stirs!
It follows, see! each step of hers!
Where they drag her, *that* goes too—
Lo they're vanish'd from our view!
Strange portent and awful sign,
Who its meaning shall divine?

Chorus.

Strange portent, and awful sign!
None its meaning may divine.

We shall speedily resume these selections from a poetry so entirely and so undeservedly unknown to England.

ART. VII.—*Fermer der Geniale.*—(Fermer the Genius.) A Novel by Lewis Tieck; translated into English, with Philological Notes, and an Essay on the Author, by Ferdinand Marckwort. London and Brunswic. 1837.

GENIUS!—What a world of imaginations and recollections are wakening at the name! One sense of ineffable, unenviable glory, the pinnacle of a precipice, which some desire, but all dread: the height to which we climb perhaps in a dream, and slip from, only to perdition; or, waking, thank our stars we never tried it in reality. Such is genius in its own proud, solitary, and irrevocable position, from which, like the thoughtless sea-boy who placed his foot on the top-mast head, there is no medium, no descent, but a plunge into the yawning sea. Such was Napoleon's, who conquered all things, even hope; too great to leave himself the possibility of permanence. Such was Scott's, accumulating lands and debts; such Byron's, dazzling Europe, to die in its obscurest corner; and such, though in minor degree, the lot of those who can boast nothing of credit but dishonoured bills, and whose sole hope of remembrance rests not in their own but their tailors' books, where they stand immortalized from generation to generation, without a chance of their names being effaced.

But what is genius? a spirit that makes all happy but itself and its tradesmen. This is scarcely a sufficient definition,—folly itself might rival half this: or does it bring happiness to its possessor in despite of storms? goodness alone can do so much:—or does it join with others to make every moment happy? assuredly not by any means—but if the contrary, there is a vast deal of unsuspected genius in the world.

But genius when it works, which is not often, works prodigies,—and without any apparent means; it is a kind of mental engine, substituting steam; and empty pockets are its locomotive power; a power, unfortunately, never new, but yet in constant activity. Nature, said the philosophers, terribly abhors a vacuum, and makes every effort to obtain a plenum by the materia subtilis; so does her favoured son: both, on the same system, carry it out to the utmost of their means and spread it wherever they go or try to go: it is a power that is substance in vacuity, and in obscurity, light: that in coldness wakes warmth and glows amid destitution: that whispers to leaves, and feeds the fountains of the stars, and mingles with the soul's overflowings; bears the voice of winds, and holds the planets in their aërial course, and fills, though unseen, the blank intervals of life itself with a glow and a balm, of etherial ecstacy. In short does every thing but get money.

This power is, however, considerably cut down by the demonstrative system of modern invention:—the older lucubrations of the Aristotelian, moral, critical, or even poetic, are met by the New Method of Bacon's disciples; the speculative philosophy that attempts the cashing of a hopeless bill is put down by the practical philosophy that refuses the money; and "genius free to range" no longer, is confined to Rules, if not of reason, yet of the Fleet—there it joins companionship wild and bad; tarnishes its wings in the foul stream of Fleta; takes unto it seven other spirits more wicked than itself; and since it cannot reach heaven in its pride of solitary flight, is satisfied to fill its belly with the husks of swine.

Is this genius? that diamond ray, light without heat, and though dazzling every eye yet cold and hard as the mere stone? Goethe, himself a doubtful character, quarrelled with the word in purest German, and insisted on altering its nature through its name which he chose to call *Geniale.* And thus speaks the worthy translator—

"Genial is a word which frequently occurs in works written during these forty years, and it is particularly Goethe, who has nationalized it and fixed to it a meaning which, though it never answers the English word genial, (procreating, festive, gay) combines the humorous, the deep and the original, in a word, great powers of intellect. The English word genius conveys a meaning rather too elevated for the intention of the author. Genial is a word which even the most rigorous purists will probably never succeed to proscribe, as there does not exist in the German language (not the dictionary only, which can hardly contain the third part of a modern language) a word equally comprehensive and including such different ideas at once; and we feel the more and more that the employment of words ought to be subjected to the clearness of the idea, that language is merely a vehicle, and that, in general, the admission of foreign words, if restrained, is highly susceptible of enlarging the indigenous materials of a language."—p. 81.

We shall never, as philologists, and as critics likewise, be surprised at the impossibility existing for the purists to proscribe the word, since the most rigorous of themselves even, upon paper, are not in the least disposed to varnish the thing. The purists as men of undoubted genius, whatever it may consist of with them, are too intimate with the niceties of language not to know that a close mutual relation and affinity exists between the words themselves in the first place, and their application in the second: for placed in the best company, that is to say with the best of cheer, we can aver upon our judgment as critics that the sternest of them never showed the slightest wish to get rid of the term, unless in the abstract.

Fermer, however, is of a different class, for he is merely a

thoughtless young man, and the specimens of this genius are not so rare or obsolete that we need discuss them at any great length. His name or rather cognomen of "the Genius" is assuredly not quite the thing, unless he can be included in that numerous subdivision of the species which goes under the canine appellation, and is by science subdivided into lucky and unlucky. He is properly to be found amongst unlucky dogs: and even under this head we do not see that his merits are so eminent in degree as to entitle him to any particular reverence or affection.

An epic of the true Greeks should always begin in the middle, accordingly we meet Fermer in the middle of the street, of a love-affair, and of a rush of blood to the head.

"When Fermer had returned from the university, he went first with a throbbing heart to the street where lived his beloved. He thought he should have perished in going there; with such force the blood rushed from all the veins to his head.

"The street was some distance off, and he had time to make on the way several considerations of importance. 'Has she still continued faithful to me?' said he to himself: 'why did I not receive from her any letters for so long a time? God forbid that I should find her faithless!'"—p. 30.

This state of heart and head are effectively if not agreeably diverted by the following incident.

"With a flushed countenance he ran against a long beam of timber which a man was carrying through the street: with an impudent air, 'Go along!' cried he, on perceiving young Fermer to be at the point of breaking out into vehement reproaches."—p. 31.

But, like Romeo, our hero's head was occupied by softer feelings than the beam in question could communicate, and consequently he avoids the opening which fate has thus made for him into a row or shindy.* We are presented with a touching scene.

"Fermer was a young man of fortune, his parents were dead; he had only studied, as one may say, for his amusement, in order to be able to give his opinion in conversation; for this utility at least cannot be denied to the sciences.

"Fermer rung the bell, a servant opened the door. He went up stairs, he found Louise in her room.

"Without farther ceremony he flew to her and pressed her cordially in his arms: this has been the privilege of lovers from time immemorial. Intoxicated as he was with joy, he still fancied he perceived that his beloved did not answer his warmth as she perhaps should have done; the

* We have been greatly scandalized by the question as to the derivation of this word, even by scholars sometime resident in Germany. We submit its root to be *schinden*, to flay, or rub off the skin; also, to do anything beyond reason; which we opine to be fair definitions of the case. To have a *shindy* is therefore to have a *rub*.

moment however being destined to joy, he thought no more about the matter.

" ' Why hast thou not written to me for so long a while, my dearest?' cried he; 'how couldst thou leave me in this horrible uncertainty? Thou dost not conceive what I have suffered; all my happiness, all my projects lay prostrate, and the most violent agony consumed and grieved my heart.'

" Louise cast down her eyes. 'I was not well, my father was ill, our dear relation by whom thou hast received my letters was gone.'

" ' Louise, appalling thoughts presented themselves to my mind at that time. I thought thee untrue, every thing occurred to me which I ever read in books regarding the fickleness of women. Not a single night could I sleep. Thou canst not conceive what I have suffered.'

" ' Inexpressibly dear!' "—pp. 30, 32.

So logical a refutation of doubts naturally disposes of these altogether, which is according to precedent, and the happy lover replies,

" ' How happy I am that I have thee again, that I can console myself again with these eyes, that I hear thy sweet voice. All harmony within me was silenced and mute, I no longer believed in immortality (!) all my nerves trembled.'

" ' Horrible, horrible!'

" ' Yes, horrible indeed! separated love is hell on earth. But thou art not so cheerful as I should have wished; all the blessings of heaven are springing up round me: and thou—?'

" ' I cannot recover at all from this joy.' "—p. 34.

This satisfactory solution is just given in time for they are immediately interrupted, by one of those calls that are always so distressing to young ladies, but which we presume are intended to strengthen their trust in Providence, since they never happen but when wanted, and are effected by means which man can never hope to fathom. Assuredly animal magnetism is a science, and well worth encouraging, if only to teach our trusting and much-abused sex the sympathies between a young lady and her maid.

" The servant entered to call off Louise to her father; the lovers once more embraced each other tenderly, and parted.

" Fermer when he arrived in the street fancied himself a great hero; he took, before he went home, a short walk, addressed some acquaintances, and affected with respect to others never to have seen them.

" He could not be classed among handsome men; his eyes were not blue, nor sweet, nor intelligent; in them, however, the fire of courage sparkled; neither were they dark brown, a colour which in lovers and heroes of romances is much admired too; but, if I must speak the truth, they inclined rather to grey. He was small in person, his face yellowish, and deeply marked with small-pox.

" Nobody need tell me, that I here offend the first rules of an au-

thor, rules which even children know by heart. But truth is dearer to me than any thing else, and therefore I have described the young lover in this manner. The reader need only compute the books in vogue, and sum up the heroes and heroines, and he will be astonished what a multitude of ideals of beauty ramble among us Germans, and will then not be able to understand at all the complaints of the sculptors and painters who are continually lamenting, that they are altogether at a loss for fine models. Whenever I went travelling, I never failed to look diligently round me in cities and in the country for the infinite number of accomplished lovers of both sexes with whom I had become acquainted in books; but I was always disappointed. Since that time I dislike all those enchanting representations, that multitude of eyes angelic and eagle-like, those unutterably lovely physiognomies, because I can no longer believe in them."—pp. 34, 36.

But a new scene opens with the arrival of a letter by the post. We have seen how candid and unsophisticated were the feelings of the lady, and we weep that Jove again has once more cause for laughter.

"'Beloved of my soul!—Forget thee? Impossible! Thou wert already gone one day and a half, and thy image stood always as animated before me, as if thou wert still here. I still hear thy sweet vows, the vehement expressions which thy love sought for and found so promptly. Thou art right: something extraordinary must be expressed in an extraordinary manner. I am reading the books thou hast recommended to me, and I am just at the tournament of Nordhausen; pray write me thy opinion about it; the boldness of the description has seized me forcibly, as, in general, I am for the sublime.

"'I think on thee, I dream of thee; I know not what will become of me; in six months I shall enter on a sad period. Yet I may then, perhaps, call myself by a sweeter name than I at present subscribe myself

"'Thy loving Nanette B.'

"How Fermer was touched by Nanette's love, and the grandeur of her soul! He could not recover at all from his admiration until he perceived he was yawning, and sat down instantly therefore to answer this dear letter that very evening. He was astonished at his strange, romantic situation; he got up again and paced the apartment to and fro. He took a book from his library, and began to read Clavigo, in order to tranquillize himself a little; the style was not strong enough; he began to sigh, thought very fervently of Nanette, endeavoured to forget Louise for some moments, and then wrote his letter.

"'Dearest of my soul!—How empty and insipid is the world to me since I left thee! Everywhere thy image stands still before my eyes. I have just alighted from the coach, and just now have read thy letter; what voluptuousness ran through all my veins when I recognized the traits of thy hand.

"'The tournament of Nordhausen is certainly one of the most powerful German books. What sympathy has so equally accorded our souls! I feel a high opinion of Germany when I recall to my memory all its heroes,

all its excellent poets. It is time that I rise in my turn; I have been idle long enough, and my native country has claims on me.

" ' Forgive the shortness of this note, I am fatigued, the clock strikes two in the night; with thoughts on thee falls asleep

" ' LEOPOLD FERMER.'

" He sealed the letter, and sat down to continue the Genius, (a novel,) regarding the end of which he was very anxious, for it had only just struck seven. He then took a very good supper, went to bed, resumed his Genius, folded the page, and fell into a sound sleep."—pp. 38—42.

Our hero is evidently not one to travel from Dan to Beersheba and cry, It is all barren! for want of some employment for his thoughts. Till fate should rouse his energies into action, the maxim, Know thyself, was ever foremost in his thoughts.

" When he arose the next morning, his first business was ordinarily to look for some time out of the window; he smoked his pipe at the same time, and thought of a thousand things which did not occur to him at any other time of the day.

" ' Am I not a fool?' said he to himself, after having been saluted courteously by some passengers; ' it is not in Clavigo, no, it is in Stella, that all my situation has been represented and painted to the life.'

" He withdrew, and read the piece, while he was drinking his coffee. ' It is good,' thought he at the same time, ' that there are books and poems for all men and all situations; how I here find myself again in every trait! it seems that it was me whom the author had before his eyes; Nanette is Mrs. Sommer, Louise the enthusiastic Stella. Alas! what evil do we men not produce in the hearts of women!'

" He had finished, looked at the engraving which was at the beginning, arose, and placed himself before the looking-glass. ' Yes,' said he, with significant gestures, ' ardent minds cannot act otherwise; can a lively, talented young man live like a sexagenarian? Feel as he does? Strength ferments in every vein of mine, my imagination runs away with me: such being the case, it would be an interesting book if some one could describe me altogether exactly.'

" With a high feeling of his self-importance he looked again out of the window, and perceived a charming face in the house opposite; he contemplated her, she him, he saluted, she returned; he withdrew, put on an elegant waistcoat, and then re-appeared at the window with this and his best Turkish tobacco-pipe. The unknown beauty smiled, he smiled also; when once two people smile, it is almost as good as if they love each other; so it stood at least in Fermer's catechism on knowledge of men, and he had found this observation confirmed by all the female attendants of the university.

" While he was dressing, he inquired from his servant who was the interesting lady opposite; he learned that she was the wife of a captain. With strange fancies he went to the next coffee-house, in order that he might not become too much estranged to politics and those sciences which are connected with it. He had already gathered many striking

observations, when he heard the name of his beloved Louise pronounced in a corner of the room; he was attentive, forgot Pitt's projects, and approached the speakers.

"He thought he could not trust his ears, when he heard that Louise was engaged, and would celebrate her marriage in a fortnight; but he was put out of all doubt, when a tall and well-built man approached, when those who were talking about it congratulated him, and when he accepted the felicitations without ceremony.

"Fermer put his pipe in his pocket, took hat and cane, went away without jesting with the waiter as he used to do, and ran to and fro on the public walk.

"'Men! men!' cried he, 'hypocritical, venomous race of crocodiles! Their eyes are water, their hearts are iron. Kisses on the lips, and swords in the bosom. O malice, have I learned to suffer,' etc.

"He spoke the whole speech of Charles Moor, and in his rage did not become aware that it did not altogether square with his situation; but who in a passion will attend to such trifles?

"People stared at him; he had a large hat, clashing spurs, which he always wore, though he never mounted on horseback, a cane full of knots such as suits a respectable man, at the same time he waived his hands so tremendously in the air, that it was really very pardonable if many a simpleton declared him mad.

"He went to the house of his beloved, ran up stairs and burst into the room without knocking. She was just curling her hair, and was frightened at his bewildered aspect.

"'Ah cruel!' cried he, and placed himself motionless before her.

"Louise did not know if she should put away the powder-puff. 'What is the matter with you,' asked she timidly.

"'O nothing! nothing! This is female fidelity! Ah! falsehood of serpents! Thou art separated from me, Louise.'

"'So you have perhaps heard.'

"'All! all! And thou darest still look into my face? Do not horror and shame make of thee a corpse?'

"'Dear Fermer!'

"'Liar! O how fury is raging within me! I know not what to do with myself.'

"He took the powder-box furiously, broke it into pieces, and threw it out of the window.

"'How strange you are,' said Louise, standing up, 'what shall I now dress my hair with?'

"Fermer stamped vehemently with his feet, threw himself on the floor, arose again and placed himself before the looking-glass. 'How it pains me,' said he dejectedly, 'I feel my end is not far off; death will be more pitiful than you.'

"'But,' said Louise softly, 'once it ought to have been otherwise; one cannot always be extravagant; my father is right, one must also think of a provision. I would not say any thing to you lately, because I was afraid of your vehemence. Now look, there are the pieces of the powder-box swimming. What will people think of it!'

"She looked melancholily after the fragments, and Fermer looked as if he would also throw the table after them.

"'I supposed you had forgotten me long time since,' continued Louise.

"'But my affectionate letters.'

"'I thought you only wrote them to exercise yourself in style; and then I was always afraid that my father would at length learn the whole affair.'

"'So we must part then?' said Fermer in a lamenting tone.

"'For ever?' said Louise abruptly.

"'For ever!' sighed Fermer, and threw himself into her arms: who knows whether we shall see each other again!

"'How that would affect me' said Louise 'on account of all the recollections! You know the beautiful scene in Iffland's "Daughters to be married," I suppose.'"—p. 42—52.

The pattern of constancy retires from the presence of the faithless one in a fit of such deep despair as seriously to injure one of his boots with his spur; and we now turn to the melancholy consequences of his first disappointment.

"When he was again in his room, he said—'Dear Nanette! noble soul! Only now I recognize all thy value.'—He took his album and made upon the leaf, on which Louise had written her name, a large cross with ink, for she was dead to him. It was a touching, it was a great moment; he put blotting-paper between, in order that the fatal token might not spoil the page opposite and so produce a bad omen; for Nanette had inscribed herself vis-à-vis.

"There are hours in life, in which a man is so much exhausted by feelings, that he must necessarily sleep. Fermer therefore put off his clothes, had the boot sent to the shoe-maker, and lay melancholily down upon the bed. The servant heard him snoring, on his return from the shoe-maker."—p. 52.

The counter-scene to this is scarcely less touching.

"Louise in the meantime was sitting at her writing-table, and dispatched the following letter to her confidential friend, who had gone to a small neighbouring town in order to enjoy the spring in the country, among uncles and aunts at picnics and marriages, which were soon to be celebrated.

"'Dear soul! Fermer and I have parted, it was a terrible scene; I was obliged to hold him back with force and tears that he might not jump out of the window into the canal. I never could have thought him capable of so infinite a love. My soul is now both tranquillized and troubled; the scene is over; but he is now perhaps rambling in despair in the woods, hating men and himself, and does not open an eye even to gaze upon nature, which he had so often admired at my side. We women are really feeble creatures, this I can say now with justice; for Mr. Walther pleases me better at bottom, he is handsomer; my father says he is rich.

"'I have resigned myself; pray return at any rate to my marriage.'"

"'How fine is spring here in the country;' wrote her friend in reply; 'but it is a pity that I have hardly yet left town at all, nor been able to begin Mathisson. But I can here indulge my taste for dancing, for we dance and waltz every night; and the son of the burgomaster here is an excellent dancer, and also in other respects a pleasant man; he is uncommonly like the Marquis of Posa, whose part he knows almost entirely by heart.

"'Farewell, until we see each other again and more gay.'"—p. 52—56.

But the distracted lover makes an effort to resume his firmness, and is not altogether unsuccessful, as the following passages evince.

"Fermer arose strengthened and consoled from his couch; the lady opposite looked again out of the window, he paced the room to and fro: now he looked at her; then he saluted her; then he sat down in a fantastical attitude close by the open window in order that she might perceive him; he even took all possible pains to weep, and also fancied it at length, and dried repeatedly his eyes.—On looking through the handkerchief over to the lady, he observed that she smiled again, from which he concluded that their souls must sympathize uncommonly.

"When the lady had withdrawn, it came into his mind that his fellow-citizens, after his returning from the academy, would probably expect something from him. He thought of his history, his feelings, his heart, and he resolved to put forth all in a well-arranged romance; already he saw himself printed, reviewed, and engraved. He wrote down the title on a sheet of fine paper and his name on the inside; and scene the first, for it was to be in dialogues; he then reflected more ripely on the subject and introduction, placed himself now before the looking-glass, then before the window; and so employed the greatest part of the day.

"The next day he again received a flattering letter from Nanette, who was the daughter of a merchant, but had always manifested lofty sentiments, so that she sometimes made even him ashamed. Ideal! cried he, thou shalt certainly not be forgotten in the book, (he kissed the letter,) I will make thee from gratitude the principal heroine, all thy letters shall be printed with a few insignificant alterations; both the present and the future shall enjoy them and admire female virtue.

"He answered, he received letters, Louise celebrated her marriage, he wrote at his book, he read other books, to form himself, and took walks, and smoked brown a new tobacco-pipe bowl; he saw every day the captain's lady; and when three months had elapsed in this manner, and he received no more letters from Nanette, he finally avowed to himself that—he was mortally and immortally in love with the lady in the window opposite.

"A new, strange situation! She was married, but she surely did not love her husband; the captain was undoubtedly a rude, unfeeling man; the lady was probably longing for love and books, and genial

discourse; she smiled whenever she saw him—why should he not venture the bold step and confess his love to her?

"He ventured it—and as he saw no other means, he threw a large letter into her room, when the window was left open on a warm day; this letter conveyed all his feelings, his eternal love exactly described, so that one must have been blind to mistake it.

"He then intended to wait for the success of his declaration; but since that time the lady did not show herself at all at the window."—p. 56—60.

Our hero's incertitude, however, is speedily terminated, and that in a manner somewhat less remarkable for agreeableness than perspicuity. This relief to his feelings comes in the shape of a challenge, from the husband of the last object of his unchangeable fidelity.

Fermer's cogitations on the subject are nevertheless in perfect keeping with the character he had assumed and his high aspiration for fame; though he was not, it appears, so extravagant in this respect as to anticipate for himself an eternity.

"Fermer forgot his books, his Nanette, his new mistress, every thing over this unexpected change. He locked himself up, he sat down, he read the note once more, and the contents were nothing better; he wept, he lamented his cruel fate and his premature end, the loss of his native country, the destruction of all his great projects.

"He resolved not to accept the challenge, for the laws (said he) had forbidden such murderous duels; a young man might fall into temptation, but did not deserve for this to be killed at once. In a word, he had extremely moral thoughts, he made up his mind not to be any longer in love with the captain's wife; for this (he said) was really not right; and besides one ought not to expose oneself to the risk of receiving the point of a sword in the body.

"But am I not a coward? cried he, while he thought of Frederic with the bitten cheek; shall a German behave in such a manner? What then is courage but despising danger? Really, if there were no danger all of us would be valiant without any difficulty! Now perhaps begins the greatest period of my life, and I retire shamefully? no, I will meet the adventure, I will encounter my enemy.

"He looked for a while at his sword, which until that moment he had not yet considered exactly; he then read the description of some terrible duels, and he never had felt so strongly how much these German heroes had risked of their body and their life.

"He saw himself coming victorious out of this bloody duel, a quite new and interesting chapter in the history of his life; he heard himself admired, he was uncommonly content with himself.

"But, interrupted he these pleasant thoughts, I could imagine my adversary to be also the hero of an interesting biography, in which I appear quasi as episode, as a subordinate person, that is only fed in order to enhance the glory of this man, who is a stranger to me; for if those ancient heroes had not killed valiant men, we should not have any ample

tales of the past about those who succumbed. Who will answer for the victory for me.

" Hereby his serenity was again diminished; he resolved to confide nothing to any body respecting his danger, in order that he might await in all possible tranquillity his good or bad fate.

" The servant served the supper, but his master had lost all appetite; his melancholy was so evident, that even John asked him whether any thing was the matter with him. Fermer sighed, turned his head away and said nothing.

" The servant came back and took away the supper almost just as he had brought it; this was a case unheard of; he could not possibly allow his master to suffer alone. Fermer was touched by the servant's fidelity, he embraced him sobbing. 'John,' cried he, 'I encounter death, at the dawning of the day I shall be no more.'

" John was frightened; for he had still wages in arrears to ask; he endeavoured to make his master understand that he was out of his wits, as he could conclude clearly from these words and his little appetite. But Fermer continued in his tragical humour; he assured him, that he could discover nothing, but that his own death was too certain.

" John's eloquence failed at length, and then the master bid his servant adieu in the most affectionate manner. They held each other embraced some minutes; they suffered violently, these generous men.

" John went at last to bed; Fermer wrote in the midst of the terrors of midnight this short note to Nanette:

" My good!

" Farewell, farewell for ever—I thank thee for what thou wert to me in this life; the remembrance I will carry with me into eternity. It is black night, and the rising day will be still darker—my fate calls with iron voice, I must follow it—farewell."

" Day really appeared, of which Fermer had always inly doubted till that moment; he took his sword under his great coat and left town. It was frightful to him, that all people were still sleeping, and that he alone had got up so early, in order to be butchered.

" He saw the captain standing on the appointed place with his sword drawn—all courage abandoned him, he approached trembling and sank down on one knee."—p. 60—66.

And let none of our readers rashly censure this resolution to spare human blood in an idle quarrel, for a false point of honour, which "he who had it died yesterday." The greatest glory we know is to forbear. Besides, if any thing could possibly *indispose* a man to be run through the body at six o'clock in the morning, it must be the moving recollection that he had just previously been invited to pay one particular bill, and thus split into vulgar fractions the spirit that was preparing to include every meaner debt in one generous and unavoidable payment of nature's.

The affair ends happily, and Fermer returns home, to the infinite joy of his faithful servant, who, after giving up for lost *both* master and wages, has the satisfaction of receiving the latter

promptly on his master's return, which possibly did not in any great degree diminish the sincerity of his congratulations on that fortunate event. Fermer slept soundly it is satisfactory to know. The next morning

"When he arose he was uncommonly gay; he ate more heartily than ordinarily, smoked more tobacco than ordinarily, dressed better than ordinarily. It was, as if he intended to pay his first visit to all the gods of this life. In the afternoon he wrote the following letter to Nanette.

"'Dear soul! The danger is over—I am restored to life.—I had almost been taken from thee in more than one way, but heaven has taken our love under its protection; now I am wholly thine, thine wholly again, all obstacles are removed.—Rejoice with me, destruction has not any longer hold on me, I was too strong for danger; my fermenting blood, the force of my nerves have frightened death away.—The man would not be a man, that could not once vanquish fate.—I now will live for thee in solitude, thoughts of thee only shall occupy me.

"Adieu.'"

"He sent both letters at once to the post-office, the first by the courier, the other by the stage-coach, so that they would arrive about the same time.

"He was about to look again out of the window, but withdrew directly his head, for the captain's lady was looking out of the window opposite."—p. 68—70.

There are hours in the life of every man which he would not live again; and none perhaps are more bitterly recalled than those where the heart's first, sole treasure, was dearly thrown away upon an ingrate. But to have such a one brought hourly back again, and placed in living opposition to our present life, not merely mingling with dreams, but looking on at that calmest of calm moments, the peaceful breakfast hour, and curdling the fragrant perfume of tobacco into an acidulated stomachic, neither to be puffed away nor expectorated from the labouring bosom, is clearly a state of all others surpassing the powers of analytical investigation. Fermer therefore resolves to retire from his lodgings, and his faithful servant is exposed to the sufferings, without the glories, of martyrdom.

"Fermer now made very seriously the project of leaving town, and of taking lodgings in a village for the rest of the summer. It seemed to him so beautiful to ramble as an unknown misanthrope among the peasants, to excite the curiosity of the people, and to curse every body who looked but like a man. He considered the whole human race as a band of traitors. Louise, the captain's wife, the captain, all had behaved perfidiously to him, neither had he received any letters from Nanette for a long while. Sufficient reasons for cursing the world—many often do so for reasons even smaller.

"He found a lodging, which pleased him, and he went there with

his servant; the village was but half a mile from town. John now suffered much; the eating was bad, the time hung heavy on his master; then he scolded that there was no coffee-house in the village, and no reasonable man to converse with in order to render solitude tolerable."—p. 70—72.

Here he finds a lily of the valley.

"He became acquainted with Bess the sexton's daughter. She was a stout, healthy girl, who liked Fermer particularly well on account of his person. He went often to see the father, spoke to the daughter, cursed men, pronounced them all to be malefactors, and made Bess his confidante.

"She soon learnt of him to curse men and to prefer solitude to company, both were of course inseparable. Fermer fell in love, he was loved again, and as Bess was not very much versed in books, this love passed soon from the sentimental into the natural. Her father perceived it and became furious; in order to content him, Fermer had his banns published and promised to celebrate the marriage in a fortnight."—p. 72.

But alas, for the one sentiment of the Roman bard—

——————— "Media in fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid, quod ipsis in floribus angat."

"On a sudden Nanette appeared in the village, she had sought Fermer in vain in town; she had run away from her father, in order to be consoled by him.—All were in despair.

"Nanette threw herself on her knees and cried and howled.—'I am a mother!' cried she pathetically,—(and it would have been unnecessary to tell it; for every body saw it).—'For God's sake, Leopold, give this child a father, or I must kill it with my own hands, however sorry I should be.—Let the prayers of a mother soften thy heart.'"—p. 72—74.

And the dire catastrophe thus ensues:—

"Bess was about to speak in the same tone, when Nanette was finally silenced and yielded generously; Fermer assigned to her some hundred dollars. She now discovered that she had a lover, who wished to marry her, provided she had some fortune to offer; he had been, at the university, tutor to the young son of a bailiff, and had now a place at the school in Fermer's native town.

"All were content: Fermer went to live with his wife in town, and gave her a taste for books; she became acquainted with Louise; she, and her confidante, who in the meantime had married her Marquis of Posa, with Nanette and her husband, formed a familiar circle, in which one read, talked, and yawned.

"Fermer has since turned an author and offers to the booksellers the following manuscripts:"—p. 74.

Which we presume we need not enumerate.

ART. VIII.—1. *Darstellung der Aegyptischen Mythologie, verbunden mit einer kritischen Untersuchung der Ueberbleibsel der Aegyptischen Chronologie, von J. C. Prichard, M.D. Uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von L. Haymann. Nebst einer Vorrede von A. W. von Schlegel.* (*An Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology: to which is subjoined, a Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology, by J. C. Prichard, M.D. With a Preliminary Essay by A. W. von Schlegel.* London. 1838.) Bonn. 1837.

THE name of Augustus William von Schlegel is too well and too deservedly known to our readers and the world at large to render necessary any formal comment on his merits; nor shall we enter into that more invidious portion of a reviewer's duty by pointing out the errors that here and there dim his disk. The Essay before us is also particularly free from the latter, and we hasten to lay it before our readers.

After a just praise bestowed upon Dr. Prichard's Egyptian Mythology, which has brought so general a view of antiquity in connection with its peculiar subject so interestingly before us, Professor Schlegel proceeds to explain that he has doubted, not distinctly denied, the relations of the Celtic nations to the Indo-Germanized family. If this learned writer had denied it he would have been most positively wrong, but this point we will not press here, but proceed to extract on the question of identity of nations:—

"In contemplating the religions of the ancient world, so many points of resemblance press upon the observer as immediately to suggest the idea that this agreement of nations, who are in part far separated and estranged from one another, or who have been strangers time out of mind, may be best attributed to a common origin of their faith or superstition, their sacred customs and laws, in some unknown home and remote antiquity.

"The results of that study of languages, which has been so much extended and advanced in our times, give to this supposition a yet higher degree of probability. The languages of the Indo-Germanic stock bear indisputably the stamp of an original relationship, although the nations spread over two quarters of the world had either no intercourse at all with one another, or, where they came in contact, had no conception of such an alliance.

"Our history of the world, which relatively to the antiquity of the human race, is very modern, presents many instances, which partly appear incredible, of the incursions and wanderings of more or less numerous hordes, chiefly nomadic. But the greater number of nations, especially the agricultural, we find settled, from the most distant age

which our knowledge can reach, in the same places which were afterwards the scene of their activity and peculiar development. The immigration, which took place before the period of historical tradition, has been forgotten; not a few tribes maintaining that their ancestors were originally natives of the country. But their languages are manifestly nearer or more distant ramifications of a single mother-tongue, spoken by one family of people, and prove that in a distant and indeterminate antiquity emigrations took place over wide tracts of country from some common and original abode.

"This is no hypothesis, but a fact, clearly made out, though not resting upon testimony, and which can no longer be denied in our inquiries into primeval history.

"The supposition then recurs, that the settlers brought with them from that original abode to their new home the fundamental articles of their religion, as well as the first rudiments of arts and sciences and this conjecture receives additional force from the consideration, that several of these nations, the Indians, the Persians, the Hellenes, and the Italian tribes, by the grandeur of their plans, their high cultivation, and their enterprising activity, attest a previous education."

Of this we think there can no longer be a question, and the only point of difficulty is the means and time of the connection referred to. What has been generally considered as being derived from intercommunication will doubtless prove to have arisen from original identity;—and if we adhere to the account in the first book of Moses, we shall find all history, that deserves the name, concurring in its testimony with little or no material variation. The "previous education" will thus be found, and this only. Of the Egyptians the Professor observes:—

"The Egyptians indeed, judging from their language, certainly do not belong to the family above indicated. They stand quite apart between the natives of Libya and Ethiopia to the west and south, and the so-called Semitic nations to the east, who, distinguished by their own peculiarities, hold also a very important place in the history of the world.

"This is not, however, an insuperable objection to the admission of an influence proceeding from countries so remote. Missions, chiefly of priests, were incontestibly undertaken in very early times for the education of the nations; in the first place by means of religion and laws, and then by instruction in arts and sciences.

"I will not here produce some entirely historical examples, as for instance, that Buddhism has extended from this side India to the distant Japan; for here we know the intermediate links, which is not the case with the assumed intercourse between India and Egypt. Besides, Buddhism, engrafted upon Brahminism, belongs from its character and the time of its propagation to modern history. But it is a fact that, before the Buddhists, a colony of Brahmins settled in the island of Java and raised the yet savage inhabitants to a high degree of civilization. It appears from the code of Menu that the ancient Indians were not so

averse to navigation as is often supposed. On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that the Phœnicians early carried on trade by sea with India, and brought Indian wares to the Egyptians. If Sesostris the Great really penetrated into India in his adventurous campaigns, as Champollion, relying upon his explanation of ancient monuments, imagines, he might have brought back from thence Brahmin prisoners. But these possibilities of a foreign influence do not reach back far enough into past ages by a great deal, if we give only half as much credence as Plato did to the declarations of the Egyptian priests respecting the original immutability of their religion."

We conceive the Buddhists to be, and their name will fully bear out the derivation, simply the (self-styled) restorers of an original system, (see our Article on Tamil MSS., in our Number for 1837.) And hence the confusion of their claims for antiquity conflicting with an appearance, or re-appearance, in history comparatively recent. Speaking of the difficulties attendant on the question of polytheistic systems, the Professor observes:—

"This has in recent times justly become a favourite subject of research, especially in Germany. But far from the penetration which has been spent upon it having led to any certain and generally acknowledged results, the diversity of opinions appears rather to augment with the extension of learning."

We merely observe upon the former of these extracts, that since even German research in all its amplitude has only made "confusion worse confounded," it will be necessary to go back and commence *ab ovo*, if we expect to make any better progress. M. Schlegel points out the sources; but only partially, we must observe.

"We shall, in no very distant period, be better acquainted with the religion of the Brahmins than with any other of ancient times, viz. as soon as the ancient written records have been entirely brought to light. We have long had the code of Menu: a commencement has been made with the Ramáyana and Maha-Bhárata, the two most ancient heroic poems, which, besides the traditions of heroes, contain so much of cosmogony and theogony: now the principal parts of the Vedas alone are wanting, I mean the hymns, the liturgical formulas, and the ritual. The later, contemplative part belongs more to the history of philosophy. If we intend to make use of the Puranas, we must apply a suspicious criticism with relation to their genuineness and the determination of their age. The corruptions of the modern superstition need not trouble us; least of all as they are represented in the partial accounts of missionaries."

The value of the former loss may fairly be doubted, for all we know of antiquity is through the doubtful mists of their mythos; requiring the utmost care to disenvelope from the shroud of falsehood in which it has so long slept. Nor from the unquestionable

deceits of Egypt can we be prepared to rely implicitly upon the accounts of her priests, were they even forthcoming.

With respect to the Greeks we conceive M. Schlegel to be but partially correct in his reference. That vain and lying race undoubtedly deserve reprobation, but it must be borne in mind that they were the absolute heritors of those traditions, half-history, half-fable, which they in pure ignorance consigned to mythology. The dogmas, too, of the later ages were assuredly only a traditionary ignorance to Egypt alone. Many bear the stamp of the East distinctly impressed; and we cannot do better than quote here, in preference to any remarks of our own, the opinions of Professor Wilson, whose opinions on this subject are deserving higher reverence than those of any living authority. The Professor, we notice, confines his remarks entirely to the Hindu system, his immediate subject in the volume from which we quote. In our opinion the Persian doctrines are to the full as germane to the question of originality and derivation:—

"That an intimate connection exists between the metaphysical systems of the Hindus and those of the Greeks is generally admitted, although its extent has not yet been fully made out. We are scarcely yet, indeed, in possession of the means of instituting an accurate comparison, as the text books of the Hindus have not been printed or translated, and general dissertations, however comprehensive or profound, are insufficient for the purpose. The present publication will go some way, perhaps, towards supplying the deficiency, and may afford, as far as it extends, authentic materials for the use of those better qualified classical scholars who may be curious to ascertain in what degree the speculations of Plato and Aristotle correspond with those of Kapila and Gautama, or how far the teachers of one school may have been indebted to those of another. That the Hindus derived any of their philosophical ideas from the Greeks seems very improbable; and if there is any borrowing in the case, the latter were most probably indebted to the former. It has been objected to this conjecture, that the total want of chronology in Hindu writings renders it impossible to pronounce upon their date, and that it is probable that many works regarded as ancient are really very modern, as they may have been composed long after the æra of Christianity; the notions which they inculcate being in fact acquired from the Greeks of Alexandria, through the intercourse between India and Egypt. That this intercourse may have exercised a mutual influence upon some parts of the philosophy of both countries in the first ages of Christianity—that resemblances, respectively interchanged, may be detected in the notions of the new Platonists or Platonic Christians and of the more modern Védantis, or in eclectic pantheism of the Pauraniks—is not impossible; but the Greek philosophy of that period can scarcely have suggested the severer abstractions of the Sánkhya, and we must go back to a remoter age for the origin of the dogmas of KAPILA. In truth, the more remote the period, the closer the affinity that seems

to prevail; and as far as we are acquainted with the tenets of the Ionic and Italic schools, it is with them that Hindu philosophy, unalloyed with pantheism, seems to claim kindred, rather than with the mysticism of Plato, or the subtleties of Aristotle. The metempsychosis itself is an important feature in this similitude: for this belief is not to be looked upon as a mere popular superstition; it is the main principle of all Hindu metaphysics; it is the foundation of all Hindu philosophy. The great object of their philosophical research in every system, Brahminical or Buddhist, is the discovery of the means of putting a stop to further transmigration; the discontinuance of corporeal being; the liberation of soul from body. That such was the leading principle of the philosophy of Pythagoras we learn from ancient testimony, and it essentially influences the speculations of Plato. Concurrence in this principle involves agreement in all the most important deductions from it, and establishes, if not a mutual interchange, at least a common origin, for much of the oldest philosophy of the Greeks and the Hindus."—*Sánkhya Káricá, Preface,* pp. ix, x.

M. Schlegel thus refers to the "Father of History,"—

"With the exception of the intimations in the Old Testament and in Homer, Herodotus is our oldest witness. His picturesque description of the entire constituents of the external worship, of the priesthood, the temples, sacrifices, feasts, processions, pilgrimages, ceremonies, commands, and prohibitions, and lastly, of their whole social constitution, is invaluable. It is a pity that, while he shunned the imputation of having betrayed the Greek mysteries, which were analogous to the Egyptian, he carefully avoided, as he himself declares, touching upon the sacred import. What may console us on this subject is the consideration that in consequence of his limited power of perception, he probably did not comprehend much of it. In my opinion, some recent critics have estimated somewhat too highly the authority of Herodotus in all that lay beyond his immediate observation. His credulity is manifest; he had little science, and knew, for example, far less of astronomy than he might have learnt from his Grecian contemporaries, to say nothing of the learned Egyptians."

We must put in a protest in favour of the good old Greek—the theme of objurgation to so many of the learned moderns. "Herodotus," says Gibbon, "wrote sometimes for sages, sometimes for children." This is true in one sense, and yet is no impeachment of the ancient historian, who could only collect the materials he could get, and who distinctly intimates his own doubts of their authenticity on this very ground. But he frequently expresses his entire disbelief of the statements, and of many of those which he gives freely he could not test the accuracy. If his credulity is manifest it was the fault of his age; the utter ignorance of truth and nature, of history and philosophy, of religious verity and physical science, that prevented his nation from being competent judges of narrations such as those submitted to him-

self; and he was cradled in the false belief of his country, which trampled down the judgment and made impossibility credible.

Let us contrast the narrative of Herodotus with those of even later writers, such as Ctesias, in respect to foreign countries, and we shall find no comparison between them. Yet the supposed fables of the latter, long charged as the Mendez Pinto of antiquity, are explained and defended in an age of real enlightenment by no less authorities than Horace Hayman Wilson and Heeren.*

As to the degree of comprehension possessed by Herodotus, it was probably equal to that of his informants. Men who could relate what his Egyptian narrators did must have been themselves deceived, or deceivers. In all probability the former is the truth. How, through the lapse of so many years, if not, as pretended, ages, could the facts involved in sacred mysteries and historical allegories be preserved pure for the priests themselves? The reservations of Herodotus upon certain points, which he holds as too sacred, &c. for divulgence, have been by some writers charged on him as an affectation of greater knowledge than he possessed. Yet the intercourse with Egypt was at that time frequent, the expedition instigated by Inarus had long taken place, and the Athenians had held possession of the Egyptian capital, Memphis itself, for more than a year; thus many of his auditors doubtless were not only not ignorant of that country, but well acquainted with it. We hear, however, of no objections to his history at the time, but on the contrary universal applause and admiration, most strongly evinced; and this is a sort of voucher from points where he can be examined for his general accuracy, for others where he can not. Modern researches have further established his character; and where he errs, it is probably only from the errors of his informants: there are cases before us where we have every reason to conclude that the real facts were certainly unknown to the latter themselves.

Neither can we at all hold with M. Schlegel's opinion, that if Plato had laid before us his knowledge of cosmogony, of mythological hieroglyphics, and of the public and esoteric dogmas, without intermixture of his own inventions, we should have been spared many doubts; because the lapse of another century had probably still further overlaid the truth: and though the philosopher could probably have told us whence he himself derived those opinions, he was, as probably, ignorant of their real origin.

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* See Wilson's Notes on Ctesias, and Heeren "on the Commerce of the Ancients, a paper read, &c."

"But ancient Egypt speaks in another way than through the mouth of foreign witnesses to astonished posterity; she still speaks through her monuments, and in this lies her pre-eminence. It is true, India likewise possesses rock-temples and grottos, worthy of admiration; but they lie almost entirely to the south of the Vindhia mountains. Now we know, that all Brahminical culture has proceeded from the territory of the Ganges. The southern peninsula received its education in civil life from thence by means of missionaries and immigrations. The heroic traditions have preserved the remembrance of a past age, when these districts, but thinly inhabited by half-savage nations, lay waste and uncultivated, as they are described in the Ramayana.

"In the territory watered by the Ganges we do not find such indestructible ruins; whether from a want of materials and suitable situations, or because architectural pomp was a later addition to the religious services. It is impossible to fix the dates with precision; but the Indian monuments can scarcely compete with those of the Egyptians and Nubians on the score of antiquity."

We agree entirely with the first sentence, taken in itself, and as a matter of mere fact; and must bestow the utmost praise on the Professor for stopping at the fact of Egyptian pre-eminence, without turning it into wild hypothesis: his fancies about Southern India we peremptorily deny.

The following remarks are interesting, and in general correct enough. Alluding to the Egyptian discoveries of the present age, the Professor observes—

"Now we have before us the sculptures, the paintings, the hieroglyphics, with which the walls, in part well preserved, are covered. European curiosity has attempted, with brilliant success, the explanation of the hieroglyphics and the deciphering of the demotic writing. But even if the explication of the hieroglyphics were completed in all its parts, victorious over every doubt,—if the assertion opposed to the analogy of the history of language, which was nevertheless advanced at an early period, and has of late been confidently repeated, that the Coptic is the language of the ancient Egyptians, and has remained quite unaltered, were perfectly established, the question still remains, whether we may expect much new information from this source upon the epical connexion of their mythology, and upon the cosmogonic and physical doctrines enveloped in the symbols. We have enough of images of their gods, partly in large stone statues, partly in small idols, and lastly among the engraved sculptures of their buildings; we partly know the names of these gods, and even see them represented in action. But much of symbolical meaning, the solution of which has not been found out, may lie in these actions, as well as in the varying attributes and signs of divine power and dignity. We can scarcely make out any thing from the papyrus rolls in the tombs, except the official language of the priests employed in benedictions and consecrations. On the other hand, the monuments are rich in various kinds of historical information. In the first place, their astonishing multitude supplies us intermediately with a

sort of chronology. How many centuries did it require to erect all these, from Nubia down to Memphis, or, going upwards, from Thebes to Nubia, if we compute from the statements of Herodotus respecting the space of time employed in single buildings? Further, we become acquainted with the national physiognomy, which presents so striking a contrast to the South African. No one can, in my opinion, have attentively observed the colossal statue in the British Museum, falsely called the Young Memnon, and without doubt the likeness of a monarch, without being convinced that at least the two upper castes of the Egyptians belonged to a very noble race. A single page in the work of Gau is sufficient to open to us an entirely novel view of the past ages of Egypt. The king sits upon his throne; presents of honour are offered to him, and these consist of animals, viz. lions, apes, ostriches, antelopes, and giraffes. Who can doubt, that the inhabitants of the districts of the interior of Africa, where these species of animals are native, were then tributary to the Egyptians? The numerous representations of battles, sieges, victories, which are indicated by prisoners of war being produced, are manifestly historical; and, if Champollion has rightly deciphered the names of the kings and the conquered people, written in hieroglyphics, we possess a piece of ancient history, which, taken in connexion with the dynasties of Manetho, may be chronologically arranged. The Greeks knew, so to say, only the foreground of Egyptian history, and even that with certainty only since the time of Psammeticus."

With respect to the Coptic, it is quite impossible to believe that it did not in some degree change, during the lapse of years and the intercourse of strangers; in some degree, but not so much, probably, as other tongues, owing to the peculiar prepossession of the Egyptians for every thing indigenous. As to the symbolical meanings of the symbolical nations and gods, their signs and attributes, the greater part in all likelihood would, if known, as little repay the pains as those of the Brahmins, and are mere suggestions of fancy.

As regards the "intermediate chronology" of their buildings, we consider it extravagant to compute from the known time of a single one of these, and, as a multiple, the number of existing edifices, the duration of Egyptian sovereignty. We are aware of no law preventing the erection of several at once; the rule was despotic, the nation servants; and the interlopers, captives or sojourners, slaves, tasked as we see the Israelites in the cases of Ramses, &c. to the utmost. The apparent fact, noticed by M. Schlegel, of the two upper castes, shows the wide distinction between these and the people, whose monuments therefore were a disgrace; for we generally find the most gigantic architecture under the most arbitrary rulers; and even Pericles is scarcely an exception, for his was a democratical despotism,—the worst of all.

The remark as to Greek knowledge of Egyptian history is worth treasuring as an important fact, perpetually forgotten or overlooked altogether by scholars.

On the subject of religion, the Professor observes,—

"The more I search into the ancient history of the world, the more am I convinced that the cultivated nations commenced with a purer worship of the Supreme Being; that the magic influence of nature upon the imaginations of the human race afterwards produced polytheism, and at length entirely obscured the spiritual conceptions of religion in the belief of the people, whilst the wise men alone preserved the primitive secrets in the sanctuary. Hence the mythology appears to me to be the latest developed and the most fluctuating part of the ancient religions. On this account it is hazardous to begin the comparison, as the author does, with mythology. He certainly comes to the discussion far better prepared than Sir W. Jones in his very unsuccessful attempt at a comparison of Indian with Greek and Italic Deities. But even if the similarities which Dr. Prichard has sought out were more striking than they really are, they would nevertheless produce little conviction in me. On the other hand, the divergence of the mythologies proves nothing against the deduction of religions from a common source. Mythologies may have locally changed their forms in consequence of the differences of climate and of country: the local origin of many Egyptian mythi cannot be denied. Similarities, on the other hand, may have arisen from a congenial inclination to poetry and observation, without any external communication. This holds good with respect to many cosmogonic mythi: they are speculations upon nature—*philosophemata*, as Heyne aptly called them, expressed in anthropomorphite garb, and not unfrequently in forms coarsely appealing to the senses. Chaos, referring to the whole visible universe, is nothing but the doctrine of the eternity of matter, to which the intelligent power of the Creator is supposed to have imparted only form. But, considered as a geological theory, chaos is pretty well capable of defence. The contests of the gods with the Titans and giants, which we meet with in all mythologies, had evidently a physical signification, although it thence ascended to the doctrine of a good and a bad principle, by which it was meant to explain the origin of evil. If we wished to jest, we might say that the heaping of the three mountains, Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa upon one another was a divination of the modern hypothesis of the vulcanists, who suppose that high mountains have been suddenly pushed up by explosions from the interior of the earth."

Religion, and reason, equally with inquiry, prove their multiplying process of worship, from unity to infinities of Deity. In a previous number (Persian Poetry, Wamik and Asra, Oct. 1836) we carried the investigation to some length, showing that idolatry originated in Sabæism, and that Fire-worship followed. Undoubtedly many mythic tales are strictly local; we should say the greater portion are so;—but the difference in our opinion consists in all probability not in the distinction between Local, or peculiar,

and General, i. e. arriving out of consentaneous fancies, but, on the contrary, in the latter being purely historic, and borrowed or imparted traditionally, and in the former being esoteric; that is, mysterious or devotional.

Professor Schegel justly observes, that the divergence of mythologies proves nothing against the deduction of religion from a common source. This observation may also be made the basis of an argument in favour of the similarity detected by Sir W. Jones in the Indian with the Greek and Italian deities, as also those remarked by Wilford and so many others, Dr. Prichard included, as perhaps the ablest of all, in the systems of Egypt and the East. We deny that either is the direct source of the other, as it stands; but if, as scarcely admits a question, and the Hebrew, the oldest history, gives indirect confirmation of it, the two are derived from the common source, both subsequently divergent and changing; the one, like the Greek, into beauty and grace, the other into wildness and monstrosity like the Brahmin; then, and then only, we presume to say, shall we find the real sources of their approximation and diversities, namely, in their original identity and subsequent dislocation. One cause too, the most prominent, and in itself singly adequate to the effect of producing the marked distinction, the total difference in *essence* between the two, has been strangely overlooked, and this probably from the refusal to consider the two systems originally one. The Gods of India were in the hands of a reservative priesthood, and by them adapted to feed the marvel-loving appetite of an ignorant, subjected, and inert oriental race; forms of terror, and instruments of terror, they were a bar to vulgar speculation against the sacredness of priestcraft, and an infinitude of allegory rendered the first step towards comprehension hopeless for the uninitiated. The multitude of details also, an indication of something almost native to the soil, were preserved and converted into additional allegorical phantasies, clouding the principal events. So the tares grew up and choked them.

On the other hand, the Gods of Greece fell into good ground amongst a busy, restless, intriguing, and inquiring race, of warring and rival republicans; the petty details, the correlative facts which encumbered eastern mythology were unknown or indifferent to them, so far from their original seats; these were soon lost. As incessant struggles, political and military, always engender a spirit inimical and even fatal to the supreme dominion of a priesthood, shrouded too in apathetic secrecy,—with the diminished powers of these the Gods of Greece fell into the hands of the class next to them interested in fables, and far more capable of embellishing them; that is to say, of the poets. The horrors and monstrosi-

ties were then ejected from tradition, for the poet sought rule in the sympathies of his audiences. The details sunk in distance, the outline alone was left for him to colour and to clothe from the rich stores of imagination. He toiled, not for shrouded, selfish domination, but for the more wide and generous reward of fame; and through admiration, not terror:—that outline he preserved, but improved; filled the blanks of history with the few, bold, marked colours of prismatic genius, robed the real form in the drapings of fancy, or wrought the cold shapeless block into the mouldings of human loveliness in all the ardours of his art, till beauty, at the sculptor's prayer, warmed the statue into life, and it was clasped to the very heart of impassioned admiration.

We must return to Professor Schlegel.

"The ancient Brahmins taught the doctrine of periodical creations and destructions of the world. This, it is well known, the Stoics did also; and according to Dr. Prichard they obtained the doctrine through the medium of the Egyptian priests. Even if this were well proved, in my opinion the accordance would not allow us to conclude with certainty upon the derivation of the doctrine from India. The alternate creations and destructions of the world are an attempt to accommodate the opposition of the finite and of the infinite. An absolute beginning of the visible universe resists the power of imagination: on the other hand, the eternity of a continual change excites the reason: hence the solution of an impossible problem was pushed back without any bounds."

The professor may well require proof; we challenge any, of the derivation by Egypt from India, or India from Egypt, but we every where find a dark impression of preadamite existences; not improbably really resulting, as we noticed in a previous number, from the sight of such relics as lay on, or near to, the surface of the earth in the earliest ages of human existence; long since crumbled to ruin, or destroyed by the action of the air, or by the Noachic deluge; and which antediluvian tradition and their own unshapely magnitude might indicate as the wrecks of a creation previous to man, and of which, since in no way connected with the great scheme of human redemption, the traces were left, to call forth man's powers, and afford him in the discovery one more means of judging the infinity of the Divine Power that produced them as well as himself.

M. Schlegel speaks of the Metempsychosis—

"The doctrine of the metempsychosis is one of the most striking coincidences. The immortality of the soul, and the connexion of the circumstances after death with the moral condition of the departed, was taught by the wise men of all ages; and the people have never entirely forgotten to hope and to fear beyond this life, however much the future may be concealed in darkness to sensual men. But immortality in the form

of the transmigration of the soul is an entirely peculiar doctrine, which we only find clearly expressed, among all the nations of antiquity, by the Indians and Egyptians; Greek philosophers borrowed it from the latter. (Whence did the Gallic Druids! and since what time? Our information respecting them is of later date.) Menu fixes accurately the gradations of ascent and descent; but the return into organic life by no means exhausts the doctrine of the Brahmins concerning the condition after death; they believed in heavenly rewards and in punishments in the subterranean world, both being of limited duration, and in final deliverance by being absorbed in the divine essence. With respect, to similar additions which might be made to the doctrines of the Egyptians, we can only form conjectures from those of the Pythagoreans."

To say nothing of the omission of China in this notice, we must express surprise at the reference, distinctively, to the Gallic Druids. Is the doctrine peculiar to those alone of that sect? Had the Professor thought less of Pliny and Cæsar, and more of Aristotle and Diogenes, &c., he would have included their Eastern brethren and progenitors in the category of that Indian doctrine; and we are astonished if his own Eastern studies have indeed been so confined as not to know that their tenets differ little in reality from those of elder Hindostan, in nature if not in extent. Can M. Schlegel, in truth, be ignorant that this metempsychosis is a cherished principle of Druids in the East; and if he admits this, and he will scarcely deny it we imagine, will it not aid him to get rid of the "doubt, if not distinct denial," of the affinity of the Celtic with the Indo-Germanic race, whose natural primitives, so far as we have them, differ only as two dialects of one tongue?

There is much information, acumen, and much ingenuity also, but likewise some error, in the following—

"The Egyptian priests understood, as well as the Brahmins, how to regulate the manners and habits of the people under their guardianship. Rules of diet, founded upon real experience or perhaps upon prejudice, were raised to the rank of sacred laws, and thus rendered inviolable. Among the number of these were the precepts concerning allowed or forbidden meats. The coincidences are important, but yet differences are not wanting; neither of them are strictly demonstrative, because the rule of diet is determined differently according to climate and custom. There was the same forbearance from pork and unclean animals in Egypt and India. With the abstinence from beef the case was different. This primeval law, as it appears to me, was directed towards the furtherance of agriculture, which was just commenced, and upon which the increase of the population and of civilized life chiefly depended. If the slaughter of oxen was forbidden, they could only be used for drawing the plough. The law was less strict among the Egyptians. Agriculture was easier to them in the fertile and naturally watered soil of the narrow valley of the Nile (!) Bulls might be killed and sacrificed; cows alone were consecrated to Isis. In India, on the

contrary, it was an immense problem, and, we may add, one not yet solved, how to prepare the land for ploughing. And how could the cow, the emblem of the earth that nourishes all things, not be held sacred among the Brahmins? The milk, with the preparations from it, afforded them the mildest and most wholesome addition to their vegetable diet. Besides, the clarified butter had the prerogative of feeding the sacrificial flame, for which purpose vegetable oil was used in Egypt.

"The Egyptian priests were eaters of flesh and drinkers of wine, and as were the men, so were also the gods; far more animals were sacrificed upon their altars than in India. In general, the Brahmins purchased their pre-eminence by imposing upon themselves far stricter laws. In the early Christian times, the Theban desert first became the abode of ascetic recluses, whose manner of life was nevertheless but a faint copy of the penances and mortifications, which had been practised thousands of years before on the Himalaya mountains for the purpose of acquiring a greater sanctity.

"The avoidance by the Brahmins of all blood-shedding, and even of hurting any sensitive creature, rests upon an entirely different principle from that which rendered oxen inviolable. The Egyptian worship of animals was quite unknown to them. This kind of superstition was carried to an unprecedented extent on the shores of the Nile. Many species of animals were inviolable and sacred among the Egyptians. There was without doubt a rational ground for the enjoined forbearance: the ibis destroyed snakes and other amphibious creatures, which abounded to excess in the warm mud of the Nile; the sparrow-hawk hunted the birds which devoured the fruit; the cat, mice and rats. These and other beasts of prey not dangerous to man, in this manner freed the inhabitants from the true plagues of the country. In order to render their inviolability the more secure, the whole species was appropriated to this or that god according to emblematical relations. Thus in the creature was seen the image of the protecting deity, and this was carried so far, that at length living individuals were tamed, as representatives of the race, were carefully provided for, and had divine worship paid to them in peculiar temples. If this was also the case here and there with respect to hurtful animals, as the crocodile or hippopotamus, which are exhibited upon monuments as typhonic emblems, it was perhaps from an erroneous notion of disarming the malignity of the species. A Roman poet might easily ridicule so extraordinary an error; he forgot that he might have found no less silly kinds of superstition in abundance by going back to the primitive history of his own nation."

This explanation of the worship-system is vulgar, utterly unsatisfactory, and erroneous.

The consumption of cattle has never, we believe, prevented the increase or impaired the supply in any country of the globe; were the Brahmins and their strictest followers to eat beef from the first hour of their existence to the last, it would not materially, i. e. injuriously diminish the breed, or infringe upon the necessary

quantities of milk and ghee (clarified butter) in any shape. The Brahmins, however, may have discovered that cows, perhaps, as M. Schlegel observes, for religious reasons, do not afford the best beef.

We must observe, also, that when M. Schlegel notices that animals are, in all polytheistic religions, admitted amongst gods, these, in each, are so few as to form only exceptions; it is quite the contrary in Egypt. He justly, however, makes a particular case for the serpent in all, and remarks on the similarity of the Egyptian Uræus to the serpent of Vishnu.

The causes of cremation and embalming are given concisely and well.

"The customs of interment of the dead were quite different in the two countries. The Indians restored the soul-less body to the elements by fire, and they do so still. The custom was a very extensive one in the ancient world. The salting and embalming of dead bodies has been referred to some secret doctrine; perhaps it was originally only a regulation enforced for the purpose of preserving health. Wood to feed the funeral pile was wanting in Egypt; graves might have been uncovered by the annual inundations; the miasma was prevented by concealing in grottos the corpses, which were rendered proof against corruption."

Interment, however, enriches a soil.

M. Schlegel notices the existence of castes, not merely amongst the Egyptians and Indians, but the Persians, Tuscans, and Romans also, and the necessary distinction of this system wherever the priesthood was not unassailable.

We cannot entirely agree with him, however, in every part of his remarks on astronomy; nor can we discover how the division into weeks can be unhesitatingly stated as "proceeding from the Egyptians; of this we have express testimony," it seems, but may fairly ask, Where? for, independent of the Creation, on which he, perhaps, may not lay much stress, since he cannot have overlooked the account; the observation of the Sabbath is enjoined to the Jews, after quitting Egypt, in confessedly the oldest of existing histories; whatever it was then, it was not Egyptian; and we presume the Bonn Professor, with all his extent of learning, has discovered nothing older. Farther, if we take the lunar months of four weeks, and add to them the additional days of the Egyptians, we are presented with their year as it originally stood, and have thus a right to suppose that the weeks were the subdivision of the moon's epoch, and the supplementary days an arbitrary and requisite regulation, based upon no rule, but indispensable to the equation of the lunar with the solar year as then supposed.

We extract a portion of Professor Schlegel's very interesting remarks on astronomy.—

"Through the consecration of one day of the week, which two most extensively prevailing religions have borrowed from the Mosaic Law, though with a different choice of days, this practice has spread over all the earth. It may at an early period have been adopted in common by the Semitic nations, as they are called, and among these the Babylonians alone can contest the credit of the invention with the Egyptians. Among the Greeks and Romans the observation of the days of the week was introduced very late: although the custom had made some inroads even before the Christian era through the influence of Egyptian and Chaldee astrologers, and also of the Jews, who were dispersed here and there throughout the Roman empire."—p. xliv.

"The naming of the days of the week after the planets has an astrological signification, and the process was quite systematic. Two assumptions must be made; the seven planets must be supposed to follow one another according to the ancient system of the universe, in which the earth was conceived to be at rest in the centre, and the arbitrary division must be made of *nychthemeron* into four-and-twenty hours. The astronomical doctrine was, that a planet presides over each of these hours according to the natural order from Saturn down to the Moon, and that that planet, to which the first hour belonged, was also regent of the whole day. If now we count over the hours upon this plan, we shall find that the regents must always have followed one another with an interval of two planets, which were omitted. Bailly was not able to solve the riddle, although Dio Cassius has clearly explained it. We perceive that the whole arrangement, resting, it is true, upon an astrological conceit, could only have been contrived by a people who had made some scientific acquisitions. Ideler remarks, that the week was used by the most remote nations, the Chinese and Peruvians. But we are not authorized to lay any stress upon this circumstance in the earliest history of astronomy, until we have explored the way by which and the time when this custom reached those lands. Ideler passes over the Indians, and with good reason; for they had not the week, and could not have had it, since they divided the *nychthemeron* into thirty hours, which by following out the same method would give rise to an entirely different series of planetary regents.

"On the other hand, the Indians had from the most ancient times another division of the synodical month, into the light and the dark half. The first was calculated from the new moon to the full moon, and the second to the new moon again. This Indian division we find recurring in the distant west, viz. in ancient Italy. The Roman calendar, borrowed from the Tuscans, exhibits it, only with the difference that the Calends indicate not so much the new moon, as the first appearance of the lunar crescent."—p. xliv—xlvi.

"Besides the twelve signs of the zodiac the Indians had also from early times another division of it, into the seven-and-twenty *Nakshatras*, or Houses of the Moon. These smaller constellations, comprised in all

sorts of figures, evidently referred to the periodical month, and corresponded to the full number of the days of its duration. In order to fill up the breach, which had been neglected, they were increased, as often as was necessary, to eight-and-twenty by an intercalation. It is easy to see that they could be of no practical use; but importance was ascribed to them for astrological purposes. The Arabs adopted the Nakshatras from the Indians, calling them Houses of the Moon; and not the reverse, as Montucla asserted at random. In ancient times, as far as I know, not the slightest trace of them is to be found either in Asia Minor or in Egypt.

"These proofs are sufficient to show that in the two countries essentially different methods were employed in the application of astronomical knowledge and the fancies of astrology to the reckoning of time."

Professor Schlegel alludes to the chronological portion of Dr. Prichard's book in terms of praise, limited only by the adherence of the English notions to the scripture chronology. If indeed he himself could have supplied us with anything better than a sneer against "the traditions deemed sacred" we might have given importance to his remark: but till the Professor or any one else, can prove that the fantastic follies of the Chaldean, Indian, and Egyptian systems, and their impossible periods, deserve greater respect, we need not be very uneasy at his wit.

He thus concludes:—

"Time has conveyed to us many kinds of chronology; it is the business of historical criticism to distinguish between them and to estimate their value. The astronomical chronology changes purely theoretic cycles into historical periods; the mythical makes its way supported by obscure genealogical tables; the hypothetic is an invention of either ancient or modern chronographers; and, lastly, the documentary rests upon the parallel uninterrupted demarcation of events according to a settled reckoning of years. The last alone deserves to be called chronology in the strictest sense; it begins, however, much later than is commonly supposed. Had this been duly considered, we might have dispensed with many an air-built system."—pp. xlix. l.

We must now close this notice with a sincere tribute to M. Schlegel's talents and judgment, so favourably developed in the short work before us, referring our readers to this for various points of interest not reducible to our space. It is an advantageous companion to Dr. Prichard's volumes, and we are glad to hear it has been translated and added to that truly useful work, which is one instance the more of its author's candour and liberality of spirit.

ART. IX.—*Voyage du Maréchal Duc de Raguse en Hongrie, en Transylvanie, dans la Russie méridionale, en Crimée, et sur les bords de la mer d'Azoff, à Contanstinople, dans quelques parties de l'Asie Mineure, en Syrie, en Palestine, et en Egypt*, 1834, 1835. à Paris, 1837, 1838.

THE wide extent of the Russian dominions and the impression of their vast expansion, working through the eye upon the sense, may not be among the least of the causes why, when once attention has been turned to it, the Russian Empire occupies so large a portion of the public mind: this too especially in England, whose own foreign possessions, so little proportioned to the size of the dominating country, extend like radii connecting every part of the Russian circumference with her central point of existence. The position also of Russia, geographically equivocating between the barbarous laxity of Turkish and Tatar rule, and the definite concentration of European governments, gives thereby a double character to that one sovereignty: the separate portions of the aforesaid character, being so strongly contrasted as to interfere necessarily each with the other, confuse the judgment that has elsewhere been accustomed to regard each only in its separate state.

It cannot be denied that this unusual position requires also for its maintenance a system totally distinct from those of other European powers, were it only as a case of the simple defensive; of civilization guarded from barbarism: but it is no less unquestionable that the position entails also, with novel duties, novel desires; and that the boundary or line of contact is no longer, as once was the case on the same soil, and far more recently in the United States also, in the keeping of the ruder party: when the white or civilized man, even with right to the soil conceded, was yet exposed to the injuries of uncultivated and revengeful natures wielding an irregular power.

On the contrary it is clear that the tables now are turned upon the nomade tribes in both, and in all other instances of the kind. It is the hand of civilization that sways the rod and bears the truncheon; and wherever a wilder race would urge on to assail it, it is but as the viper, wearing itself out upon the file; the hopeless wrath of him who would but be broken by falling on the stone, but who would be crushed to powder if it fell upon him.

With such means of mischief and good in the hands of one party and such hopelessness of resistance on the other, it can freely be conceived that if the former has, as undoubtedly is the case, every inducement of impunity to extend its sway, and is thus temptingly exposed to the assaults of cupidity and the desire of

aggrandisement even through unjust means; the weaker party on the other hand is liable to those feelings of mortification engendered by the sense of loss and the despair of any thing like successful resistance. The constant contrast into which they are forced, and not only the suppression of actual injuries but the want of a defence against future ones, embitters their spirits. Misunderstandings are aggravated by this feeling, and a fierce and lasting hatred generated and inflamed, not only by the collisions we have referred to, but also by the desire, so common and inherent in barbarians, of possessing whatever is desirable among their richer neighbours; coupled with the equally fixed reluctance to obtain it by the legitimate means of labour, which nomadic tribes abhor.

We must farther observe that though among civilized states the weaker will seldom or never wantonly provoke the resentment of their more powerful neighbours, because the resources of both are known to both, and the means of each may be fairly calculated upon as efficient and certain; in irregular governments these means, even if developed, are so obscurely employed, and so little understood in their proper lands by the native population or even the best informed individuals; and their mode of exertion too is impeded by so many obstacles of every kind, private passions, intrigues, peculations, jealousies, and ignorances, that their efficiency is a mere chance; and thus the weaker has not unfrequently succeeded, even to overturning a formidable antagonist. Nomadic nations, destitute of history, and without means therefore of deducing the simplest practical lessons, have no power of discriminating between the degrees of civilization, and fancy that what they have rudely and imperfectly heard of in one quarter may happen in another. Their passions too are headlong, and thus they rush into offences, in spite of repeated failures and castigations.

These, the natural conditions of two different stages of cultivation, require to be carefully borne in mind in every view we take of the subject: and it is by omitting this needful precaution that we so often commit those strange errors of reasoning which incessantly lead us astray. By ignorantly perverting facts whilst trying them by an improper standard, we obtain results possibly correct in themselves, but so utterly inapplicable to the particular question, that we have no means of understanding the causes of the discrepancy; and charge the fault upon some secret workings in one or other of the parties concerned, and which we consequently load with all the odium and reprobation that stilted virtue so freely deals out to its foes, real or presumed.

To apply this reasoning:—the Russian government stands in

this difficult relation of offensive impunity towards weaker nations along the whole limits of that extensive frontier—nations too for the most part engaged in hostilities one with another at some or other portions of the globe and periods of time, and whose hostilities are not so fierce nor their principles so settled as to spare an intermediate party, if rich and unprotected.

The energy necessary to preserve any thing like effective administration at so vast a distance from the seat of central power, is, farther, actuated by a despotism: and the principle of despotism, we need scarcely say, is to rule (even though with reason) yet by the exercise of private will and not by external appeals. Its acts therefore, if not secret, are yet silent: the internal differences of these two may be great; the outward distinction is nothing.

The difficulty of judging is increased by the absence of authentic documents on the other side also. Nomade tribes and Eastern nations have had no public vehicles of information. The only intelligence obtainable from these has consequently been partial, and perverted by want of judgment in the views, narrowed by interest or prejudice or exaggerated from various causes, of individuals accidentally sojourning in the countries; and who have often been satisfied to take the first information they could get, without sifting it.

But if we are thus prevented from searching into causes, and compelled to confine our attention to the surfaces of things, it is on the other hand clear that these, when examined upon a large scale, are in themselves capable of affording ample grounds for judging, if not on minor points or on principles of action, yet upon their tendencies and probable results. Without knowing the proximate or immediate cause that loosens the avalanche or ejects the lava we still can calculate destruction from their course. Without ascertaining the source of the stream we can tell if its waters are fertilizing; and if we cannot judge the structure of a government, we can see if its force approach and menace others. But even to draw right conclusions from the sight it is necessary to keep in mind the general constituent principles of the parties.

We have dwelt upon this subject at a very considerable length because it is the indispensable preliminary to a candid view of the most important political question of the day; and which is the more complicated inasmuch as it has not only called into review the strength and efficacy of all previously existing relations, but also has assisted to create, and peremptorily accelerated the connection of new interests and new systems, that without it might scarcely have been heard of.

These later systems of government, though framed with views

and objects, can scarcely be said to have any fixed and determinate principles.

The position of Russia is apparently that of strength, and of other powers in regard to her of comparative weakness. She has, so to say, the advantage of unity and compactness,—a single country and government against the nations that limit every where her frontier, who, as forming different states, have different and therefore often warring interests. If we can say thus of Sweden, Prussia, Poland, Austria, and Turkey in Europe, we may with at least equal justice predicate the same of Turkey in Asia and Egypt, Circassia, Persia, Independent Tartary, Mongolia and Mantchouria. From the greater part of these she has made acquisitions of territory, owing probably to her acting upon a single line of unbroken communications from one end of the empire to the other, and from her having constantly for a century and a half pursued a single, undeviating line of policy, conceived and laid down by the genius of one man; and as experience has shown, perfectly adapted to her particular position in the world, almost necessary to her very existence, and indispensable for her development and importance amongst the nations.

We have said that her position is apparently strong: there are however material drawbacks to this strength.

The Russian Empire is not like France, compact in form, and therefore possessing a free and rapid intercommunication between the capital and the extremities. On the contrary the extreme distance between these is the source of a material weakness wherever the distance is great: and a single power, however inferior in magnitude, has at any time the means of jeopardizing the immediate portion of her frontier and encroaching on it considerably before serious assistance to the point assailed could arrive from more distant quarters. This necessitates the presence of a strong and sufficient force upon every portion of the frontier to give safety to the inhabitants; and not safety alone but the very sense of security also. An immense standing force is consequently a matter of absolute necessity, and the drain of this upon the resources of a country need not be dwelt on here.

With all this necessity of force, however, and it is, as we have seen, indispensable, there exists for Russia an equal or greater necessity, of maintaining amicable relations with the bordering and limitrophe nations, any one of whom might, as we have seen, bring all its powers to a single point, and inflict much injury on this gigantic adversary at the commencement of a war; and the cotemporaneous action of almost any two of which, even without concert, would prove a most formidable embarrassment to her.

Russia before the time of Peter the Great occupied scarcely

even a name and certainly not a place in European combinations. Open on all quarters to insult, with a wider extent of territory even then than she could effectively defend, from the Swede and Pole in the North to the Tatar in the South she was liable to constant injury and insult. Her territorial acquisitions about that time were therefore necessary for her security and character as an independent power; and as she advanced from her deserts into social life, she was fain to make herself mistress of positions that would enable her to maintain her hold on Europe and Asia.

Her natural course was therefore towards the Baltic and Black Seas; the mountain frontiers of Galicia, Moldavia, and the Caucasus; the Caspian and Aral lakes; and that continuous rocky chain which extends along the Altai, Da-ur, and Stanovoi ranges, from the Baikal to the sea of Ochotsk and Kamschatka.

The Russian policy then of the last two centuries has been steadily and undoubtedly aggressive, but not necessarily on that account ambitious. The lands she took were needful to her power and stability as we have indicated; and their possession was attended with the double advantage of ascertaining and securing her frontiers in the first instance, and facilitating her commerce in the second and subsequent stages. It has brought her forward as a power of the first class; and without such a system she would have remained unknown to the present day. It does not, however, follow that she possessed any right to the countries, beyond that of conquest; or that her neighbours had not ample reason to complain of her: as she, perhaps also equally, might have had of them. Who shall determine, who will even pass an opinion as to the justice or injustice of either of the parties, with so long an interval between? Who will justify at this hour the expedition of Charles and the Swedes "to drive this Muscovite to his deserts again," as if he had no right to civilization? Who will vindicate the conquests of the Poles and the progress of the Turks to the North; or prove that the Tatar incursions of Tamerlane's lieutenants and the hostilities against Ruric were simply the results of a defensive policy? We can now resolve the difficulty only to a struggle of the strongest; which Russia assuredly was not in the commencement.

But Russia, once placed on the borders of civilization, knew too well its advantages to recede from thence. Brought by her wars against Sweden and Poland, Prussia and Turkey, fairly into the European connection, she has steadily held her own, and that of others also; whatever she acquired by her strength and wisdom from their weakness and follies. There was an impression abroad, and undoubtedly a just one, at the close of the last century of the power and ambitious schemes of Catherine. Her able policy and

successful arms; the brilliant achievements of Romanzow, who first showed the weakness of the Turks, and of Suvaroff, who struck them down from their high renown for ever; and the yearnings of Potemkin and other court-favourites for distinction and renown, however obtained; all had arrested the notice of Europe. The insatiable longings of Catherine for aggrandizement and splendour led to her dream of wresting Hindostan from the English; and though the threat was felt to be extravagant it showed the tendency of her schemes. We know it now to have been but a woman's dream.

With greater reason the English minister of the day saw danger to Europe from the Turkish successes of Catherine before the commencement of the French revolution. He pointed attention to the growing evil, but in vain. The Whigs and their leader loudly inveighed against the propositions of Pitt in the case of Ockzakoff as an uncalled for intervention, a straining and dangerous policy; the minister desisted from his attempts; and within a few sessions, the very Whigs who had opposed his schemes to the utmost, and procured their abandonment, with a daring of inconsistency that approaches even to the sublime, reproached him for not carrying them into execution!

But however successful the arms of Catherine against her neighbours, her ulterior views against India were obviously beyond her means of execution. Whatever might have been the wishes of her successors, the events of the times prevented their applying themselves to the consideration in earnest, or attempting to overcome the obstacles that lay between, and which they knew to be serious. The idea however was too brilliant to fall to the ground. Napoleon saw the power of Russia; and predicting its increase from its capabilities under an energy as efficient as his own, and probably exaggerating them as an excuse for his lust of conquest, undertook his immortal, but desperate, expedition to drive, like his Quixotic precursor of Sweden, the Muscovite back to his deserts. We call it desperate, for he had no alternative; his favourite system had uproused the continent against him; insurrection in every quarter was ready to break out against the intolerable tyranny of military rule, and the no less intolerable tyranny of his Berlin decrees. Russia could no longer bear submission and exclusion; Poland had been used, cajoled, and deceived; the distant Swede was impatient; the nearer German was rousing himself from the inactitude that had followed his struggles, galled by the chains that had been flung over both his actions and his mind; and all were secretly urged and incited by the example of Prussian degradation: this power was the sister of Germany, the partial protector of Poland, and the ally of Rus-

sia; and all felt humbled in her humiliation. The formidable expedition was hurried one whole year to anticipate and keep down the coming explosion; but its object was vauntingly concealed by the boast of curbing Russia and forcing her back to her primitive weakness; as if moral or political justice rendered this expedient, even if possible; or had placed the right to determine on it in the hands of overgrown France. The happy motto devised for this cover to ambition was, the Repose of Europe, and when the sublime but unprincipled effort met with the deserved retribution, when he who

> " —— would rend the oak
> And dreamed not of rebound,"

found himself chained by the trunk he vainly broke and was looking round in his captivity for sympathy, or admiration, what better claim could he advance for either than by adhering to, and carrying out, his former attempt at delusion; by representing himself as the Cassandra of political vaticination, doomed (and with justice) to be unbelieved, and as the martyr to European liberty threatened with Russian subjugation! Risum teneatis amici?

As his love for European liberty had led Napoleon to attempt its strangulation, it is singular that particular affection for England was not assigned as the motive for the once talked of invasion of India by him. Turkey was to forward 40,000 troops through Persia: no doubt; but it would have been much more like practicability to have pointed out how this was to be done. How the Turks were to expedite the army; how her southern dominions were to be traversed entirely; and how the Persians, who hate the Turks with a personal and religious, not political hatred alone, were to embrace them as brethren, give them up their country to pass through, or keep if they preferred it; yield them the passes, feed them and join them into the bargain, for the hope of plunder, and at the desire of France. To say nothing of the reception they were likely to meet from the skill and steadiness of the sepoy and British troops; indifferent substitutes for the degenerate Mogul to an invader we apprehend, and supplied with as much steel and lead, as gold, to reward the incursion.

No one knew better than that great warrior and still greater charlatan, the value of a phrase: and Fox, it is said, preferred Napoleon's compositions to Homer's. Admitting both to be purely poetic, there is yet another point of resemblance; for as the Greeks took their geographical and perhaps religious creed from the former, we are satisfied to take ours from the latter. He who discovered, what no one was ignorant of, that Russia was increasing in power, and yet with all his acute penetration and

matchless talent had failed utterly in the attempt to curb it or to estimate correctly, becomes at once fatidically infallible at his death. And Britain, that had through life mocked at all his denunciations, gives him credit for a totally novel inspiration at its close, and listens eager to catch an unwonted strain of prophetic harmonies from the dying swan! This last we find a fable, was the former less so? He who could not calculate upon the recurrence to Scythian warfare in a Scythian land of Europe, is deemed unquestionable authority as to the practicability of campaigning in the East; and, though he never could comprehend even the state of parties in England, his rival at hand, he must be an unerring judge of her power and political stability in Hindostan, then fresh and strong in the conquests of Wellington stamped with the seal of Wellesley's genius; and at that time fortunately still untarnished by the foul and faithless treachery of the Moira policy, and undislocated even by the assiduous care and perseverance of a Bentinck,

> "As much in earnest, and as gravely out,
> As sober Lanesborough, dancing in the gout."

To these two political impressions, the legacy of time and Napoleon, and both bearing the distinctive acuteness and error of his brilliant genius, a third cause was added in the long insurrection of Greece. Undoubtedly Russian intrigue did largely enter into the repeated struggles for independence of that long enthralled race; nor is it possible to conceive, with so ready an engine against her adversary, Turkey, that Russia should hesitate to use it to the utmost for her own ends. The Greeks, on the other hand, never hesitated to use the Russians, so far as they could do this, for their private objects; and the faith of the two parties to each other was about equal; though the position of Russia with regard to her was the more invidious.

No one can have forgotten how eagerly the cause of Greece was espoused by all those "friends of humanity" in England whose sympathies are always at the service of all nations whatsoever, provided only they will rise against their rulers. The classic recollections of that glorious land were arrayed in every cultivated breast against the barbarian lord, and Britain and Europe were still ringing with the strains of her sorrow and degradation in the burning numbers of him who was to be the martyr of her cause. Poetry breathed warmth into the national feeling of commiseration; the colder pulse of learning throbbed eagerly in the sacred cause; every eye was turned to the pages of her genius, and overlooked the pages of her history teeming with every political crime. The voice of party too, ever eager for infusing fresh difficulties into politics, swelled the cry to Heaven for freedom and vengeance

against the oppressor. It was in vain that credible witnesses, acquainted with facts by long residence in the country, came forward to show that the Turks were more sinned against than sinning,—that their morals were superior, and the very rule of their Pachas was milder than that of Greek officers: the danger of weakening Turkey too, was noted, but in vain. Imagination usurped the place of inquiry; phrases were deemed the best substitute for facts; the peculiar vices of the nation at large was charged on one party alone; and the world was told in pompous antithesis, that "the descendants of a race that ought never to have died, were trampled down by a race that ought never to have lived." Retributive equity, national prudence, and political foresight were all forgotten, and Greece was delivered from Turkey, to be handed over to Russia!

It is true that one of those who had shared in the generous enthusiasm, the brilliant wit, the glorious orator, and fascinating man, who for his own misfortune and ours assumed the reins of government at the moment, saw the error of his earlier impression, and tried to still the whirlwind he had helped to raise. Convinced by closer inquiry of the errors that had misled sympathy, and enabled from his high station to see the nets that Russian policy had spread round her intended prey, honourably preferring the cause of his country, and it would seem, of Europe, to his own character for consistency in a deadly error, Canning boldly rejected the treaty of coercion, but rejected it too late. In talents, in judgment, in habits, and temperament, the very reverse of the great and determined statesman he had just succeeded, he had nothing of that cool, unshrinking resolution which had supported the Marquis of Londonderry through the most stormy of political periods; none of that calm prudence that included and weighed all the points of a difficult and complex question together; nothing of that imperturbable demeanor which marked a spirit not to be swayed from its purpose by vulgar tumult, nor moved by the breath of popularity, still less to be won by blandishments, and the wiles of female dexterity. The injured and insulted statesman deceased, whose honourable fidelity to the real interests of his country none could call in question, who singly shamed Europe by insisting on the restoration of Poland by Russia, and whose foreign policy in more than one instance recals the remark of Aristides upon a treacherous proposition, that "It would be most advantageous, but also most infamous;" has been insulted in his grave by the atrocious malignity of falsehood, pretending with equal ignorance and baseness, that the very instructions formally framed in the cabinet were private acts by which he sold his country for money: his unhappy death became the source of fertile calumny, awaken-

ing every bad feeling of the breast, from the loathsome malice of Byron down to the folly of the bill-sticker Waddington, who boasted publicly that his own release from gaol had driven the mortified statesman to despair and destruction.

Mr. Canning, we have said, saw his error, but too late; he rejected the treaty he had assisted to frame; he had declared, we know, to more than one person in his confidence that nothing should induce him to sign it; but even after his refusal a change came over his spirit, and diplomatic beauty boasted a prize from all compeers.

It is not a little remarkable that while all blame attributed by Conservatives to the ministers for the present state of affairs is met by the partizans of the latter with apparently a triumphant refutation, by reference to the fact that the Russian campaign across the Balkan took place under the Duke of Wellington's government, it should be entirely overlooked that this eminent man succeeded only to the political legacy of confusion and trouble left by Mr. Canning for his successor. That eloquent and spirited, but too hurrying statesman, had found the foreign relations of England in perfect peace, and he left her at his death on the brink of two wars. The desperate policy that hurried on the "untoward" battle of Navarino was the act of his administration, and though he did all he could to alleviate the consequences of his fatal facility, the blow had been struck by which Turkey was erased for the time from the list of maritime powers, before it was possible for the Wellington ministry to counteract the mischief.

It will scarcely, we presume, be asserted by any, that Great Britain was bound to go to war for Turkey. The advice given to the sultan by England on one hand, and the labours of Austrian diplomacy on the other; together with results continually occurring before his own eyes, their sources developed and consequences predicted, and in instance after instance verified, as by that monarch's own confession, to the very letter of the prediction, gave earnest of the sound judgment that dictated the advice. Unfortunately a difference on one point of action occurring between the two most strenuous of the advising ministers resident at Constantinople, awakened a suspicion in the sultan's mind that he would yet be supported by both their cabinets in the event of a war; and we quote the facts and consequences from a former number of our Journal.

"A voice, to which we ourselves were the first to call attention, awakened England from her passive state. Already, and before it, the keen eye of her military minister had seen the tendency of Muscovite politics, and the mad infatuation of Turkish imbecility and presumption:

but '*the bow had brast from his hands.*' Russian intrigue, Greek independence, and English liberality, manifest in a sudden and somewhat incongruous love for loans and classics, had done their worst, as usual, at *Navarino:* Turkey, without armies, fleets, money, resources, patriotism, enthusiasm, military skill, institutions, or government; with nothing, indeed, but insulated bravery, the sense of wrong, and the weak shield of a just cause, rushed into contest against a prepared enemy, in the hope of leading the van of Europe: that hope was vain; and she sunk, undone, with the bitter consciousness too late that all had been foreseen, foretold her, and fatally disregarded. Unaccustomed to the nicer complications and hidden wheels of European policy, the Sultan glanced on the course of the tide without thinking of its *undercurrent.* He looked too, not at his kingdom, but at himself; and thought that he who had done so much might do more. He forgot that his deeds had been hitherto but *undoings;* and, having just planted new institutions, he attempted to gather fruits from them—they were bitter enough!"—*For. Quart. Rev. Oct.* 1837.

An act too of apparent perfidy provoked the Russian government—already sufficiently eager and excited for war. The terms of the Conference of Ackermann were received with great indignation by the Turkish rulers, and to soothe their fury the government had the unhappy ingenuity to issue a document, intended for strictest privacy, stating that the acceptance of the terms in question was only done to gain time. This document fell into the hands of Russia, and greatly exasperated the cabinet of St. Petersburg; though an explanation was offered by the sultan, who affected to complain that his secret communications to his own officers should be viewed in the light of public documents. It was intended, he said, merely as a means of pacification for them at this time. "Yes," observed the Russian minister, "and the order to raise troops privately was doubtless intended as a means of pacification for us at this time."

It is not perhaps generally known here that at Petersburg exist two strong parties. One, the Russian, with all the old nobility at its head, abhors foreign interference and looks with an eye of jealousy on the strangers so profusely employed by the government in its service. To this party too belongs the principal, or at least most influential, portion of the army: and the discontents that have long existed in particular regiments, that caused the fierce insurrection when General Miloradovitch was killed, and that on more than one occasion have shaken the apparent security of Nicholas, have arisen from this source and from the revolutionary spirit, or, to say the least of it, dislike to despotic power, imbibed by many of the officers and sons of the nobility during the campaigns in Germany and France, and residence in the capital of the latter. Though pursued and sup-

pressed with severity wherever it can be done with safety, this feeling is known to exist to this very day, and is certainly the seed of a future revolution.

The other party, consisting of foreigners in the various departments of Russian service, are closely attached to the power that supports them, and eager for their own sakes to be employed in active service, without any too great nicety as to its nature; and it is by the value and importance of their services that they can hope to make head against the riches, numbers, and jealousies of those who regard them as interlopers, and as seeking to plant the germs of foreign tastes, foreign feelings, and foreign interests, in that which ought to be the purely Russian empire.

As some illustration to the former part of this subject we quote a singular passage from the Marquess of Londonderry's volumes:—

"Much may be attributed to the personal bearing and popularity of Nicholas, who is placed by Providence in the government of this vast empire, and who is gracious, benevolent, distinguished and beloved, as Alexander was. There is an indescribable control and fascination in his every act, gesture, and command, that appears to have been granted for the achievement of great ends and for particular purposes. Even those who were most attached to the former emperor admit that his qualities did not comprehend that perfection in the art of ruling which seems to be inherent and especially bestowed on the Emperor Nicholas. It is credibly reported that one of the chief causes of Alexander's untimely illness and subsequent death, when he went to the Sea of Azof, arose from his deep moral affliction at discovering that the conspiracy among a large number of the officers of his army had arrived at a height so unexpected and mortifying; and so perfect was the benevolence of his heart and disposition, that though in possession of positive evidence of the treason, and of a certified list of the traitors, he felt such attachment to many of them, that he could not believe in their perfidy, although it was substantiated by undeniable proofs in the hands of the most confidential officers near his own person. Dr. Wylie, a Scotchman, and a most able and experienced physician, had always been the principal medical attendant upon Alexander, and enjoyed his entire confidence during all his military campaigns; and it is owing to the exertions of this eminent professional man, that the army hospitals throughout the Russian empire have arrived at their present peculiar perfection. This gentleman, who attended Alexander in his last moments, has written full and ample details of the main causes of his Imperial master's illness and unexpected death; hitherto they have been kept secret from the world. But if a time shall ever arrive when these details may be unfolded, they will portray, I doubt not, the benign generosity and goodness of Alexander's heart in an extraordinary manner. Not less rare are the qualities of his successor, though of a different stamp and mould. But what rooted Nicholas in the affections of his people, was the heroic courage and ability he displayed in seizing possession of the sceptre and the empire, at a

moment when perfidy, confusion, and a band of traitors, placed the Imperial diadem in jeopardy. It is not necessary here to go into these events, which, from their recent occurrence, are known to all: suffice it to say, that the glory which covered Nicholas at that memorable epoch, has established him for ever in the hearts of his people."—vol. i. pp. 272, 273.

To this narrative we may add some curious particulars. It was never doubted by those acquainted with the locality, that the Emperor Alexander died, as stated, from the effects of the Black Fever incident to the neighbourhood of Taganrog. The proper treatment of that disease was, it was said, unknown out of the vicinity; and the malady was easily curable, had the Emperor employed the physicians of the place. We do not know how this may be: but certain it is that it had been decided Alexander should never quit the spot alive. No blame whatever could be attached, no possibility even of suspicion exist against the medical attendants. It is, however, a fact that a foreign government received all the details of the conspiracy before that sovereign's death, but too late to warn him of the danger; though this was attempted. The news of the Emperor's decease met the messenger on the frontiers; and it was suspected that much of that severity manifested by Nicholas on the occasion of the revolt at his accession, was not personal, but a just vengeance on the intended assassins.

We have inserted these remarks here, as necessary to assist in comprehending the influence attached to the point in the following extract from a very able pamphlet on the question of Russia and Turkey: and though we cannot concur in all the views it contains, of the correctness of the greater portion we are thoroughly satisfied:

"We have been too much in the habit, in England, of seeking a pitiful consolation for the consequences of our own mismanagement, by casting unmerited abuse upon the person and government of the Russian emperor. Yet, whereon have we a right to found our complaints? The general views of Russia have never been concealed, nor are they ambiguous. For more than a century, and especially since the accession of Catherine, her policy has been directed to aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey, aiming openly at the ultimate possession or control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Owing to the busy conflicts with France, and the repose necessary after the termination of the great struggle, the march of this policy was, in the time of Alexander, suspended in appearance—but in appearance only: his diplomacy was ever at work while his arms were at rest. The movement of Nicholas has been more decidedly onward; and in following it up, as he is doing, he shows an example, if not as to his means, at all events as to his ends, which it might be well for other nations to imitate. Neither influenced

by prejudices, nor duped by flatteries, nor misled by fanciful theories, he troubles not himself with the concerns of other nations, save as they are connected with the welfare of his own; and, with a patriotic singleness of purpose, worthy of better means than those he may have at times employed, he looks only to the interests, the advantage, and the aggrandisement, of that nation of which he is the ruler. Of his personal ambition, I have, notwithstanding all I have seen and read, strong and peculiar reasons for doubt. But, whatever be his private wishes, they must, of necessity, yield to the established policy of his government; and as to the aims and objects of that policy, no doubt can be entertained. The history of his family affords him abundant warning of the result to be anticipated, when the sovereign, however nominally autocratic, opposes his individual inclinations to those of the influential classes of his subjects."*

"Persons who have watched the course of political events in Greece, are aware of the policy by which Russia fanned the flame of resistance, until she had effected the separation of that limb of the empire; by which she afterwards kept alive her influence in the new kingdom, and has, probably, now succeeded in establishing that ascendency over the councils of Otho, which was, for a time, eclipsed under the ministry of Count Armansperg. Concomitant with the affair of Greece was that two years' war, which brought the Russian armies within eighty miles of Constantinople. The Turks applied to England and France for aid; but they applied in vain. Yet, at that period, a great continental confederation was suggested, and might have been formed had such been the will of England, which would have totally prevented the existing difficulties. It would have effectually protected Turkey; secured the mouths of the Danube; restricted Russia by an impassable line to the limits of the northern shore of the Black Sea; and brought other consequences in its train, to which it is not my object at present to allude. But England was in one of her fits of hallucination. The Turks had become exceedingly unpopular in Western Europe, on account of their refusal to recognise the independence of the Greeks; and the cause of the latter was viewed as identified with that of their co-religionists in the north. The Russians, as the champions of the Cross, were hallooed on to victory by the liberalism of England. Noble statesmen in the House of Lords were horrified even at the luckless assertion that the barbarous infidels were our 'ancient allies;' and I remember well the reply of a valued friend of mine (then one of the leading public characters of the time, and triumphant in all the palmy pride of patriotic popularity) to a suggestion which I offered, that British interest might possibly be endangered, should the emperor be allowed to fix himself on the Bosphorus: 'What care I,' said he, 'for British interests, as you feeble politicians call them? Let Nicholas drive the Turks out of Europe: so much the better. The Russians carry civilisation in their train; and wherever civilisation prevails, there will the wealth, the enterprise, the nobleness of England be sure to have its weight.' It was vain, amid all this perverse enthusiasm,

* British Diplomacy and Turkish Independence, p. 17, 19.

for the minister of the day—himself of doubtful popularity on other accounts—to entertain the hope of persuading Parliament to defend (as it was termed) the Crescent, at the expense of the Cross. The overtures alluded to were not accepted. The Russian forces proceeded onwards till they reached Adrianople. That they proceeded no further has been complacently ascribed to their smallness of number, their feeble and disorganised state, and, above all, to the tardy opposition of England, whose admiral was prepared to engage (and, of course, to destroy) the Russian fleet at the Dardanelles, if the army made any further advance. I believe neither of these to have been the determining motive. I have the authority of high officers of foreign powers, then stationed in the camp as deputies to witness the proceedings, that there was no cause, as connected with the army, to prevent its proceeding to the Bosphorus, where it might have taken its station, and received by sea every succour and augmentation it required, until the city should yield. The destruction of the fleet would have been a trifling consideration in comparison with the vastness of the prize. I believe the retreat to have arisen partly from the emperor being at the time unprepared for his mighty conquest, and, consequently, not ready with an organised plan for its future administration; and partly, perhaps still more cogently, from the state of feeling in Russia itself. Then, as now, there were two leading parties in that empire—the old and the new. The latter, headed chiefly by Germans, has at present the main direction of affairs, and would benefit by any great accession of territory or power: the former comprises the old aristocracy of Russia—the high influential families of wealth and territorial domain. They are little at court, or in the government; and, although approving the general policy of aggression on the side of Turkey, are understood to have expressed a decided objection to any attempt at the occupation of Constantinople,—an occupation from which there could arise to them neither honour nor benefit, and which they had a sort of dread might render *it*, ere long, the seat of the empire."—pp. 19—22.

After a short and somewhat overcharged sketch of the conduct pursued with regard to Egypt, the author proceeds to enumerate the vexatious processes pursued in the different parts of the Turkish empire: but it will be only fair to turn next to the remarks of the present Marquess of Londonderry as to the present character of Nicholas:

"As a mere opinion, I should assert that Russia will have no objects of aggrandisement for the next fifty years that would not be hostile to the feelings and opinions of the Emperor, unwise in the estimation of the nobles, and prejudicial to the nation itself.

"While the writer of 'Russia in 1836' was talking of new kingdoms and of the seizure of places, the Emperor Nicholas was voluntarily restoring to the Sultan Silistria, one of the keys of Turkey. No greater proof can surely be adduced, that the object of Russia is not the conquest of Turkey, nor the march to Constantinople. The Emperor full well knows, that to subdue the religious prejudices of such a nation as

that of Turkey, and to run the risk of a war with the powers of Europe in the effort, is what he is incapable of attempting without absolute necessity. Even at Adrianople, as in other places equally distant from their resources, and where they could not be provided beforehand, the Russian masses were broken down by disease, misery, and want; and the longer their line is extended, the easier prey does it become to predatory warfare in a hostile country. In addition, can it be supposed that the nobles of St. Petersburgh or Moscow would like to see their penates transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, and would an emperor of Russia abandon his Petersburgh and live in a Turkish capital? There is a very great disinclination amongst all the Russians I have conversed with, to the conquest of other dominions, and many are found who consider that civilization is advancing too rapidly for the real happiness and prosperity of the nation."—*Londonderry*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

There is more apparent than real discrepancy in the two accounts we have quoted, when we consider the alternate preponderance of the parties, and that the character of the nation is not necessarily that of the emperor, who sometimes must yield when he ought to control; and has been more than once designedly committed by his ministers.

The question before us is simply the designs of Russia, and her capabilities of carrying them into execution.

The book of Marshal Marmont is valuable on this last head; both as that of an able soldier, capable of forming a clear judgment on military matters and the event of a war, so far as personal knowledge of the qualities of the troops that must be employed in it are concerned; and also from the evident candour and fairness of his opinions in general.

We take his statement of the effective force of the Russian army, a subject on which, as Lord Londonderry well observes, it is by no means easy to get any thing like satisfactory information:—

"The Russian army consists at present of the following corps:—The *Imperial Guard*, composed of six divisions, three cavalry and three infantry. Of these there are twelve cavalry and twelve infantry regiments, one battalion of sappers, one of marines, one of *chasseurs*, one of veterans, four of horse-artillery, and twelve of foot-artillery. The *Grenadier Corps* is composed of one division of light cavalry, consisting of four regiments; of three divisions of infantry, made up of twelve regiments; of two batteries of horse-artillery, and fifteen of foot-artillery. The *Regiments of the Guard* consist of seven squadrons of cavalry, and three battalions of infantry. The *Six Corps of the Line* are composed each of one division of light cavalry made up of four regiments; of three divisions of infantry, each of four regiments, two of a regiment of four active battalions; in all twelve regiments, besides two batteries of horse-artillery and two of foot-artillery. The *total* of the six corps of the line consists of twenty-four regiments of light cavalry, seventy-two of infantry, twelve batteries of horse-artillery, and ninety of foot-artillery. Of the 3d

Corps of Cavalry of Reserve, each corps has two divisions, and each division four regiments; making a *total* of twenty-four regiments, and twelve batteries of horse-artillery. The *Two Reserve Corps of the Line* are formed each of three divisions, and each division is composed of twenty-four battalions. The *Corps of the Caucasus* consists of one regiment of dragoons, three divisions of infantry, and sixteen batteries of foot artillery. The *Corps of Orembourg* is formed of one division of infantry of sixteen battalions, and the same number of batteries; the *Corps of Siberia* of one division of infantry; the *Corps of Finland* of the same. The *Troops of the Interior* consist of ten battalions of sappers, of fifty battalions of home militia, and one division of horse-artillery, composed of nine batteries. Of *Cossacks* there are stationed in different countries one hundred and forty-six regiments.

"The Russian territory has been militarily divided into two parts; the first, consisting of the distant provinces, thinly peopled, has been condemned as a recruiting district; it furnishes no men to the army. The other, formed out of the centre of the empire, of thickly inhabited tracts, supplies the country with all its soldiers. From this arrangement it results that the army is recruited out of a population of forty millions of natives, and that the limits of the territory within which this recruitment takes place, are not too distantly removed from each other to admit of an expeditious formation or renovation of a military force.

"The army arising out of the above-mentioned population has been organized into regiments of six battalions; a seventh skeleton battalion is always stationed in the recruiting districts to receive and discipline young soldiers, and afterwards to hand them over to the reserve battalions. Four battalions of each regiment belong to the active force of the country. Four regiments, that is sixteen battalions (two battalions from each regiment being deducted), form a division; three divisions a corps; and there are six corps at present complete and effective.

"The fifth and sixth battalions of twelve regiments form a reserve division. This division consists consequently of twenty-four battalions; three divisions of reserve constitute a reserve corps.

"One thousand men form the complement of an active battalion. The number of a reserve battalion is completed in the time of peace, by five hundred men. The corps of grenadiers and that of the guards constitute each a noble *corps d'armée*. The Cossack regiments, not included in the above organization, contain 800 men each."

We have in the commencement of this article laid a great, and as some readers may perhaps think, an unnecessary stress upon the mere position of Russia and her eastern neighbours. This however is imperatively called for, in our opinion, by the necessity of taking into consideration the most material point, the influence of external circumstances upon her situation and prospects,—and one the omission of which has, we conceive, led to much of error, and exaggeration in our feelings towards Russia, and of consequent miscalculation.

Russia, we consider, is placed in a state of considerable diffi-

culty as regards other powers. Her existence in Europe necessitated extension, and hence her proceedings assumed more and more an utterly unjustifiable character, till she could advance no farther in this quarter without conflict with the most powerful of its states.

In the East, to which her attention is turned, her views formerly were unquestionably aggressive, in the strongest sense of the word: but a careful survey of her own resources and those of the countries against her, has induced her to abandon this bolder course; and the very circumstance that waked her to the sense of this incapacity, and placed it in its strongest light, was the campaign of the Balkan. We have seen nothing like a correct account of the facts, but the pamphlet to which we have already alluded contradicts to a certain degree the impression that it was a hint from England that prevented the march from Adrianople upon the Turkish capital. We are not in the secrets of governments, but we know that the statement in question has been made by those who are capable of judging its truth, though we believe the fact to have been in some degree miscoloured. The Russian army never could have passed the Balkan but for the disturbed state of the Turkish government and the treachery of the Pachas. Diebitsch, in concert with them, but never trusting them for a moment, moved, as was the expressed opinion of the first of high military authorities, his army as rapidly as if in a friendly country, and as carefully as if surrounded by the most skilful of enemies. The Turkish chiefs that were wavering were thus won over by fear; but no sooner did they see themselves freed from immediate danger, and perceive the small force of the invaders, than their national feelings returned. Had they attacked, they would probably have been beaten, but the battle would have lost Constantinople to the invaders. The sultan's policy was delay; but this could not last: a repulse from the fanatic Moslems of the capital would have destroyed the Russian army; conquest of the city could not have been maintained; Diebitsch found he had been deceived as to the feelings of the Turks. We cannot say whether any intimation of the nature we have alluded to was given from the British minister at Constantinople, but we do know that the Russian official impression, arising too from the state of negotiations in London, Paris, and Vienna, was that it would lead to a general commotion, if not war, in Europe: and Diebitsch, fully in possession of the emperor's own private sentiments upon the general question, durst not take upon himself a responsibility so serious, leading directly too to the very point of a war which his sovereign deprecated: he therefore rejected all communications, opinions, and advice of an opposite tendency, though

strongly urged on him; spared Constantinople, and saved his army. The concession, however, was certainly referred in certain quarters abroad to a sense of the impression made by the expressed opinions of the British cabinet, and the dexterity of her minister at Constantinople: and so far it was as certainly true. More we cannot vouch for.

The acts of Russia previous to that time showed her policy to be aggressive, but the circumstances above stated corrected it, and the natural dispositions of the emperor himself are known to be moderate and generous; though he cannot always control, and is sometimes led away by, the eager spirit of the war party and the nation. The indemnity for the war was hopelessly enormous; and its relinquishment obtained him the praise due to an act of real generosity, as it unquestionably was; fixed to him the personal gratitude of the sultan, since confirmed by subsequent assistance; and secured for him advantages of position at least equivalent to the loss sustained by the relinquishment, in both a military and commercial sense. South Russia was safe from that moment, and eastern commerce assured; though not even then absolutely confined, to his dominions. The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi gave him this also: but in the haste to take advantage of it his ministers committed a fatal error; the secret article became known to the very party from whom it was intended to reserve it; and it was that very haste that awakened the suspicion of its existence. Russian policy outwitted itself, here as often elsewhere.

But whether the policy of Russia be directly ambitious or not, it is clear from all we have stated that it is, and from circumstances must be, a policy of aggrandizement. Commercial objects are her principal aim now, and let us see how these can be obtained or controlled. We take the whole line of her position.

From Sweden she has nothing to fear, nor will have, until danger presses her elsewhere strongly.

Prussia is bound to her by strong ties. First of gratitude and long alliance; next by the peculiar position of her state, which is a democracy under despotism; thirdly, by jealousy and equiponderance of Austria; and lastly, commercial considerations. But Prussia also requires an increased commerce; and the League so talked of, however injurious to other nations—this question we do not touch upon—has the certain tendency of strengthening Prussia herself, and raising her through commerce to the head of a political confederation; thus lessening her dependence on Russia, and increasing her power of resistance whenever necessary.

Poland is a difficult question; it may seem invidious to give our peculiar opinion; but truth must be spoken if we speak, and delicacy cannot interfere with this duty.

The very virtues of Poland were fatal errors in the European system. Her independent spirit was too often anarchy; her activity was incessant intrigue. The elective form of her government was a fruitless source of disquietude to herself, and other powers; where every object was to be put in requisition, every influence domestic or foreign to be won over for the sake of this or that private interest in rival individuals, can it be wonderful that connections were formed and reciprocities established with other powers and their subjects? Can it be supposed that enterprise and personal ambition, the reward too a sovereignty, would always or often reject the use of very questionable means, when such virtue was certain of losing the prize? And can it in the least be doubted that if foreigners assisted they expected equivalents? An interlaced system of political intrigue was thus established, not only at home but abroad: intriguers do not confine themselves to one point, they must of necessity enter into all that lies in their way: thus while the interests of Polish governments were carried out in other countries, the interests of these were intrigued for by Poles and in Poland. Here was one source of eternal confusion: one opening for foreign interposition carefully reserved, by the very principle of the Polish system.

But the Polish sovereign was only a president. His nobles, though untitled but from abroad, and this in itself was an earnest of foreign corruptions, were his equals. A pressure on the mass, to consolidate it, was wanting. The keystone inefficient, the arch could not be strong. Their system, in truth, bore to those of other states the precise relation of the bastard or Babylonian to the Egyptian and Roman arch; the approximations of the upper portion were not supported by, but built out from, the inferior; The effect to the eye might be the same, but the solidity was nothing, and the reality and the type are both in dust.

The high spirit of the Polish nobility, that gave a welcome to the Jews from persecution in the darker ages, rendered also the asylum of that country inviolable from all political offences. Thus foreign subjects, banished from their own land, or flying to escape its laws, might fix in Poland, and carry on undisturbed their machinations against their parent state; nor could the power of the king contravene the will of his nobles. Had not the neighbouring powers then ample room for complaint, and interference, even by arms? This must be conceded them.

Still the partition of Poland was a crime of first-rate magnitude. But Russia wanted to be European: Prussia wanted breadth; and Austria a counterpoise to the other two, and fertility. The crime was committed.

But crime is always fatal. Russia had overlooked the peculiar

spirit of the Poles; and that which in their happier hour had been their fault and destruction now became the earnest of their preservation. They would not be controlled:—the very name of the Poles marks their origin from a fierce, untameable eastern race, a race that has never yet, in any country or under any system, lost its peculiar characteristics; and certainly nowhere gives the slightest indication of resigning them, but, even where submitting to other governments, preserving with fierce jealousy its own nationality. This Russia had not fully calculated upon; and indeed seems to have been ignorant of the historical fact altogether, or else blind to it from cupidity: but this is the thorn in her side, that impedes all her ambition in Europe, and checks the possibility of free movement in the east. It is the safeguard of Europe; a door to freedom, of which Austria holds the key. One word from her rouses Poland, from Galicia to Lithuania. Austria therefore feels no uneasiness.

To check Austria and Turkey, Moldavia and Wallachia are withdrawn from the Porte. Bulgaria and Servia are agitated to affect the line of communication through Dalmatia and Albania. Greece, if liberated to the extent desired by Russia, would have been an effectual bar to the south of this line, and that of her north-east frontier also, through Bosnia and Rumelia to Constantinople, and by the archipelago. Her sailors would be a make-weight against English and French navies in the Mediterranean: but Britain holds the Seven Islands and Malta; France keeps Algiers, and Turkey retains Candia: thus the three powers outlie Greece.

The Turks, though degraded, are rising again as a nation; their commerce, developing, assures their prosperity, if under a proper system of foreign support. This England ensures. The southern coast of the Black Sea is still theirs; and from the vigilance of the newspapers, that government and all others interested, are warned in time to be wary. Through Asia Minor lies their route to Circassia, Tartary, and Persia.

Circassia, even if subdued at last, can be so but partially; for the same reasons, and from the same causes, as Poland. The people are essentially independent, and they will preserve their unchanged and unchangeable spirit; their indomitable sense of an eternal nationality. They abhor the Russians; they are looked up to, in the heart of Southern Russia itself, by the more peaceably settled and less strongly marked Tatar tribes, who themselves, even the most contented of their races, never have amalgamated with their masters: and strong discontents exist amongst the major portion, independent even of the strong sympathies they entertain for Circassia. Aid to Circassia, always

practicable through Turkey, would throw all that land, all Caucasus, all South-Russian Tatary into flame.

Of Caucasus we need say little; but when it is remembered how desperate was the struggle there when Poland rebelled in 1831, and what immense forces it required for a long time to procure a reluctant quiescence, we know what the effect of a fresh chance for them would be. General Yermoloff is not forgotten among them, nor by the Russian government.

Syria would be English if England had a fleet joined to that of Turkey. France, through Algiers and Africa, holds a lien too on this land, for trade, and as a military road eastward. Turkey, in possession of Asia Minor, can always be supported by her armies therefore, if pressed by Russia through Persia and the Black Sea. But Russian pressure on Turkey would open this, as we have shown, freely to our commerce and consequently our arms. None know, however, better than Russia herself that the Black Sea, though in one sense a nursery for ships, is yet the most destructive of seas for a fleet. With all she has held and now holds of its coasts, what are her vessels, not on paper, but in its waters? Numerous, with highly trained crews, no doubt: but how many of the vessels are fit to cope with English or French? and how do they last in that sea of dangerous and destructive storms and more destructive waters? Let the reader recall the efficiency of Russian ships at Navarino compared with those of her allies.

In case of a war Turkey and Egypt united form the first line of defence: if broken through, Egypt becomes independent by position, and affords the second: it is however idle to talk of Egyptian troops opposed to Russian. Seeing the long difficulties of Syrian insurrection, we see that Syria affords military positions in abundance; excellent in defensive warfare; to these they must be confined. Ibrahim triumphed easily over the Turks; not only from the state of hurry and exhaustion, and the positive famine among the latter, as has been asserted by a recent writer,* but also and still more from the utter incapacity of the Turkish leader, who did not know how to manœuvre, nor to calculate; who attacked in a fog, unfavourable to his own vastly superior force, and which concealed the enemy's inferiority, and, while it aggravated the difficulties of his own undisciplined troops, gave every advantage to the precision of the enemy.

The assistance of Persia and Independent Tatary has been reckoned upon in any invasion of Hindostan by Russia. But the utter want of good roads and the difficulties of each route, though

* See Sultan Mahmoud and Mahomet Ali Pacha, 1835.

both might be surmounted by an efficient army, would afford every facility for treachery from the natives in Persia. The instant a Russian army entered it from the west it would be at the mercy of the Persians. With common activity on the part of Britain amongst the numerous parties existing there, armies after armies in constant communication must be sent, to enforce supplies; and a force of 100,000 men would require 60,000 more to support its communications and awe the Persians. When has Russia 160,000 men to spare for a single object and remote aggression? and where the means of transport and provision for half that number? Was not Paskevitch himself in considerable difficulties also for transport alone, and compelled to use a small force, because a larger one could not be moved; and this on the frontier only? If Persia can supply corn and cattle, can she supply the purchase-money? Or is her system of administration so free from peculation that large sums entrusted to her commissariat system would ever reach their destination? They could not, even under the long systematized vigilance of the late acute and avaricious shah. That vigilant prince too, was fully aware that no European enemy would march through his dominions; and he gratified his avarice and kept his kingdom secure by steadily refusing to improve its communications. "No, no;" he replied to the solicitations of the deceased Abbas Meerza's favourite and singularly dexterous agent, "we Persians can move as did our fathers, but the infidels walk only in straight ways."

The expedition to Herat, certain of failure, if it denoted the superiority of Russian arguments, has proved also the superiority of British judgment. That country could never be brought into any thing more than a nominal or temporary submission to Persia; and its history through all ages proves this: from the time of the heroes, fabulous or otherwise, Zal and Rustam; i. e. from earliest antiquity, there was always an independent though submitted rule on the eastern portion of Persia. Affghanistan, Candahar, and Segestan, to the north; Belochistan, Kerman, and Mekran, to the south; have mountains enough to render Western India tolerably safe on this side with common foresight on our part. Russian assailants could reach it only by a toilful march, and great incidental losses, and then they would have to meet troops perfectly fresh and highly disciplined.

But Tatary offers a path less chimerical it would appear: and Russia from the Caspian by a hundred routes could traverse the ground; and she knows this well. True it is she knows it; for she has twice most carefully surveyed every inch of the ground in both a purely scientific and a military view. But what assistance can she calculate upon?—none whatever, other than Persian from the north. On this we would observe, facts show its futility.

The Desert tribes, the Turcomans, have already risen to repel the Persian invasion of their land. They have foiled the Persian already, and hate him always. Always his match, they are often his superior; jealous of his power, would they love it more or fear it less, because backed by Russian auxiliaries? Their part is already taken, and declared. Five hundred miles from the Caspian to Herat alone, is a long line of communication.

Tatary is quiescent, rather than quiet; there are no robberies on a great scale to be committed, so we hear only of a refractory khan now and then. Place a commissariat in their way, and bribe them by gold to assist its operations, they will freely supply the cattle, receive the money, and carry off both. We speak from no conjectural theory; from no general rule of the character of nomade tribes; but from a full and intimate knowledge of the tribes of those countries, acquired by years of residence among them as a native, and intimacy with their habits and feelings. Will any one say that these are favourable to the Russians? they are decidedly adverse to them; and from the mere fact of the closer approximation of the latter, that feeling has been aggravated a hundred fold. Where would be the redress against a *chappow* or foray; and how far would Cossack or Calmouk ride to overtake the tireless horses of Turkestan rode by their native masters, and who go the first twelve or sixteen miles just to get into their wind and pace, and then keep on for a day or two at a rate that defies pursuit, scattering over the deserts: and how long would it be before these plunderers interposed, egged on by British influence and gold against the invaders of their country; scattered too as these would be along the whole line of march, in a district utterly incapable of maintaining them itself, and thus reduced to depend on their own supplies from the rear, when a single successful interruption would destroy the means of an army. Can savages be bribed into a steady system of morality? And if they can, Britain, whose Indian power is too remote to awaken their jealousy, has more means of bribing them to remain as they are.

Even supposing all obstacles surmounted, what would be the effect of a single defeat to the invaders, or a rumour of it even?

The idea of a materially efficient Persian co-operation along the north sounds formidable: but will the Affghans suffer it in the north where most needed? And cannot Persia be invaded from the south by a handful of men who would find the sea provinces ready and eager to join them. Already a slight demonstration has called out the competitors for the throne: a dozen parties in Persia itself are always ready for an outbreak whenever opportunity can be found; nor will this be lessened when the progress of civilization shall have got so far as to allow the sovereign to let

his own children survive. Egypt besides eyes Bagdad with desire; and if wrested from the Turk, her natural enemy, would it be less formidable to Persia in the hands of the Egyptian? If Russia seized Turkey and Constantinople, could she move on at once to India or Persia?

We quote Marshal Marmont's views as to the possible occupation of Constantinople.

"I have already shown that the Russians may, with the greatest ease, take possession of Constantinople, not only with the consent of the sultan, but on his express invitation. I undertake to prove now that the occupation once effected, the most intimate alliance between France, England, and Austria, the most energetic efforts of these three powers would be ineffectual to force the Russians to evacuate the position they might take up upon the Dardanelles.

"My proof is based on the following hypothesis:—A *corps d'armée*, forming a junction with the troops assembled from the Crimea, would be employed in the Russian occupation; and this force, it may be positively anticipated, would not amount to less than sixty thousand men. I suppose, then, that this force would be distributed in the following manner:—Ten thousand men would be posted at the Dardanelles: a strong place, consisting of five or six batteries, flanked by two forts, the one situated at the extremity of the table-ground Maltissi, and the other on the height which commands the batteries of Nagara, would be constructed on that site. Three forts, amphitheatrically built on the European side, would protect its batteries from every hostile attack by land. Ten thousand men would be encamped on the heights of Constantinople, which they would hold in obedience, whilst several vessels of war would ride at anchor in the harbour. The rest of the army, that is to say, forty thousand men, would be encamped at Adrianople. Eighteen or twenty towers would render this post unattackable. The army of from thirty to forty thousand men posted there could not be shut up, and would hold a force eighty thousand strong in check. To complete the system of occupation and defence, I suppose that eighty thousand Russians would be assembled in Moldavia and Walachia, and that their advance-guard would be on the bank of the Danube, ready to cross the river; and, finally, that the grand Russian army would be concentred between Warsaw and Cracow, in readiness to pass the Vistula.

"I ask, then, what could the triple alliance I have mentioned do to force the Russians to evacuate Constantinople? Supposing a French and English army to embark for the Dardanelles, what immense preparations and expense would attend an expedition of this kind! Thirty or forty thousand men is the greatest force that could well be destined to such a purpose; and even this force would probably be ill-organized and ill-equipped; the cavalry would be feeble, because it is difficult to transport a great number of horses to a distant country; artillery the same; and smaller field-pieces would be totally inadequate to the necessities of the war. Finally, this army, embarked at a great cost, would arrive slowly—its march would be known—its arrival foreseen, and it would have to

confront a force in strong positions, furnished abundantly with all things necessary, and capable of receiving increase and renovation at any moment.

"On the other hand, should the fleets of France and England alone be called into action, the hostile operations of those countries must be confined to a blockade. The Russian fleet, however, remaining at anchor, could not be attacked, yet might always put to sea, and command an engagement at any favourable crisis.

"And now let us see if Austria could act more effectively. Supposing an Austrian army were to enter Servia, after passing the Balkan, the fortified camp of Adrianople would outflank this army on the south, and suspend its offensive operations at once. Whilst manœuvring to conquer this difficulty, the army of Walachia could cross the Danube, and force the Austrians to retrograde. But it may be said, that a second army might be assembled in Transylvania to oppose the offensive march of the Walachians, either by a direct attack, or by menacing their flanks or rear. The mass of Russian troops, however, assembled on the Vistula would, by reason of its advanced position, oblige the greater part of the Austrian forces to remain stationary in order to cover the heart of the monarchy, and even the capital itself. It is therefore probable that a simple disposition of the Russian troops, such as I have imagined, would altogether neutralize the offensive operations of Austria.

"It would then appear necessary that a French army should form a junction with the Austrian army to attack the Russian force in Poland; but this operation, though in a scientific sense good, is hardly feasible, for reasons superfluous to mention. Besides, the Russian force in Poland might be weakened without much injury being thereby done, for this force would not be necessary to cover the capitals of the empire. Their distance from the frontier even ensures their safety.

"I acknowledge, nevertheless, that all the military advantages I have pointed out in favour of the Russians belong rather to the first occupant. If indeed a French and English fleet should pass the Dardanelles and arrive at Constantinople; if, at the same time, an allied army of French and Austrians should seize on the position at Adrianople, and establish there the fortified camp of which I have spoken, then would the Russians have immense difficulties to conquer to wrest these posts from their enemies. Under this supposition, the Russian fleet, having entered Sebastapol, would be shut up there; and if an army crossed the Balkan, this army would be exposed to confront an Austrian force either from Tansylvania, marching into Bessarabia, or from Hungary, marching into Servia, in order to turn the flank of the Russian army which would be in Bulgaria. It is true, that in case of an offensive movement on the part of the Russians, a large force would be previously sent into Transylvania, which, taking up a position in that province, would cover the corps on its march to Constantinople. This operation would certainly be difficult, but it might be executed; whilst, on the other hand, the operations of the allied armies, such as I have imagined them, under the supposition that Russia should be the first occupant of Turkey, would be nearly impossible, on account of the proximity of

Vienna; unless, indeed, not only the French and English fleets and an Austrian army, and perhaps one from Prussia should be called into action in the war. But the exigencies imposed on Prussia by the configuration of her territory are well known, as well as the natural tendencies of her policy, which might perhaps incline her to an opposite course."—*Marmont*, vol. ii. pp. 129—127.

From this it will be seen that Austria, in the Marshal's opinion, holds the power of shutting or opening the gates to Russia. We must observe that he speaks only in a military sense; and that a breath to Poland from Austria, would create a formidable diversion against Russia in her vital part: would Sweden be inactive, and passive to the loss of Finland, then? Many, and amongst them the Marquess of Londonderry, a competent and unquestionable judge in military surveys, as his long and brilliant services so indubitably proved, hold Constantinople as assailable even in the possession of Russia.

But the first movement of Russia in active hostilities would awaken the hopes of the Poles, and her whole flank would be exposed in one nearly continuous chain through Poland, Gallicia, and Hungary, Turkey, the Southern Russian Cossacks, Circassia, Armenia and the Caucasus, Affghanistan, and Tatary: and to a second line, of Austria, Dalmatia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulph, and Indian ocean's coasts.

To those who fear the schemes of Russia, we would observe that her internal state is in itself a serious bar to the execution of gigantic projects, independent of the necessity for employing her large military force in stations along her whole line. The resources of the country, infinitely increased beyond that wretched period for her finances when Alexander trusted for a time the treasury to Count Nesselrode because he could rely on no other, is yet barely competent for the improvement of the country; and the military forces are in reality still far inferior to their paper amount. The former fact is proved by the application to England for money expressly to carry on the war against Poland.

We see that Lord Londonderry corroborates our statement.

"The pamphlet I now allude to, is 'Russia and her Acquisitions in 1836.' The author here displays a gigantic map, and marks, accurately enough, the encroachments of the Czars, by conquests, treaties, or treachery, since the time of Peter the Great, and founds upon this exhibited surface of continued ambition, the certain argument that the same course must still be pursued, in defiance of any changes that time and experience may produce in the sentiments of the Russians, or of the guarantee afforded by the personal character for wisdom and prudence of the existing sovereign. I disagree as much in the inference drawn by this latter writer, as I do in the theories of the former. The very circumstance of the great accessions of territory produces, at present, an undigested inte-

rior, composed of very difficult materials to organise in unity of action. To make this mass more unmanageable by unnecessary increase, while its component parts create, even now, disquietude, and demand all the energies of the government, is not the part of a great and wise sovereign; and it is but fair and just, on passing a positive opinion as to what the measures of Russia will be, to examine the recent acts of the chief whom Providence has placed at the head of this colossal empire.

"It would be bold to predict what the position of Russia may be some hundred years since. Undoubtedly the rapid progress she has made in civilisation and improvement since the war with France, and since her legions were transported from the banks of the Volga, the Don, and the Vistula, to those of the Seine, surpasses belief. Since 1815, she has advanced in these respects at least a century. The practical observation which her masses of men made on the cultivated states and territories through which they passed; the taste which was thus imbibed for southern luxuries; the indefatigable exertions and efforts of the Emperor Alexander to obtain every possible advantage for his rising empire,—all conspired, with the great genius, industry, and talent of the people, to improve Russia in a singular degree. The golden opportunity of the long peace since 1815 has not been thrown away in the hands of Alexander and Nicholas. Indeed, it is wonderful to witness how greatly the latter has availed himself of all the foundations prepared by the former; and I feel assured that those who descant largely in the British parliament, on the situation of Russia, would do well to examine the country in the details, before they venture on statements which their ocular observations would disprove. Russia, in my opinion, is directing all her mighty means to bring to perfection all parts of that empire which acknowledge her sway, before she attempts to grapple with more extent of dominion. Whether she can manage and govern well what she possesses, is a primary question; to seize upon more before this is ascertained would greatly endanger what exists."—*Londonderry*, vol. i. pp. 158—160.

This is the place perhaps for another extract from the same writer: the distinguished activity and military judgment of the noble marquess through the long period of the late war, and most undeniably shown in the interference by which he compelled the reluctant Crown-Prince of Sweden, Bernadotte, to fight and win the victory of Gros Beren, near Leipsic, when victory was most wanted; entitle his opinion to high value.

"In giving these sentiments, I know I differ from much higher authorities; amongst the rest Marshal Marmont, who in his tour in Hungary, Transylvania, Southern Russia, Turkey, &c., has broadly laid it down, not only that the Russians with the greatest ease can take possession of Constantinople, but he also offers to prove, that the occupation once effected, the most intimate alliance of France, England, and Austria, could not force the Russians to evacuate it. The marshal then enters upon the long military hypothesis on which his reasoning is based. Far be it from me to follow this, probably, well-digested professional treatise; but my simple question is, how is Russia now, or at any future

time within the next century, to supply the means and the sinews of war for such an undertaking? What would be easy and light to the financial means of such a triple alliance against her, would be impracticable for Russia alone; and both the nation and its chief, I believe, are fully aware of this impossibility. The marshal, however, sums up his reasoning by two considerations, which he admits have their value against the opinions he delivers. First, he says, that all the advantages he points out in favour of the Russians belong to the first occupant; that is to say, if our combined fleet passed the Dardanelles and arrived first at Constantinople, and if with an army we could then occupy Adrianople with a fortified camp, the Russians would have immense difficulties to overcome. The probability is, however, we should pass the Dardanelles before any fleet of Russia could be in force there; and, without debarkation of land troops for a fortified camp at Adrianople, I think the Russians would hardly take possession of Constantinople in presence of the combined fleets of France and England.

"Secondly, the marshal considers that Prussia would probably be inclined to adopt the Russian side of the question; but if she did not, he conceives this might make a great difference in the forces Prussia might bring into the field, and the manner she might aid the military operations.

"For both these reasons, I am of opinion that the deductions the marshal has made are adverse to the interests and powers of a resisting triple alliance."—*Londonderry*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

We may notice upon this point, independent of the support afforded to our own opinions by the noble writer, that these and similar considerations have already been made by the Austrian government. There are also one or two additional facts to which we would call attention.

Whatever might be the monied deficiencies of Austria herself, these in case of necessity would be supplied by England. The latter also could easily furnish Poland with all the means requisite for aggression if desirable, and this by the Adriatic. Her fleets also could assist Sweden and menace the Baltic on the north side; creating a diversion against Prussia, if disposed to assist her gigantic northern neighbour. Prussia however must be on the side that can secure to her Posen, or give her an equivalent for it.

Of Poland we have already spoken much. We may add, that a nation that has once had a kingdom, never forgets it, any more than a ruined housekeeper his home, even amid the gentle joys of a workhouse. The Jews are an instance of the fact.

It was undoubtedly a well-turned sentence for the Emperor Alexander to call the Dardanelles the "key of his own house." He should rather have said of his neighbour's. Extending along two sides of the Black Sea, the Russian empire can have no more to fear from fleets than France, Spain, or any other power that has a maritime coast. She however has more to gain from Turkey

friendly and allied, than dependant and despoiled. If Constantinople were seized, the Sultan driven to Asia would be a formidable enemy whenever Russia was elsewhere employed, and a point of support for eastern operations against her. If Russia then advanced through Persia to India, from Turkey she would never be safe; of Persia never secure.

Nearly the same might be said of the Caucasian districts, reluctant as these are known to be to any civilised or systematic rule.

The Russian government is imitating the Austrian formation of military colonies on a dangerous frontier: but there is a wide difference between the Servian, &c. and the Caucasian and Circassian, though the step is certainly calculated for the consolidation of the Russian power between the Euxine and the Caspian. Military colonies are to be established in those provinces, viz. on this side of the Caucasus, to the west and south of the Terek and the north of the Kuban, and beyond the Caucasus, in the province of Osbarek; and on the east coast of the Black Sea, in Imeretia and Abassia, as far as the fortress of Gagry; that is, all round the country of the Circassians and the other tribes not yet subdued, who live in the mountains to the east of the Black Sea, southwards from the Kuban to Gagry. The subjection of the southern bank of the Kuban, and the establishment of military colonies there, is kept in view. The Petersburgh Journal publishes a part of the resolution, dated Teflis, October 10, 1837, and will continue it. The number of families of Russian soldiers to be settled there is fixed at 2,000, of which 500 are to go there this year. For this purpose married soldiers from the several corps of the army, who possess the necessary qualifications, and have served fifteen years, will be discharged from their regiments and settled in the military colonies.

Any operations far up the Caspian must include, for safety in its line of operations, the districts of Bokhara and Khiva. They are refractory enough. It must not, however, be imagined that a Russian expedition to chastise the insolence of these Tatars is necessarily a movement upon India. Few but those conversant with these predatory tribes can have a conception of their eternal ravage and murderous and wanton outrages. The Russian government is bound to give protection to its own subjects engaged in commerce, too often so infamously treated by these detestable and faithless savages.

It is indeed to form a barrier against their southern races that Persia has been encouraged to move eastward to Khorassan; but had those who talk of Russian aggression and influence really witnessed the deplorable scenes of Tatar inroad, they would confess that any efforts on the part of Persia were loudly called for

by the state of her dominions in that quarter; and, if tranquillized, Russian products would be largely consumed in that portion of Asia. The Persian failure, and the intention of applying for Russian aid, only shows the strength of the obstacles the latter power must encounter, even in the outset of her Quixotic march to Hindostan.

Of India and its peculiar position we have no room to speak largely here. We can only for the present observe that not only is it unthreatened by any danger from the West, but that all fears upon this subject will be probably set at rest by our recent enlightened Eastern policy, that bids fair to get rid of the apprehensions respecting those dominions, by getting rid of the dominions altogether.

To return to the main question.

The position then of Russia is purely, in an open sense, commercial. She is anxious for the trade of Asia internally: and by closing her dominions to British goods so superior to her own manufacture, as in cotton, iron, &c. she secures the market for these, and her Uralian and other produce—Circassia, if obtained, barring the transit for England through the Black Sea into the interior of Tatary. The Indus, however, opens a wide field for commerce, and for transit into Tatary also.

We have much to add hereafter, upon all the subjects we have touched upon, and India especially.

Russian aggrandizement, we repeat, is now driven into the bounds of commercial advance; and vigilance will retain it there. Of her territorial acquisitions we can scarcely have a right to complain, who have advanced along India by infinitely worse steps—of late, at least: but Russia can show nothing to equal our own senseless treachery in that quarter. This instance of British colonial possessions, and the present case of the United States against the Cherokee and Seminole Indians, prove that civilized states, as we laboured to show at the commencement of this article, are under a ceaseless moral necessity of conquest and progression over barbarians.

Still, with every pacific disposition, we hold the opinion and can maintain it, by facts little known to the public at large, that Russia in her recent courses has committed herself, if opportunity were wished for it, to all the chances of war; and this by her errors of greediness, perfidy, and assumption, in many instances within the last few years.

Of her power and projects we entertain no dread, even without the necessity of running to arms.

Exposicion del Tratado di Paucarpata en Peru. Exposé of the Treaty of Paucarpata, and Events connected with it. Lima. London, 1838.

The author of this pamphlet is well known to the diplomatic and literary world as the most active member of the former body connected with the latter, by his incessant vigilance over the interests committed to his care. Not a decree, ordinance, bulletin, or state paper, of any kind, is ever issued on any thing that can any way be construed to refer to his country, not the least piece of intelligence is noticed by a casual remark, even in the daily journals of any nation, to impugn his own, but he stands forward the ready and able champion for her vindication through the same channel by which she was assailed. Were other ministers as indefatigable the world would be one great, and it may with justice be added, able pamphlet on foreign affairs. The literary expenses of the Peruvian government must be equal to that of all the nations of Europe.

The work before us is a complete refutation of the state papers it undertakes to answer, and a vindication of the chief of the Peru-Bolivian Federation; and as the recent triumphs of his arms over both antagonists evince his moderation and talents, they form the best, and a complete, support of the statements in this pamphlet.

Kjobenhavn og dets Omegn. Kopenhagen und Helsingoer mit Umgegend und historicher Beschriebung, auf dänisch. (Copenhagen and Helsinger with the Environs; and historical Descriptions; from the Danish.) 4to. A very interesting volume, and full of plates, views, plans, and elevations, giving a most complete idea of scenes but little known generally to Englishmen.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

The *Journal de Paris* informs us, that the demand for stamps has been so great this year that the provision made by the commissioners for the last two months of this year has been already entered upon, and what remains will not be sufficient. The quantity of paper required for stamps has generally amounted to 45,000 reams, but an extraordinary supply has been ordered and it is expected that the next contract will be to the amount of 75,000 reams.

A letter from an officer on board the *Zelé*, second ship, under the expedition of Captain Dumont D'urville, repeats the accounts already given by other officers of the difficulties experienced in following the line of antarctic ice-fields, and, by additional details, showing the severe labours of the crews.

The first volume is published of M. Chevalier's great work entitled *Des Intérêts en France*, which is to treat of three subjects:—1. Land and Water Communication; 2. Institution of Banks; and 3. Education. The first subject is complete in the first volume.

M. Didron, secretary to the Historical Committee of Arts and Monuments, has discovered in a MS. of Rheims, of the 13th century, some architectural drawings consisting of two façades of a cathedral, a plan, &c. The discovery will prove of considerable importance should there be any foundation for M. Didron's supposition that the cathedrals of Laon, Amiens, Noyon, and Rheims, have been constructed on the model of these drawings.

Victor Cousin is printing the last volume of his translation of Plato.

On the 10th of October, and the days following, (if they have not previously been disposed of *à l'aimable*, or, as we say, by private contract,) the extensive collection of charters and other historical documents of the late Baron de Joursanvault will be put to the hammer. The catalogue, published by Techener of Paris, forms two tolerably large volumes in 8vo. (small print), and contains nearly three thousand seven hundred articles. The whole number of separate documents is said to amount to about 80,000. The main body of the Anglo-French charters belonging to this collection was bought by the English government two or three years ago, and deposited in the British Museum: but there are still left some valuable documents relating to the English wars in France during the 14th and 15th centuries.

The *Commission Historique* has recently published the second volume of the Metrical Chronicle of Normandy, by Benoit, (an Anglo-Norman poet of the 12th century), and two volumes of the Relations of the Affairs of France sent home by the Venetian Ambassadors during the 16th century.

M. Percier, the architect, to whom, in conjunction with M. Fontaine, France owes most of her public monuments during the empire, died in September, at his apartments in the Louvre. He was a member of the Legion of Honour and of the Institute.

M. Percier bequeathed 150,000 frs. to l'Ecole des Beaux Arts.

The exhibition for the grand prize of sculpture at the Ecole Royale des Beaux Arts, took place on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of September. Only six specimens were exhibited and not very good.

Mustapha ben Ismael, ex-Bey of Tlemecen, has been offended with his African servants, who, since their arrival in France, have taken to speaking aloud in the presence of their master, contrary to the laws of the Koran. The most loquacious was punished with 25 blows of a rattan before his comrades as an example.

The bronze statue of Henri IV. has been presented by the King to the town of Pau. It is to be erected in the Place Royale of that town, and the money subscribed for the statue itself by individuals will now be expended on the pedestal, which is of Pyrenean marble.

The celebrated Pergamena Vase, presented to the King by Sultan Mahmoud, has been placed in one of the Saloons of the Egyptian Museum in the Louvre.

A French lady named Dangeville, said to be sister of the Deputy for the department of the Ain, ascended to the summit of Mont Blanc, on the 4th instant.*

The Bayaderes.—The countenance of Soundiron is of so attractive a kind that it is difficult to convey an idea of it, her eyes of sparkling black in the midst of a bluish enamel, dart forth looks enough to turn the brains of a saint; the art of ogling is quite in its infancy with us; and all the coquettes of Paris will be for taking lesson of the sprightly Soundiron. She will be a professor of the first water of the art of the language of the eyes. Amany's countenance is mildness itself, her smile is candid and pensive at the same time; she is tall and straight like a palm tree; she is eighteen, Soundiron is only fourteen. Little Veydon, aged six, looks like a little devil. Rangin bears some resemblance to Soundiron, without being her equal.

* We understand it had been performed by two English travellers more than twelve months before,

The Academy of Besançon has proposed a prize of 300 frs. for the best treatise on the Observation of the Sabbath, as affecting public health, morality, and the mutual relations of families and citizens.

A company is said, by the *Rouen Journals*, to be forming for the purpose of raising the ship Télémâque, sunk about 50 years ago, at the mouth of the Seine, near Quillebœuf, and which is supposed to contain specie and plate to a great amount, as well as other valuables, among which is a necklace that belonged to Marie Antoinette. A painting by Raphael is also believed to have been on board.

We learn from the *Gazette Musicale*, that the municipal authorities of Paris have appointed a commission to inquire into the merits of the new mechanism, invented in England, for changing the scenery and decorations of the stage, with a view to its adoption in the Parisian theatres. We should not be surprised to find (as has often happened before) this English invention first carried into practical execution in France.

At a recent sale of autographs at Paris, belonging to a M. de Monmorque, some fetched the following prices:—Boileau 170 frcs., Fénélon 110 frcs., Lafontaine 320 frcs., Racine 175 frcs. and Tasso 400 frcs.

The transportation and purchase of the Obelisk of Luxoor has cost the French government above 1,700,000 francs.

Paris.—Hidden treasures to the amount of 22,000,000 fr. are said to have been discovered in the vaults of the Tuileries. M. de Schonen, who was employed in liquidating the expenses of Charles X.'s household in 1823, first received intimation of the existence of this treasure, and a locksmith, Cretu, is said to have made several iron chests for Louis XVI., which have never been found or heard of since his death. Hence it is presumed that the property was his.

M. Tripet, florist, to whom the world is indebted for 200 new varieties of the tulip, died recently in France.

At a recent sitting of the Académie des Sciences, Morales et Politiques, Dr. Villermé communicated an authentic return of the population of Russia, furnished by M. Meyendorff. From hence it appears that the number of females, which in former censuses was never ascertained, but put down at double that of males, is 32,023,000. The total number of inhabitants of European Russia is 61,000,000 exclusive of the land and sea forces, and Caucasian provinces. That of Russian Poland is 4,200,000.

A letter from Tours states that the poet Beranger, having, in compliance with the entreaties of his friends at Paris, resolved to leave his retreat in that town and return to the capital, the Literary Society of Tours intends to present him with a gold medal worth 2,000 francs.

The poet, however, has determined to remain.

M. Jules Janin, the well known feuilletonist of the *Débats*, purchased two tickets in a lottery during his recent tour in Italy, and has just received the pleasing information that one of them has come up a prize, making him owner of the Villa Lazzerini, one of the finest dwellings in the environs of Lucca.

The building for the new Chamber of Peers, at the Luxembourg palace, proceeds rapidly, more than half having been raised to the parapet, and ready for the framework of the roof. The walls too of the Eastern Pavilion will be ready before the winter.

The Opera of Benvenuto Cellini, by M. Berlioz (who married Miss Smithson) did not succeed as expected. It is considered to have too many harmonies and too few melodies.

Madame Chazal (Flora Tristan) has been shot by her husband, but is fast recovering.

The Prince de Moscwa, and Edgar Ney his brother, with five guides, ascended, on the 11th instant, the second highest of the Pyrenees.

The Sixth session of the Scientific Congress at Claremont met on the 3rd September.

BELGIUM.

It is said that a great change is to be made in the organization of the order of the Jesuits; that the course of study will be transferred to Louvain, and that the missionaries will reside at Ghent.

King Leopold has encouraged for the last three or four years Flemish literature in Belgium, thinking, it is said, a German nationality conducive to independence of France.

GERMANY.

The first representation of a new opera, in three acts, by Lindpainter, entitled *Die Macht des Liedes* (The Power of Music) at Weimar, has met with great success. A petit opera, in one act, by Henri Rotsch, Die Entführung in Duplo (The Double Elopement), has been equally well received, and is likely to become popular.

BOHEMIA.

Bohemian Literature.—Several new parts of Jungmann's Bohemian Dictionary have been published lately; also the completion of the historical part of "Bohemian Antiquities;" and a Statistic of the Austrian Monarchy. An annual has been published for 1838, in the Bohemian language, intitled "The Spring, an Annual for the Blooming World," edited by Pospischil.

PRUSSIA.

Adalbert Von Chamisso, one of the most popular modern poets of Germany, died some days ago at Berlin. He was buried on the 23rd ult., by the side of his deceased wife, who preceded him only by a few months.

According to the last census, taken at the end of 1837, the entire population of Prussia amounted to 14,098,125 souls; of which there were Protestants 8,604,748, Catholics (very probably underrated) 5,294,003, Jews 183,578, the rest being Greeks, and especially Mennonites. The distinction between the Lutheran and the new Prussian religion has been very cleverly levelled in this census, though it continues to exist.

Berlin, Aug. 27.—Three Persians have lately been here who mean to go to London to obtain a great number of Bibles in the Chaldee tongue. They speak only Persian, and cannot make themselves understood by any body here, as none of the *literati* speak Persian. They are very poor, and it has been necessary to make a collection to defray their expenses.

ITALY.

M. Marzano has announced, in the Venice journals, that in investigating the archives of the city of Bologna he has discovered that the far-famed Maid of Orleans, was of the ancient family of Ghislieri of that city, and was in fact the daughter of the celebrated Ferrante Ghislieri, who was obliged to fly from Bologna in 1401, when John Bentivoglio usurped the sovereign power of that republic. The *Venice Gazette* of the 14th ult. published the documents produced by M. Marzano in support of his opinion.

The family of the Doria Pamfili are proprietors of a college at Rome, founded by Innocent X. for the education of priests. It contains a most valuable collection of MSS., commencing as early as Clement VII., enclosed in closets carefully locked. Lately a part of the correspondence of this Pope with his Nuncios in Spain, was found at the shop of a porkman, who used it as waste paper. The alarm was given, and 28 closets were found empty.

Professor Sarti was immediately ordered to search all the shops in the city; the contents of seven closets were thus recovered.

The tenth part of the "Reale Galleria de Torino, illustrata da Alberto d'Azeglio, dedicata à S. M. il Re Carlo Alberto," has just appeared, and completes the first volume. It contains about 40 pictures from the first schools of Italy, Flanders, Holland, Spain, &c. and engraved in a highly superior style by the most celebrated artists of Italy.

The literary world of Upper Italy has experienced a heavy loss in the death of Carlo Boucheron, the principal promoter and guardian of Roman literature in Italy. He wrote the language of Cicero, Virgil, and Tacitus with as much fluency as his mother tongue, of which his Biographies of Caluso and Priocca afford ample proof.

The "Bibliotheca Italiana" has lost one of its editors, Dr. Robustino Gironi, who died in the spring. To his industry and co-operation it principally owes its celebrity. Carlini, Fumagalli, and Brugnatelli still remain as editors, but they will find it difficult to supply the place of Gironi. He was born on the 24th of October, 1769. Through the patronage of the minister for home affairs, he received a situation in the library of Brera, to which he was afterwards (1817) elected librarian. His labours for the periodical press, particularly for the "Bibliotheca Italiana" and the "Poligrafo," prevented him from undertaking any extensive scientific works, but his explanations to "Illustratione della Pinacoteca di Brera" and to Ferrario's "Costumi," which treats on Greece, Spain, and Portugal, proved the extent and application of his knowledge. He united to the above good qualities a most amiable disposition which makes his loss more severe to his numerous friends.

The Academy of Science at Turin has published its 38th and 39th volumes, for 1835 and 1836; they contain the following valuable contributions:—Botany, by Moris, G. & P. Jari, and Berteri; Mineralogy, by Marmora and Sismonda; Astronomy, by Plana; Chemistry, by Cavini and Avogadro; Mechanics, by Botto.

The Abbé Lacordaire is at Rome, negociating the re-establishment of the order of Dominicans.

RUSSIA.

Between 16th December, 1835, and 9th March, 1838, twenty-three companies or associations were formed in Russia for different enterprizes, and brought into circulation 32,000,000 roubles or 128,000,000 francs. Upwards of fifty grants have been made, putting into circulation 3,000,000 roubles or 12,000,000 francs more.

A complete collection of minerals peculiar to Russia and Siberia, comprising 980 specimens, has been presented by the Emperor of Russia to a Natural History Society in the North of England, to be delivered free of all charge.

POLAND.

General Schypoff, Minister of the Interior, and Director of Public Institutions in Poland, has lately published at Warsaw the following decree:—"1. Neither the male nor female citizens or peasants of Poland shall wear the Cracovian or Mazovian costume, but Russian dresses of dark colours. 4. A premium of one rouble will be given to each person who shall promptly submit to these regulations. Those who refuse to comply shall be punished with whipping. 5. This reform in costume must be completed by 1st January, 1839.

The Emperor of Russia has restored to Count Fredro, the Polish dramatist, the possession of his estates in that country.

GREECE.

Of the 3,000 copies of "The Prophecies of Agathangalo," very few remain unsold; they predict the fall of the present (Bavarian) dynasty, and its replacement by a race of fair people.

TURKEY.

In Constantinople nothing is to be seen but new buildings erected or erecting—here a mosque, there a palace, now a custom-house, and then a succession of manufactories and warehouses. It is a popular belief that the Sultan indulges in this taste for building in consequence of a prophecy, that he will lose his life as soon as he ceases from such undertakings. At this time the very magnificent naval school at Kassim Tacha is being erected; and also a saw-mill moved by steam engines for boring cannon and musquet barrels is nearly finished. The Galata Seraglio will shortly be converted into a fine college; and we must not omit the lazaretto just commenced on the Calcedonian promontory. The port of this ancient town, Calcedon, has been cleared, and the wall, which has been in a dilapidated state, is now restoring. A theatre for Europeans is in contemplation at Constantinople. It is to be raised by a company with 500 shares of 6000 piastres each.

PERSIA.

Dr. Barrachen, appointed by the French government to the scientific and commercial mission to Persia, reached Smyrna the 24th March.

SYRIA.

Amongst the plunder taken from the Druses were several of their religious books and some interesting MSS. relative to their dogmas, creed, and system of morality amongst themselves and towards other sects; also a catechism which appears to be an exact abridgment of their doctrines, and which, according to Dr. Clot Bey, contains much more than has been published in M. de Sacy's work on their religion.

HINDOSTAN.

A Prospectus is published of a plan for lighting Calcutta with gas.

The Iliad of Homer has just been translated into Sanscrit.

Important Historical Discoveries from Ancient Inscriptions. The results of the rapid progress lately made in the deciphering and interpretation of the ancient inscriptions of India, promise to be of great and unexpected importance. The combined efforts of Mr. Turnour in Ceylon, and of Dr. Mill and Mr. James Prinsep at Calcutta, aided by various co-adjutors in different parts of the Indian continent, have already succeeded in opening the long-closed door to the complete explanation of all the ancient characters of Hindoo writing. The fruit of this discovery has been the important fact of a connexion between the ancient sovereigns of India and those of Greece and Egypt.

Continuing his examination of these inscriptions, Mr. Prinsep has found an allusion in them equally authentic and distinct, to one of the Ptolemies of Egypt. The edict containing this highly curious passage is in a mutilated condition, and at the very end of this inscription; which delayed the discovery.

A fact, however, of still more importance, if the accuracy of Mr. Prinsep's conclusions can be demonstrated, is that, in the third century before Christ, a Buddhist dynasty was on the throne of India; whence it would appear that the extravagant theogony of the *Purânas* and the fabulous system of chronology of the Brahmins were invented (after their rivals the Buddhists had been put down) not much earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. For full particulars we refer to the Number of the Asiatic Journal for October.

CHINA.

We learn from Pekin, where a mission from the Greek Church of Russia has existed since the time of Peter the Great, that upwards of 300,000 Chinese have embraced Christianity, and there was every reason to believe that all the persecution of Christians was on the point of ceasing. The Emperor himself is said to have studied Christianity and to hold it in respect, while at his accession to the throne Christian blood was frequently made to flow. The rigorous laws against Christians now exist only on paper, and their execution is entrusted to such mandarins alone as are favourable to Christians. The law of 1836, although in terms applying to all Christians, was directed solely against the English, of whose political influence they began to be afraid. There are in China several Vicariats whose chiefs are to be found at Pekin, Nankin, and Macao.

JAVA.

All implements and machinery for agriculture, from any country and flag, may be imported, duty free, to the end of March, 1839, by governor general's proclamation, dated April 23rd.

AUSTRALIA.

The expedition under Messrs. Grey and Lushington to the North West Coast of Australia has failed, after seventy miles only explored, from the hostility of the natives. Mr. Grey saw numerous paintings, which are supposed to be the work of Aborigines, and evince considerable knowledge of effect. Some are representations of human hands, made, as in manner of a cast, upon the surface of rock, and painted black, while the surrounding part is painted white. From these and other things which he says he has collected, Mr. Grey infers them to be of Asiatic descent.

He introduced and left the bread-fruit thriving there.

AMERICA.

Lake Ontario has been rising since 1825, and this year is 6 feet 10 inches above its level then.

Lake Erie and the Niagara river below have risen about 4 feet.

The lakes rose rapidly in 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, though not so high as now, and were reduced by the heat of the summer in the last year full two feet.

The two Americas do not produce a single heath, nor the southern part of the Continent a rose.

New Continent.—A new continent to the south of South Shetland has been discovered by the French expedition under M. D'Urville, and forty leagues of its coast explored in spite of the ice.

UNITED STATES.

The gold region in the United States is more extensive than is generally supposed, commencing in Virginia and extending through part of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, into Tenessee. The principal amount of gold has been taken from the mines of North Carolina, which have been longest known and worked. The gold mines of Virginia have recently attracted much attention, and the legislature of that state have been liberal in granting charters to companies for the purpose of exploring, opening, and working the mines. The principal counties in Virginia in which gold mines have been explored to any extent are Stafford, Culpepper, Fanquin, Spotsylvania, Orange, Louisa, and Buckingham. Brooken mine in Buckingham, the Culpepper and Millbank mines in Culpepper, and the Walton mines in Louisa county, have been found very rich in gold ore.

That these mines may be profitably wrought admits of no doubt, the cost of working them being found not to exceed thirty-five cents to the bushel, at 100 lbs of ore, even in the present imperfect state of the mining business; and the average product of the Walton mine is stated at 592 dollars to the 100 lbs or bushel of ore. Professor Rogers, of the University of Virginia, obtained between twelve and thirteen dollars from 100 lbs of the ore of this mine, and on four trials by another distinguished mineralogist, an average of 4142 dollars for 100 lbs of ore was obtained.

The amount of gold received at the United States mint from the mines in the Southern States, from 1824 to 1834 inclusive, was 5,126,500 dollars. But a small part of the gold obtained from the mines is sent to the mint. The greater part is sent to Europe, and a considerable portion is used by jewellers and other manufacturers in the United States.

The value of the gold taken from all the gold mines of the United States for the last ten years is estimated at 80,000,000 dollars.

The Golden Eagle.—Directions have been given by the treasury department to the director of the mint, at Philadelphia, to have the dies prepared for this superb coin, and the stamping of it commenced with all convenient dispatch. It is now thirty-four years since any of the coin was struck at the mint. The coinage of the eagle ceased in 1804, because the erroneous standard of gold caused it to be exported almost as fast as struck. The exhibits of the mint show that upwards of 1,300,000 of this coin were struck.

The Cherokees are finally to be removed from North Carolina and Georgia to the West.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Tamehamea III., king of the Sandwich islands, has forbidden the propagation in his dominions of "the peculiarities of the Catholic religion," "or any thing similar," alleging the intolerance "of those who follow the Pope" as the cause of this exclusion. Any teachers of that religion landing on the island are to be sent back to the vessel, and it is not to be suffered to sail without them.

Singular Tidal Phenomena.—Soon after six o'clock one evening lately, the sea fell very rapidly, about eight feet, leaving several vessels aground. The weather was clear and pleasant; thermometer at 745, barometer 306; fine breeze from the north-east, squally at intervals. The water, after remaining stationary a few seconds, rose again to the ordinary high-water mark, and at six hours forty minutes, again receded four feet six inches, perpendicularly, in twenty-seven minutes; it then again rose to the same height as before, and fell again four feet three inches: the third time it rose four inches higher than before. After the fourth, all the ebb and flow, which had hitherto occupied about twenty-eight minutes each, gradually diminished and varied in time, flowing in ten, and ebbing in twenty minutes. This continued during the night and part of the next forenoon. The rapidity with which the water rose and fell varied considerably in different parts of the harbour; at no time did the water rise above high-water mark. Towards midnight the wind subsided, and much rain fell, but there were no unusual atmospheric appearances or trembling of the earth. The whole commotion appeared to be in the sea.

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THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Darlegung des Verfahrens der Preussischen Regierung gegen den Erzbischof von Köln.* Berlin. Hayn. 1838.

2. *Beilagen zu der Darlegung, &c.* Berlin. Hayn. 1838.

3. *Esposizione di Fatto, documentata su quanto ha preceduto e seguito la deportazione di Monsignor Droste Arcivescovo di Colonia.* Roma. 1838.

WE have not been inattentive observers of the politico-religious contest now prevailing in Prussia, between the civil government and some of its Roman Catholic subjects. This contest, which is now more than a year old, takes its visible origin so far as its present form is concerned from what is commonly called the Affair of Cologne; wherein the Prussian government was, or thought itself, compelled *at last* to have recourse to rigorous measures against the chief prelate of the Roman Catholic church in its Rhenish provinces.

Remembering the eulogies which, at the period of discussing the claims of our own Roman Catholics to seats in the British legislature, were profusely bestowed by the advocates of that measure on what was then called the just, wise, and merciful administration of the Prussian government in regard to her own; while its system of unrestricted and unsuspicious toleration, leading, it was asserted, to no jostlings either with the state or the rights of the Protestant community, was loudly cited as a living commentary on the policy of a similar system among ourselves; we felt, we confess, no slender curiosity to examine into the facts of a case where the civil powers and the Roman Catholic hierarchy backed by the See of Rome, had come into such fierce collision.

These facts have been for the most part embodied on the Prussian side in the official Darlegung (Statement), and its accompanying volume of documents; and on the Papal in the Esposizione, which purports to be an answer to the former. Both these productions we have now before us; and in addition to them an almost countless

swarm of pamphlets (a list of which would fill some pages of our journal) containing the pleadings of the volunteer advocates on either side. From these last we have reaped but a scanty harvest of facts; and as facts were the primary object of our search, we have risen from their perusal on the whole with sensations of weariness, and with increased admiration for the patience of the German character.*

So far then as facts are concerned we shall have recourse for the most part to the two official publications above-mentioned, calling now and then to our aid the small number of outlying circumstances which we have gleaned from the pamphlets, or those for the truth of which we can vouch, derived from other and more authentic sources.

Many of our readers are doubtless already aware of the nature of some of the charges brought by the Prussian government against the Baron Clemens-August Droste Von Vischering. Those which have attained the greatest notoriety and excited the greatest interest both in Prussia and elsewhere, were grounded on his conduct in reference to a certain discipline touching marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It is alleged that in this matter he violated, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, not only the laws of the monarchy, but also the solemn promise made previously to his appointment to his See, (and on the faith of which promise alone this appointment was sanctioned by the king) in order to adopt a totally different line of conduct.

Other charges, impeaching in no less degree the Archbishop's allegiance to the laws, but which have been thrown into the shade by the greater interests involved in the subject-matter of the former, are grounded on his conduct in reference to the University of Bonn: a conduct which led indisputably to the interruption of the lectures in that university, and subsequently to the entire breaking-up of a religious foundation therein (the Convictorium), and to frequent tumults and disorders.

Connected with this head is the conduct charged on the Archbishop in reference to the theological (Roman Catholic) seminary of his diocese; which he is alleged to have illegally and arbitrarily suspended, transferring its classes to his own palace.

The mode and manner of the Archbishop's resistance to the laws

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* We ought to make an exception from this sweeping condemnation in favour of the the truly valuable pamphlet "Die Katholische Kirche in der Preussischen Rheinprovinz, &c. Frankfurt am Rhein Brönner." Its mass of interesting facts, showing the surpassing liberality of the Prussian monarch and his government to the Rheno-Roman Catholic Church, is an awful commentary on the ingratitude which has been shown both him and them. But there are few touching our present subject which we had not collected elsewhere.

in all these matters will form the subject of our present discussion: but we have thought it advisable to place before our readers a rough sketch of the main charges against him, before proceeding to a detailed examination of them.

And first as to his conduct in reference to the marriage between a Protestant and Roman Catholic party. In order rightly to appreciate questions involved in this matter, it is of primary importance to ascertain the relation which the Protestant and Roman Catholic confessions bear to the state and to one another, within the kingdom of Prussia. That relation, as now existing, owes its origin in the first instance to a fundamental law of the old German empire,—the fruits of the peace of Westphalia,—by which the co-existence of the two confessions within the empire was recognized, established, and guaranteed. Unlike therefore the ancient systems both of France and England,—the former of which eliminated Protestantism and the latter Romanism from their respective political elements,—the German empire adopted and appropriated both into its own; and the peace of 1815 set its seal to this polity, by confirming the equality of civil rights in the members of either confession.

Long prior however to the last peace the effects of the old fundamental law of the empire had been felt, in a greater or less degree, throughout all the states composing it. In process of time the population of each individual state became more or less a mixed one, with (in most cases) the practical equality of the two confessions.

Hence, to mitigate the pretensions of the rival communions whenever intemperately or unduly asserted, formed no inconsiderable portion of the duties of the state, whether under a Protestant or Roman Catholic sway.

Other pretensions found their principal point of support in the question of marriages between members of the opposite communions. The clergy of both strove everywhere at first to restrain or impose conditions on such marriages; and failing in their efforts to prevent them altogether, the condition sought to be bound up with the marriage rite was, a pledge that all the issue of such marriage should be educated in the religion of the clergyman who performed it.

The Protestant clergy however, in compliance generally with the civil laws of most of the states, very early abandoned the attempt to impose pledges of this nature; and, though renouncing none of their objections to the principle of such unions, confined their opposition to energetic remonstrance, and to exercise of the legitimate powers of persuasion and moral restraint. Their example was followed in a great measure by many of the Roman

Catholic clergy; and a practice far beyond the narrow provisions of the Bull of Benedict XIV. for Holland—by which a qualified sanction only of mixed marriages in the absence of the educational pledge was permitted—prevailed in the greater portion of Germany. By the Benedictine provisions, in cases where the pledge (that the children should be educated exclusively in the Roman Catholic religion) was either refused or withheld, the priest was empowered to lend it only his "*assistentia passiva*"—*i. e.* the banns were published and the *dimissoriales* granted *to the Roman Catholic party;* but the nuptial benediction was not given. Such marriage was, however, valid and unimpeachable in the ecclesiastical courts, as well as in the civil.

Many of the prelates of Germany had of their own accord appropriated to their sees the practice under these Benedictine provisions—but the greater number had gone, as we have said, far beyond them, and had authorized the full solemnization of a mixed marriage without the imposition of any condition whatever in regard to the future religion of the children. Those however who still sought to impose such conditions, cautiously abstained from doing so wherever the civil laws forbade the exaction of any similar pledge. With respect to Prussia, our immediate subject, (consisting of provinces for the most part belonging once to the German empire, and brought under her sway at different epochs,) both the liberal and the stricter practice under the Benedictine rescript existed in the year 1825 in different parts of that monarchy. In her old provinces on the Rhine—those of Juliers, Cleves, Berg, &c., originating partly in specific compacts between the two confessions within them, and partly in the decision of the priesthood itself, the liberal or unconditional system had been in force ever since the year 1672. So also in the eastern provinces generally; and in Silesia since the time of Frederick II. with the further advantage of being tolerated, if not actually sanctioned, by a bull of Pope Pius VI.

In all these provinces therefore, comprising three-fourths of the whole Roman Catholic population of Prussia, the universal practice, however originated, was, that a mixed marriage should be celebrated without question, or any condition in reference to education.

Not so however in the territories constituting the ancient bishoprics of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Münster—the two former of which were united to Prussia in 1815, and the two latter in 1803.

In these western provinces the general practice was, caing upon both parties to sign a written undertaking to educate their children exclusively in the Roman Catholic religion. If this were given the marriage was fully solemnized:—if not, the banns only were

published by the priest and the *dimissoriales* granted to the Roman Catholic party; but the nuptial benediction was withheld.

Yet, even in these provinces, this practice, though sufficiently prevalent to be entitled to the appellation of the general one, was, notwithstanding, far from universal. It had in fact been much mitigated by the effects of the French revolution, and the French dominion subsequent to 1797, which made the population still more a mixed one. Moreover, in the year 1802, Baron Von Fürstenberg, Vicar Capitular of Münster, a man of marked piety and adored by the Roman Catholics of that district, had assimilated, of his own accord, the practice of the diocese of Münster (still eminently Roman Catholic) to that existing in the eastern and old Rhenish provinces; and had never insisted upon any educational condition.

These four ancient bishoprics, namely, of Cologne, Treves, Münster, and Paderborn, were made the centres in 1821 of the present four western dioceses, bearing the same names, but into which other districts were at that time incorporated. Now these new districts had for the most part the liberal discipline established in them, nor was it renounced after their incorporation into their respective dioceses. The bishops, too, accepted this state of things without attempting or manifesting the slightest inclination to change it—applying both systems, the strict and the liberal, where each had before existed.

Nor in fact did those prelates appear to consider the liberal system as in any way incompatible with the discipline of their church until 1825, under circumstances which we shall presently relate.

Such however being the motley aspect of the Romish discipline, what was the state of the civil laws bearing upon the questions involved in it?

In the Prussian Code (Allgemeines Landrecht, §§ 76, 77, 78) it was at first enacted, that where the parents belonged to different confessions, the sons should be educated in the father's and the daughters in the mother's religion *in the absence of any agreement to the contrary* between the parents: but it prohibited any *antenuptial compact* between them in the matter: and all attempts from any quarter to interfere with this liberty were strictly prohibited.

The object of the foregoing enactments is obvious. They secured, as far as laws can secure, the uncontrolled exercise of the parental authority in its most important functions; and interfered only by positive dispositions where differences of creed might lead to domestic contests, which they sought to prevent, or to allay by such equable compromise.

Yet however desirable the end proposed, it was soon found that the means employed were not the best adapted to attain it. The difference of creed, in the male and female members of a family, led frequently, as may be supposed, to very lamentable consequences. Indeed the natural tendency of such a system is obviously to produce either indifference or a fierce zealotry, both destructive of the best influences of religion, and the latter subversive likewise of domestic peace.

A modification of the law was therefore called for by the manifest evils under the old system. Accordingly in the year 1803 it was enacted, that, in all cases of mixed marriage, all the children should be educated in the religion of the father, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary after marriage between the parents; but any ante-nuptial compact was still, as before, declared illegal, and strictly forbidden. This was indisputably a great improvement in the law, recognizing as it did, in analogy to the systems of every civilized state, the husband as the head and lord of his own house. It asserted his right to the ordering of his family in this most important part both of his duties and his privileges; preserved it to him unshackled by any power from without, and subject only to the soft and genial influences from within. The evils to the mother in a mixed marriage are not indeed removed by the dispositions, thus modified, of the code; nor could they be so without sacrificing the husband to her. These evils are of the very essence of such a union—and (whatever Miss Martineau may say) attach to her peculiarly, as being in subjection to her husband, by a primal and unalterable law of her nature. But still a great and invaluable benefit is secured to the gentler sex by the very sternness and inflexibility of the law; for in those zealously attached to their church—whether Protestant or Roman Catholic—the first germs of love are checked by this foreknowledge of the inevitable results from an union with a man of the opposite persuasion.

The whole system of ante-nuptial pledges is so contrary to any decent freedom of private judgment hereafter, that none but the clergy of the Church of Rome would long persist in seeking them. The *duresse* too of the passion, under the influence of which they are mostly given, shows the foul immorality of accepting them under such circumstances. It is simony of the worst description; selling the rites of the Church for an impious pledge; for impious it undoubtedly is in the generality of cases. But ever, alas! has it been the maxim of the Church of Rome that the end justifies the means; and a remorseless system of proselytizing will not be stayed by considerations such as these. It was impossible however for the government of Prussia, distinguished above all

others in Europe, for the regard it has ever shown to public and private morality, to be indifferent spectators of these immoral efforts of the Roman Catholic Church, designed expressly in some provinces to rear converts, and this by means which had been long renounced by the clergy of the Protestant faith.

The dispositions of the Allgemeines Landrecht last cited had not as yet been applied to the four western dioceses; the sole scenes of these proselytizing measures.

The King of Prussia was in Rome in 1822, a year subsequent to their re-establishment by virtue of the Bull "De Salute Animarum." The varying practices of the Roman Catholic Church in different parts of his kingdom, the abuses perpetrated under the strict system, and its incompatibility with the state of a mixed population, formed the subject of many confidential communications between the king and the reigning pontiff, Pius VII. The latter then promised to apply a remedy in the spirit of the king's demands; but the death of this pope, which happened a few months afterwards, and the persuasion entertained by his majesty that the abuses would soon disappear of themselves, were the chief reasons why no steps were then taken to secure a declaration on the subject from the See of Rome.

Nothing had in fact been done in the year 1825; when, in compliance with reiterated demands on the part of both Protestant and Roman Catholic parties dwelling within the four western dioceses, the provisions of the Allgemeines Landrecht, as modified in 1803, were applied to themselves.

The very fact that the protection of the civil law was thus invoked by a portion of their mixed population, clearly bespoke an intolerant spirit on the part of some of the priesthood. Among the many instances of intolerance, against which its interference was solicited and its protection sought, was the case of a woman in Westphalia. She had, it appeared, been refused admission to the sacraments of her church on the sole ground of her living with her Protestant husband. Their marriage had moreover been fully solemnized according to the rites of her own church, and was valid and unimpeachable in any court, ecclesiastical or civil, and indissoluble by any court recognized by that church.

The excitement and reclamation consequent on this abuse of the spiritual power were such that the government felt compelled to interfere. They accordingly directed the bishop to inquire into the matter, and if on examination he should find that the alleged was the sole ground of exclusion, to apply a fitting remedy to the grievance of the woman; it was stated at the same time that if he did not do so, they would feel themselves obliged to interfere directly with the confessor who had been guilty of such an

act of intolerance. We mention this fact chiefly because it, among others, was at the king's request shortly afterwards submitted to the consideration of the Roman See; so that the full measure of pretension of the civil power to interfere with the spiritual in Prussia was known to the Pope, who offered no remonstrance against any thing that had been done by the former, in supposed derogation of the privileges of the latter. The reasonableness of the government's demands had been all along acknowledged by the bishop.

But to return to the celebration of mixed marriages. The bishops of the four western dioceses, being now called upon to abstain from the exaction of educational pledges in any parts of these, albeit some of them had already partially acted on a similar system, expressed to his majesty their doubts whether they were empowered to call upon their clergy to solemnize thus indiscriminately and unconditionally all mixed marriages, without express authority from the See of Rome. Their doubts and difficulties appeared conscientious, and were at once attended to by the sovereign. He himself commanded them to lay their scruples before the head of their Church and ask for the requisite powers: and he promised the aid of his minister at the court of Rome to support their application. The bishops complied with his majesty's commands in the spring of 1828, each by written statements of the points in controversy and the powers which they required, addressed to the sovereign pontiff. Their letters were subsequently laid before him by the Prussian resident minister at the court of Rome.

The policy of this act of condescension on the part of the King of Prussia to the authority of the See of Rome and the narrow views of the four bishops, has been much canvassed, and we do not feel called upon to justify it. But no one, we think, who has attended to the foregoing brief statement, can entertain the smallest doubt of the goodness of motive which dictated it. It evidently resulted from his majesty's sincere regard to the conscientious scruples of his Roman Catholic subjects.

As to its policy too, we certainly conceive he was justified in believing, nay in feeling entirely convinced that the See of Rome would interfere effectually in the matter; not only on the grounds of the known and permitted practice of three-fourths of his monarchy, and which was similar to that required for these western dioceses; but also because the King was strengthened in such belief by the confidential communications he himself had had with Pius VII.; and by the assurances to the same effect which his minister at Rome had received from the same quarter during the negociations (1820-1) which led to the reconstruction of these dioceses.

Be this however as it may, the matter was now brought before the Court of Rome for its determination. The demands of the government were clearly and explicitly stated; the sovereignty of the laws was placed in the very front of such demands; the whole facts of the case, even to minute details (including, among others, the persecution of the Westphalian woman), and the whole extent of the pretensions of the civil power to interfere with the *social* discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, were in the possession of the See of Rome.

If the demands of the government were exorbitant;—if the pretensions of the civil power were in undue derogation of the ecclesiastical;—if the crown towered too high above the mitre or the tiara,—now was the time for a declaration to that effect from the Roman court. But, far from this, it at once entertained the question on the basis of the bishops' and the government's demands, and promised to apply the remedy required; promised, at least, so to modify the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in these dioceses, as to bring it into harmony with the requisitions of the civil laws. But, to proceed.

The negociations commenced with Leo XII.—were delayed by his death, but were forthwith resumed under his successor Pius VIII. They resulted, in 1830, in the offer to the Prussian minister at Rome of two documents purporting to contain the concessions of the Court of Rome on this subject;—one, a brief from the Pope (dated 25th March, 1830), and the other a collateral "Instruction" from the Cardinal Albani (dated 27th March, 1830), in the same matter: both were addressed to the four bishops.

The Prussian minister, we have seen, had been in the first instance directed to second the bishops' demands for an extension to their dioceses of the liberal discipline obtaining in the rest of the monarchy. But the dispositions of these documents fell very far short of conceding *this*. They appeared indeed to abrogate the strict discipline entirely, inasmuch as they dispensed with the necessity of a written promise (sponsio) as a conditio sine quâ non of the full solemnization of a mixed marriage,—with the exception, however, of such cases as must on other grounds be brought before the Court of Rome for its dispensation,—but they enforced in its stead the rigorous examination of the Roman Catholic bride, and the exaction of all sorts of *moral* guarantees as to the education of her children. The brief, moreover, contained some expressions calculated to wound the feelings of the Protestants of Prussia, from the offensive manner in which their creed was spoken of.

The Prussian minister, foreseeing the probable objections of

his court to them on these grounds, accepted the briefs only conditionally; declaring at the very time of their delivery to him, "*that he must abstain from offering beforehand any opinion upon the definitive resolution of his sovereign as to their acceptance.*" We beg particular attention to this fact, as we shall have to refer to it hereafter in another connection.

Indeed, when examined at Berlin, the briefs were found to be unsatisfactory on the grounds already mentioned: they were consequently returned forthwith, as not answering the ends in view, and falling very far short of the ample concessions that had before been promised under several pontiffs.

The remainder of the year 1830, and the following years 1831—1833, were spent in fruitless attempts on the part of the Prussian minister at Rome to procure the desired modification of these briefs.

In the spring of the year 1834, the Prussian minister had an audience of leave of the Pope previous to going to Berlin on his own private affairs. At this audience, the Pope in person requested him to take back the briefs to Berlin, and explain to his majesty the insuperable difficulties felt by the See of Rome towards making farther concessions to the extent required by Prussia;—which was, it will be remembered, the indiscriminate celebration of these marriages without question or condition.

The Prussian minister again expressed his want of authority to accept them: he consented, however, to be the bearer of the briefs to Berlin, as also of the papal message—promising, at the same time, to bring back the briefs to Rome on his return, should his representations to his own court of the views of his Holiness prove ineffectual for their ultimate acceptance.

Accordingly the briefs were once more laid before the Cabinet of Berlin; and it appearing from the Prussian minister's representations of what had passed at his audience with the Pope, that there was little likelihood of bending the court of Rome, within any reasonable time, to compliance with the full extent of their demands, the ministers decided to forego their manifold objections to the briefs, and recommend them to the acceptance of his majesty, provided that the bishops to whom they were addressed should be of opinion that they could be executed without violating the fundamental laws of the monarchy. In order, therefore, to certify themselves beforehand of this fact, they summoned to Berlin the then Archbishop of Cologne, Count Spiegel von Desenberg, and laid before him the brief of Pius VIII., and its accompanying instruction of Cardinal Albani. The archbishop's opinion was then asked, "*whether they could be executed without infringing the laws of the monarchy?*"

His answer was, *and in these very terms*, "that according to his intimate and conscientious conviction, a practice essentially more tolerant might be introduced by virtue of them, inasmuch as the formalities and exhortations prescribed by the briefs had not for their object the exaction of a promise from the affianced parties, —the sole point in which the ancient practice was in conflict with the laws of the kingdom."

This preliminary declaration partly satisfied the government, and the archbishop was forthwith required to draw up a statement of his own practical views. He did so in a series of articles; which being approved of by the Prussian resident-minister at Rome, (who was then at Berlin, and was appointed by his majesty his commissioner for that purpose,) both he and Count Spiegel affixed their signatures to the document. This is the much talked-of "Convention."

This convention contained, among other dispositions regulatory of the new discipline, an agreement, that, in order to secure uniformity of practice under the briefs, an Instruction, embodying the details of the new discipline, should be addressed by the respective bishops to the vicars-general of their dioceses. This instruction was shortly after drawn up, and of course became an integral and essential part of the convention itself.

Of course the whole of their negociations, the convention &c., were only preliminary measures, *de bene esse*, (as our lawyers say,) only in the event of the remaining Bishops of Paderborn, Münster and Treves concurring in them. Should *these* dissent, of course the briefs would be refused acceptance.

Accordingly the archbishop explained to his brethren all that had passed between himself and the government; he laid before each in succession the brief of the Pope, and the instruction of Cardinal Albani, together with the convention he had conditionally entered into.

Now mark their answers:—

"The Archbishop of Cologne," says the Bishop of Paderborn, "has communicated and clearly explained to me the convention, &c. relating to mixed marriages, together with all the documents having reference to it. Having maturely examined them, and having moreover submitted the Apostolic Answer of 25th March 1830 (the brief) to a particular and earnest scrutiny, I adhere in all points, and without restriction, to this convention."

The Bishop of Münster declares his adhesion in like manner; and the Bishop of Treves also, but with this *additional* declaration, that "*the convention was in full accordance with his own particular views.*"

We beg attention to this point, as we shall hereafter have occa-

sion to refer to the last-named prelate in connection with this question.

Matters being thus arranged, the long-sought-for accordance between the civil and ecclesiastical powers—between the laws of the monarchy and the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church—seemed fully obtained; and this without harshness, without violence to conscience, and with no compromise of principle on either side. Assuredly the bishops, men of learning and piety, and left entirely to the guidance of their own judgments and consciences throughout, were entirely convinced that the convention and its incorporated instruction to the vicar-general, were fully borne out by the briefs; nor do we believe that any one of them, or any liberal ecclesiastic in Prussia, would have discovered the impropriety of their conduct, had not the increased audacity of a certain sect in a neighbouring country awakened the slumbering zealotry of their own.

But the *now* asserted discrepancy between the briefs and the convention, &c. is brought as a charge against the *civil* government of Prussia. The absence of such, and utter groundlessness of the charge, are evident from what we have just stated; and we pledge ourselves for the truth of the statement, as to the manner in which the bishops came to their decisions.

The sole object which the government had in view was to ascertain this simple fact, "whether the briefs could be executed consistently with the laws;" and only so far did they superintend the details of the new practice set forth in the convention &c., as to certify themselves that they fully carried out the required and conceded principle.

But we ourselves are prepared to contend—after a patient examination of the briefs and the convention—that the latter involved *no* perverted construction of the former in any one essential particular. The briefs purported to be, and in fact were considered, as *enabling* laws; and the convention, &c. contained no rules of practice not fairly deducible from them, on the application of the same liberal principles of interpretation as are applied in our own courts of Westminster Hall to the construction of our own parliamentary *enabling acts*. The briefs were also *in parts* in derogation of an established practice: and if these parts were construed strictly, it was but the application of another principle (of equally general use in our own courts,) that acts of parliament in derogation of old customs or the common law, shall not be strained beyond the strict letter of their enactments to that effect. The main points, however, thereby established were: Abandonment of the promise of the *Protestant* party as to education

of the children in the Roman Catholic faith, and this as a conditio sine quâ non for the solemnization of marriage rites.

That neither should any *promise* of this nature be exacted from the Roman Catholic bride.

That the "passive assistance" (differing scarcely from a civil marriage) should be limited as much as possible, and have place only where there appeared to be "inexcusabilis temeritas" on the part of the bride.

Nevertheless, though these were the general rules laid down for the guidance of the clergy, the decision of each particular case (as to conferring or withholding the nuptial benediction) was left entirely to their discretion. And, though the exaction of a written promise was now as heretofore illegal, the clergy were authorized and required, "by a solid religious instruction and exhortation, to dispose the Roman Catholic party, not merely to remain steadfast in her faith, but also, in accordance with this faith, to fulfil with God's assistance her duties in regard to the education of her children."

This, it will be seen at once, was very different from the liberal discipline sought in the first instance, and as appears to us, abundantly sufficient to protect the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed its strictness gave great offence to the Protestants: and its effects when introduced were, we know, to increase the number of children educated in the Roman Catholic religion. This practice however was—for better or worse—forthwith introduced into the four dioceses under the auspices of their respective bishops; it was in full force at the time of Archbishop Spiegel's death, which happened in July, 1835.

It then became necessary for the government to look out for a successor to the vacant see; and by a sad fatality they turned their eyes towards the hero of our tale,—the Baron Clemens-August Droste Von Vischering, then sub-bishop (Weih-Bischoff) to his brother the Bishop of Münster.

Baron Droste had been formerly somewhat unfavourably known as a vehement and intemperate assertor of some peculiar views of Church government. He had moreover written a book thereon; and when Vicar-general of Munster, in the year 1820, his conduct had led to the eventual suspension of the Theological Faculty in that city.*

Obnoxious however on these and other similar accounts, not only to the civil powers but to very many even of his own co-reli-

* We ought perhaps also to mention, that at this time too he came into fierce opposition with the learned Hermes, and received at his hands a severe chastisement. We shall see hereafter that Baron Droste availed himself of his position to evince (even beyond death and the grave) the strength of the "odia in longum .... quæ reconderet *auctaque* promeret."

gionists, the Baron had notwithstanding won to himself golden opinions from the mass of the Westphalian Roman Catholics. Years too had now passed away since his extravagances had led him into conflict with the government; and he had, moreover, during all the intervening period lived much in retirement. He belonged, also, to the body of the old Westphalian nobles, whose general loyalty the Prussian government had always been ready both to acknowledge and reward. From all these considerations his appointment to the vacant see of Cologne it was thought would gratify likewise many parties. It would come with peculiar grace from the government, since it would be evident they had sacrificed all personal and political objections, in thus advancing a man with whom they had previously been in conflict.

The chapter of Cologne has the right of electing the archbishop, subject to the absolute veto of the king, and ultimate approval of the pope. In practice, however, the choice of an archbishop has become a sort of *congé d'élire*. The king selects, the chapter elects, and the Pope confirms. Baron Droste was selected by the king as the archbishop *designatus* of the see of Cologne. Before, however, proposing him for election to the chapter, it was held indispensable, owing to his past *escapades*, to ascertain with certainty how far the government could rely on his moderation and discretion in carrying out the details of the new discipline. Accordingly the Baron Von Altenstein, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, addressed to the Herr Schmülling (a canon of Münster Cathedral and an intimate friend of Baron Droste) a letter dated Berlin, 18 August, 1835, enjoining the canon to obtain the requisite information, and expressing in the most conciliatory and kindest terms both the king's wishes to bury in oblivion the past conduct of the archbishop, and his confidence in the rectitude and judgment of M. Droste von Vischering.

The canon undertook the office thus assigned to him by the minister, and the result of his interview with Baron Droste is contained in the following letter, addressed to him by the Baron on the very day of their interview (5th September, 1835).

"It will I think be agreeable to you if I send you in writing a statement of our conversation of to-day on the matters contained in the letter of his excellency the minister.

"And first as touching the good understanding with those authorities with whom I formerly had some misunderstandings—I am bound to assume that they are free from any aversion to myself; and as it is my strongest wish to have a good understanding with all men, and as friendly feelings towards every one are, if I mistake not, a part of my nature, so I could never well understand how it was possible that this interruption of amicable relations had taken place. As touching the temptations to controversy—this is to me so repugnant, I am so convinced that

it is in the most direct contradiction to the doctrines and spirit of Christianity—I am so penetrated with the desire to live peaceably with all men, love peace and quiet so much, that the fear of my being overcome by those temptations (if contrary to expectation they should come near me) does not deserve any attention; since in this, as in all other respects, I hope for God's assistance. It is moreover my deepest desire, if I should obtain an active bishopric in any quarter, to devote the remaining years of my life to acts of beneficence; and my strong conviction is, that this desire can then only be fulfilled when the temporal and spiritual authorities, in conformity with God's will, shall act together in harmony.

"As touching mixed marriages, I have long heartily wished that means might be found to settle this extremely difficult matter. I therefore learned with joy the fulfilment of my wish, and you will have the goodness to assure the minister that I will take good care to maintain the Convention made on this subject conformable to the Brief of Pope Pius VIII. and carried into practice in the four dioceses mentioned; and that I will cautiously abstain from attacking or subverting it, even if it were possible to do so; and that I will apply the same in the spirit of love to the purposes of peace.

"Lastly, I wish that you would have the goodness to commend me obediently to his excellency, and to make known to him my extreme gratitude for that he has thus afforded me an opportunity of explaining my thoughts in reference to this subject with fuller, and therefore to me more agreeable, openness than I could otherwise have done, &c. &c.

(Signed) CLEMENS BARON DROSTE ZU-VISCHERING."

Nothing, we think, could be plainer or more satisfactory than this declaration: it *was* so considered by an honest and unsuspecting ministry. The baron was forthwith proposed by his majesty to the chapter, and was unanimously elected to the See of Cologne; the personal kindness of the monarch (as the archbishop afterwards himself stated in a letter to the Pope, 23d of September, 1836) furnishing him with means of expediting his inthronisation. We have heard a characteristic anecdote of the new archbishop (for the truth of which we can vouch), and which would seem to import that his determination to assert his own distempered views of ecclesiastical authority and episcopal dignity was taken very early in his career. It is the custom for ecclesiastics and other functionaries, on promotion, to present themselves at court, and there, in a brief address, to thank his majesty for the new dignity or office conferred. The archbishop did indeed present his ungainly person—but instead of complying with this good old form of German courtliness, he observed a sullen silence; and his whole demeanor was such as to call forth the marked observations of those about the monarch.

Perhaps he thought it unbecoming in a *bishop* to thank the civil power for any spiritual advancement. But the archbishop,

if he had been as good and consistent a logician, as he afterwards proved himself to be a fraudulent tactician, would have been driven to further and still more uncomfortable conclusions. Nay, we are almost emboldened to think, that if the present page should haply meet his eye in his retreat at Minden, it may have the effect of relieving him from his present embarrassment, by causing him at once to resign his See!

We contend that the Archbishop's promotion was tainted *ab initio*, and was therefore void! He was selected, *in the first instance*, by by his heretical sovereign, and elected *afterwards* by the chapter, an inversion of the order of things which ought to have alarmed at once a conscience so tender. In spite of the manifold symptoms he betrayed to be a real bishop (ein wirklicher Bischoff!)—and of the anticipated "Theurer Bruder in Christo" addressed to one of the chief ecclesiastics of the Protestant confession, we must believe that if his conscience had been as enlightened as it was manifestly tender—when Canon Schmülling pointed out to him the "wirkliche Bischoffsmütze" beaming in the distance upon his rapt vision,—his answer to the worthy canon would have sounded somewhat as follows:—

"My allegiance to the Church, and my respect for its rights in general, and those of the Chapter of Cologne in particular, will not allow me to entertain even for an instant this hinted offer of a bishopric, coming as it does from the civil power. To the chapter of Cologne belongs both the right of *selecting* and *electing* a successor to its vacant See—all initiatory steps must be taken freely by them alone; and, albeit by a concordat with the Pope his majesty has a veto on all such elections when made, his *originating* any measure towards filling up the vacant See is plainly contrary to the canons and to the concordat with the See of Rome, derogatory of the rights of the only true Church, and a direct violation (in this instance) of the authority and privileges of the Metropolitan Chapter of Cologne. You will, therefore, have the goodness to inform the minister that I cannot, in my conscience, countenance such proceedings on the part of the civil power, even in my own favour. For all cases of 'veto' on my appointment, I am ready to obey his majesty as becomes a faithful subject—but I hope he wont try me."

This, we are inclined to think, should have been the Archbishop's answer: then what self-denial would have been transparent through his logic and his principles. Many of our more straightforward readers may call the arguments in this supposed letter but poor, wire-drawn sophistry. We will not break a lance with them on the subject; but they will see that those are an adamantine chain of logic compared with the cobweb tissue of some of the Archbishop's subsequent reasonings—all

equally the result of a tender conscience! But rightly or wrongly, canonically or uncanonically elected, the Archbishop is in his See —fast seated. Let us look to the Archbishop's doings.

The highest national education in Prussia commences in the Gymnasium, and terminates in the University. For those students, however, who are destined for the Roman Catholic Church, there is a further course of studies to be gone through in the purely theological seminary of their diocese. We shall first confine our attention to the University of Bonn and the diocese of Cologne, for the sake of brevity:—but the same things may be predicated with trifling exceptions of the other Prussian universities and dioceses.

In the Gymnasia then and at the University the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholic youth (whether destined for the Church or not) are protected by the large powers of superintendence over both entrusted to the Archbishop. In the Gymnasium the archbishop has the direct supervision of the religious education of the Roman Catholic inmates, and an indirect influence over the whole management of the institution, which is moreover superintended by Roman Catholic inspectors (Schulräthe). At the University the whole Roman Catholic theological faculty is subject to his authority in this wise: the King nominates to the theological chairs, and the Archbishop has a veto on the appointment. After appointment, also, he is entitled to call on the government to suspend, dismiss, or otherwise punish an objectionable and offending professor; and the civil power is bound by the laws to attend to such complaint of the Archbishop, and apply the proper remedy.

Such are the ample privileges of his office as regards the University of Bonn and the Gymnasia. But they are ampler still in the Theological Seminary: here he both appoints and dismisses the professors at his pleasure; the crown only reserving to itself the reasonable privilege of putting a veto on any appointment it may find objectionable on political grounds.

This is a general view of the relation which the archiepiscopal office bears to the whole educational system in the diocese of Cologne.

A few years back, by the joint labours of Archbishop Spiegel and the government, a religious foundation, called a Convictorium, was established in the University of Bonn. It was a charitable institution, designed for the support and education of some of the poorer class of students destined for the Roman Catholic Church, and who, as the name imports, lived together there. Although it formed a part of the Royal and National University of Bonn, yet as the objects contemplated by it concerned primarily the Roman Catholic Church, to the Archbishop were conceded the most

ample powers for its superintendence and direction. In the choice of its inspectors, the admission and dismissal of students, the selection of books, and appointment of lectures; in short, in the management of its whole interior economy the Archbishop was allowed to exercise the greatest influence. The institution was accepted as an especial boon by those for whom it was designed; it had already produced many men eminent for learning and piety; it had enlarged its beneficial action at the period of which we are about to write, and, destined at the outset for only sixty, it now numbered seventy students.

Who would have thought that the first efforts of the new Archbishop would be directed to its subversion? Yet such is the fact.

The world has often heard the name of the late Professor Hermes. He was a celebrated professor of Roman Catholic theology at Bonn, during the lifetime of Archbishop Spiegel, by whom he was much and warmly favoured and supported. He certainly raised the general education of the Roman Catholic clergy there to heights it had never before attained, and his labours were approved also by all the bishops of the Rhenish provinces. Opinions, however, were much divided among the clergy and students of the University, as to the merits of his system of teaching; it was indeed hotly attacked and zealously defended in every part of Germany.

But the theologians of Bonn in particular, the seat of the mighty master, were drawn up in adverse hosts; and many and various were the skirmishes and battles, in words spoken or written, in attack or defence, both of the system and its originator. Nothing was ever like it, save the wars of Nominalist and Realist of old.

These contests had happened during the lifetime of Archbishop Spiegel, and the government, in order to allay their heats, and acting clearly in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, had appointed another professor, Klee; not to supersede Hermes, (for which they had no reason, neither could they legally do it,) but to lecture concurrently with him; so that they who feared the effects of Hermesian lore might resort to the lectures of one known for his anti-Hermesian tendencies.

But Archbishop Spiegel continued to support his favourite Hermes until the death of the latter, which happened in 1831; and, afterwards, still so highly valued was his system of treating dogmatic theology that, with the exception of Professor Klee, all the professors in Bonn continued to teach it. In fact it spread throughout Roman Catholic Europe, penetrated even to the Ultima Thule of enlightenment, and actually formed, as we have been

credibly informed, the basis of lectures in the Jesuits' College at Rome.* But the time was come when the writings of Hermes were to be hermetically sealed. To the horror and consternation of his thousands of followers they were condemned by a papal brief, 26th September, 1835. Contrary, however, to all usage, and as if the court of Rome was well aware (and who doubts it?) of the false step in liberality which the government of Prussia had just taken in determining on the advancement of the restive Droste, no communication whatever was made to the king or his government, either as to the intended or actual issuing of a brief which so peculiarly affected his Roman Catholic subjects; and we believe we are right in saying that, as a point of diplomatic practice, the king would have been justified in instantly breaking off all communication with the See of Rome on this ground alone.

Neither pope nor bishop, however, applied at all for the publication of the brief in Prussia† or elsewhere, and therefore no one in Prussia could take any cognizance of its existence; as it is a primary law in reference to such documents that they cannot be published, and therefore cannot become valid instruments, without the royal *placet* being affixed to them.

Amid the outcries which arose on all sides from Anti-Hermesians, as well as Hermesians, for both were loud in abuse of the brief as a stupid and unreasoning production, condemning only in general terms all the writings of Hermes, without setting forth a single point in which they were either erroneous or dangerous, the government observed a dignified forbearance. It could not of course, with any regard to self-respect, recognize directly the existence of the brief under such circumstances of discourteous omission; but had any of the native hierarchy applied for the royal placet, it would no doubt have instantly been granted in spite of those. Not condescending, however, to

* We do not profess to have any acquaintance with this Hermesian philosophy. We have been informed, however, that it purported to take up the results of the various systems of philosophy then popular in Germany, and attempted to prove that where true they were only partial truths, which, by integration, all converged into the great focus of Christianity, the only true manifestation of which was Roman Catholicism. The system, whatever else may have been the objections to it, had no taint of Protestantism, and "Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam Catholicam Romanam" formed the theme of many a discourse both from Hermes and the οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν. We have never heard a clear statement of any one point in which his or their opinions were considered inorthodox. Neither could any of his followers, who were in Rome this year, 1838, ever get the oracle of the Vatican to tell them wherein or in what degree they were erroneous; to be informed of which was the burthen of their daily prayers to him.

† "All papal bulls, briefs, and dispositions of foreign authorities of the spiritual power must be submitted to the state for examination and approval before they can be published and acted on."—*Allgemeines Landrecht*, Th. II. tit. ii. s. 118.

comply with the plain requisitions of the law of Prussia, (which is the law, too, of France, Austria, and Bavaria, and, we believe, of every regal state on the continent,) but in direct defiance of it, and of his oath* of office, the Archbishop, in a circular to the professors of Bonn (12th January, 1837), called on them forthwith to act on the brief as if it had already received the royal placet, citing the law requiring the placet only to evade and to contemn it!

His next effort was directed at the professors and their lectures; when the programme of these last was, according to custom, submitted to him for approval, one of them was returned to its author, who had never, by the way, been a pupil of Hermes or Hermesian, with the curt observation, "that he could not approve of the proposed lectures, inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures were not always therein handled with sufficient reverence, or conformably to dogmas."

The Hermesians received for answer to theirs, "That he could give no opinion until the books on which they proposed to lecture were submitted to him;

"That he had no remark to make if the lectures were to be only such as they professed to be."

On objections so vague as this, the government of course could not act; but the Archbishop did not condescend to invoke its authority either to dismiss, suspend, or rebuke the professors, who for their parts waited anxiously an opportunity to justify themselves, or to be informed of their errors by the Archbishop, in vain; and consequently the whole course of theological studies at Bonn, among its Roman Catholic students, was in a fair way of coming to a stand-still, and the professors were virtually suspended.

The Curator of the University was therefore charged by the government to confer with the Archbishop on this subject. The Archbishop hesitated, delayed; but at last named a day for the required conference. The conference was held; the Archbishop was requested to cite before him the professors whom he suspected of teaching the doctrines of Hermes, and to ascertain, by examination, if their opinions were orthodox or not. He refused;

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* Oath taken by the Archbishop:—

"I swear that I will be loyal, faithful, obedient, and submissive to His Majesty the King; that I will to the utmost of my power advance his interests, and avert from him injury and wrong; that, on the other hand, I will use my endeavours that, in the minds of my clergy, and of the people in my diocese who are subject to my episcopal superintendence, respect for the King's Majesty, patriotism and obedience to the laws, shall strike deep roots; and that I will not permit them to teach or to act in a contrary spirit."

saying, he would have no dealings with these men until after the matter was arranged!

He was then requested to call on the professors for a written statement of their opinions on the points in question. This he also refused! Then, would he appoint commissioners to watch the lectures? or himself select the books on which the lectures were to be held? He would do none of these! Then, would he himself draw up a list of the points of controversy, and submit them to the professors? This he at last promised, but never performed; for the eighteen Theses which we shall presently have to allude to, were in nowise a fulfilment of this promise, and they were moreover *never submitted to the professors*, and came to the knowledge of government only by accident. Meantime, the professors themselves did all they could to satisfy the unsatisfiable prelate; offering to submit, not the programmes, but the lectures themselves, for his approval; but all to no purpose.

It was then discovered that the Archbishop had written to some students, to make it generally known as his will, that all students in Theology should confine themselves solely to the lectures of Klee in Theology, and of Dr. Walter in Canon Law. The lecture-rooms of all others were therefore deserted; the Hermesian and Anti-Hermesian disputes were renewed, and broke out even in public!

The patient minister again interfered to secure peace, if possible. He called on all the Professors of Theology without exception to sign a written promise to abstain both from writing and speaking either for or against these exciting doctrines. They all signed a solemn promise. Still the Archbishop would not be satisfied; he would not recall or modify his orders to the students. When, therefore, according to the statutes, the lectures for the ensuing half-year were appointed for the students of the Convictorium, the majority among them declared that they must adhere to the orders of their Archbishop; and when the authorities of course insisted on their obedience to the laws and statutes of the University, as the condition of their continuance in it, out of the seventy members of the Convictorium more than sixty quitted it; and thus did the Archbishop at last obtain the laudable end he had all along been driving at.

But his doings now crowd upon us. He had already issued his eighteen Theses, containing his own views of dogmas and discipline, a subscription of which he exacted from all candidates both for orders and preferment. The story of poor Weber,* no

* See "Ein auffallen des Factum, &c. von einem wahrheitliebenden Katholiken." Bonn. Georgi. 1838. An excellent commentary in the history of a single transaction on the character of Droste.

more a Hermesian than the Archbishop himself, is a striking commentary on the incomparable stupidity which dictated the theological portion of them. Weber mildly, meekly, and with every show of respect, proved to the Archbishop in private conference that many of them were in direct contradiction to the Holy Scriptures, to councils and canons. In consequence, the Archbishop banished him from his cure in Cologne! But what government could tolerate the last of these Theses?—

"I promise and vow to my Archbishop reverence and obedience in all things which concern doctrine and discipline, and this without any mental reservation. I declare that, according to the rule of the Catholic hierarchy, I may not appeal from the decision of my Archbishop to any person but the Pope—the head of the whole Church."

This Thesis involves a flagrant violation of one of the fundamental laws of the monarchy of Prussia, which, like that of every state in Germany, and of France also, reserves to the civil power all *appels en cas d'abus*, &c. Indeed we know not how any civil government could be possible, where the principle of this Thesis was admitted.

Such were the aggressions of the Archbishop on the royal prerogative, the laws of the monarchy, the statutes of the university, and the privileges of its professors; giving rise to constant excitement, perpetually calling for the interference of government, and securing in spite of it the destruction of one of the fairest institutions in the University of Bonn.

Yet all this time the Archbishop had been busy also in other quarters and on other matters. His clergy in many parts acted in direct contradiction to the convention and the instruction to the vicars-general in regard to mixed marriages. Complaints as of old arose: and it afterwards appeared that the Archbishop had directed his clergy, in entire disregard of the new discipline given and established by the briefs of the convention, to return to the old and severe system.

He proceeded however cautiously and craftily, and with every endeavour to hoodwink the government. Being called upon by a public functionary to instruct a certain Herr Clässen,* provost of the chapter of Aix-la-Chapelle, in matters affected by the convention, which he did in a long letter to the provost, the Arch-

* He afterwards dismissed Herr Clässen from his office of Stadtdeckant in Aix-la-Chapelle because he had given a lodging for one night in his house to Professor Achterfeldt of Bonn, a Hermesian. See "Katholische Kirche in der Preussischen Rheinprovinz"—p. 122, note, where also is stated the fact of the Archbishop taking away his living from a poor old priest 80 years of age, on suspicion of his being a Hermesian, though he had scarcely even heard the name of Hermes, and knew nothing whatever about his system.

bishop made use of the following expressions (25th December, 1836).

"The position of affairs is as follows:—

"The brief of Pius VIII. is known to you. In conformity with this brief, and to facilitate its execution, there was concluded a convention . . In this convention it is stipulated that an instruction shall be addressed to the vicars-general, as in fact was done some time since."

So then up to this time, (and this point, it will be seen hereafter, is most material,) when he had already been a whole year and a quarter of another in his diocese, the Archbishop still recognizes the convention as being conformable to the brief—recognizes also the instruction as an integral part, which it clearly was, of such convention—and cites both as the binding rules for his guidance!

But let us proceed. Only a fortnight after this letter to Provost Clässen, in another addressed by the prelate to the President von Bodelschwingh, the cloven foot begins to appear. In this second letter the Archbishop for the first time states, that when he gave his solemn promise to maintain and execute the convention, he, proh pudor! had never read, or even knew of, its provisions! He hints, moreover, that in cases where he should think the convention inconsistent with the brief, he should feel himself at liberty to elude it. But even yet he does not venture to say that the convention or instruction is, in any one particular, inconsistent with the brief.

Now who can grant for a moment the truth of this assertion, monstrous as it appears, that he, the then sub-bishop to his brother, the Bishop of Münster—he, too, who, from his position, must have had daily opportunities of reading an authentic comment on their provisions in the practice of every church around him, was actually in ignorance of the dispositions of the convention and instruction when he solemnly pledged his word to maintain and abide by them? Tantamne rem tam negligenter? The new discipline, too, enforced in reference to matters which he knew had for a series of years given rise to disputes throughout all the western provinces of Prussia, and the enforcement of which discipline would form literally the most important part of his archiepiscopal functions; yet that he, in utter ignorance of what it was, in his haste to be a bishop, bound himself, blind-fold, to its observance! We confess this supposition seems to us so utterly monstrous, that we are inclined rather to adopt the view of his friends of the Journal Historique et Littéraire de Liege, who boasted very early that the Archbishop had dextrously cheated the government!

The lurking evasion of his last letter, however, induced the go-

vernment on the 13th of March following to address to the Archbishop a communication, stating, "that they understood his letter "to Provost Clässen as expressing his determination to adhere "conscientiously, and as in duty bound, to the instruction relative "to the execution of the brief."

To this the Archbishop returned no answer. The government was therefore bound to accept his silence as an acquiescence in their views. But the acts of his clergy were a startling comment on his real intentions.

Very early in this, the Archbishop's, career of aggressions the court of Rome had been repeatedly and confidentially appealed to, in order to interpose its authority and check them. But it refused to do so, and in fact was all along their secret abettor. It was informed by the Prussian resident minister there, that the Archbishop "allait se perdre" by his conduct! It was subsequently informed through its own under-secretary of state, the Cardinal Capaccini, who was in Prussia in the summer of 1837 on a special mission, not only of the actual state of things, but of the specific result to which they would lead. The king himself told the cardinal, that if the Archbishop persisted in the line of conduct he had adopted, "he should be obliged to banish him from his diocese;" and this was repeated to the cardinal by the minister on different occasions and at different places; and yet the court of Rome not only declined to interfere, but actually, on the 10th of December following, the Pope had the face to declare that he had been all along entirely ignorant that there had been any disputes between the Archbishop and his sovereign!

The government was thus left to deal as it best could with the refractory and turbulent prelate. And we shall now have to record on its part a conduct distinguished by delicacy, forbearance, and a marked unwillingness to proceed to extremities, in a degree almost unparalleled, and out of all proportion to the provocation received.

The governmental president of Düsseldorf, Count Stolberg, an intimate friend of the Archbishop, and the Prussian minister at the court of Rome who was then at Berlin, were deputed by his majesty to confer with the Archbishop, both on the subject of mixed marriages and on his conduct towards the University of Bonn, which we have described above.

His conduct in the latter affair had been so monstrous, and of such crying illegality and injustice, and had excited such strong feelings against him, even among the majority of his own clergy, that the Archbishop doubtless was glad to have an opportunity of retracing his steps. He accordingly promised to amend his manners in this particular; but we no have reason for believing that this

would have been kept any more than his former and more solemn promise. We need not detail the Archbishop's subsequent turnings and windings in reference to the convention, nor during the remainder of this conference. One while declaring he would not sign any undertaking to observe them, "except in so far as they were conformable to the brief," reserving to himself of course to put his own private construction upon this; and we are bound to say that the brief itself appears to have everywhere shifted the question into studied obscurity;—then agreeing to sign the undertaking as modified at his own request, "that he would allow the continuance of the practice which had been established in conformity with the brief and the instruction of 1834, and would not change the state of things thus introduced"—and then, a few hours after, retracting even this!

Thus did the Archbishop (18 Sept. 1837) impose on the commissioners the necessity of breaking off all further conference with him, either on this subject or that of the professors and University of Bonn; and to report to his majesty the utter fruitlessness of their attempts to bring him to obedience to the laws.

But not even yet was the long-suffering of the government exhausted—more than a month elapsed without any further steps being taken; and then only (24 October, 1837,) a dignified letter of remonstrance was addressed to him by Baron von Altenstein, pointing out the illegality of his conduct, and calling upon him, as he had been appointed only on the faith of his solemn promise to observe the convention and instruction, either to fulfil that promise or resign his See. The Archbishop replied (31 October) in the same paltering manner as before; and refused either to fulfil his promise or to resign.

He had now passed the Rubicon.

On the 4th November following he assembled the Metropolitan Chapter and Roman Catholic Clergy of Cologne, and addressed them in an inflammatory harangue.

"It was wished," he said, "to tear him from his archiepiscopal chair, but he knew how to defend the rights of the Catholic Church against the exactions of the government in regard to mixed marriages; for this was the motive of the war they were making against him, *and he authorized the clergy to communicate it to their fellow citizens.*"

He dismissed the professors of the Theological Seminary; and, without waiting for the royal sanction to the appointment, made his private secretary, the notorious Michaelis, take a professorship in it, and removed the classes from this *national* institution to his own palace!

To the pupils he declared through this Michaelis,

"That the government wished Hermesianism to drop, and that each ecclesiastic in his diocese should sign a declaration of submission to the

decision of the Apostolic See (!) by which the writings of Hermes had been condemned; that on the other hand, it was demanded of him to accept, in reference to mixed marriages, the articles of Coblentz;* but that he had replied that he could not betray the Church either in the one case or the other."

This address was published and circulated with immense diligence all through the Rhenish provinces. And the scholars of the public schools were forced by the priests to multiply copies of it.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th November the walls of the cathedral and town of Cologne and its environs exhibited the following seditious placard.

"We Catholics have too long and too patiently endured the Protestant yoke, and seen ourselves in consequence postponed in public employments, and our holy religion oppressed on all sides; we will bear it still a few days more, until the arrival from Berlin of the decision in the case of our Most Rev. Archbishop, a highly religious, and most upright and conscientious man. Should this be unfavourable (because our Most Rev. Archbishop, as a faithful dependant of the Pope and of the Church of Jesus Christ, cannot and therefore will not concede certain points in regard to mixed marriages whereto the king would constrain him,) we shall then feel ourselves injured in our ecclesiastical rights, and will sacrifice our blood and property for our holy religion. We fear neither weapons nor Protestant unrighteousness.

"Up! ye Catholics! up! prepare ye for the combat; for the king has thrown the gauntlet."

The aspect of affairs was threatening—every thing bore token of a coming storm, and it was obvious that rigorous measures could no longer be postponed. It was therefore determined to remove the Archbishop at once from his diocese—and this by force, should he still persist in refusing to retire of his own accord. Accordingly on the 15th November the requisite order was issued from Berlin, and executed at Cologne on the evening of the 23d.

Even now we have to record acts of extreme forbearance on the part of the authorities. The officers who executed it, some of them his own personal friends, begged the Archbishop to render unnecessary the recourse to violent measures—offering him his native city of Münster as a place to which he might voluntarily retire, and that, without *prejudice*, until the decision of Rome could be had in the matter;—that his case should be left to the decision of the Pope, and that he should address him in any way he chose. In vain! The Archbishop would yield only to force;

* The very use of these terms to designate the convention shows the spirit of the Archbishop. The designation was invented by the *Jesuits of Belgium*, and was connected with a story of doings at Coblentz in reference to the convention, utterly false and scandalous in every particular.

and when informed that their orders were to use it, should he render it necessary, he got into his own carriage and was driven to Minden under an escort. Arrived there, private apartments were taken for him in the house of a merchant—and there he lives, we believe, at the present moment, with no more restraints on his freedom than are absolutely necessary to prevent the exercise of his episcopal functions. So ends for the present the life and adventures of this greatest *confessor* and *martyr* of the Church in these days! The news of course flew rapidly to Rome; and the Pope, without waiting for any official declaration on the subject—without any legal means whatever of knowing the facts of the case or the measure of provocation which the Prussian government had received, delivered himself in secret consistory (on the 10th December) of the following precious allocution.

"Venerable Brethren,—While we were overcome with profoundest anguish at the crushed and almost ruined state of the Catholic Church, and, placed in a position where it is not sufficient merely to deplore her evils, ever turning all our thoughts and cares to the healing, according to the power given us of God, of the wounds of Israel—on a sudden a new cause of grief came upon us, which we confess to have felt with more severity, inasmuch as it was the less to have been expected. Nor can you be ignorant, venerable brethren, whither these observations point, nor why we have conceived this anxious desire of forthwith assembling you here; for we are treating now of no obscure matter, nor one learnt only from private sources, but a matter already sufficiently bruited by the public journals. We complain of that most gross outrage lately perpetrated against our venerable brother Clement Augustus Archbishop of Cologne, who has been interdicted, by royal command, from all exercise of his pastoral jurisdiction, has been ejected from his see by violence and a great array of arms, and banished to another quarter. And this great calamity has befallen him because, though ever ready to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, yet being mindful of his duty of religiously observing the doctrine and discipline of the Church, he purposed to himself no other rule of conduct in the affair of mixed marriages than that which had been declared by the Apostolic letters of the 25th March, 1830, addressed by our predecessor Pius VIII. (of blessed memory) to the Archbishop and Bishops of the western provinces of the kingdom of Prussia. And yet this Holy See in such letters had carried its indulgence so far, that it may most truly be said to have touched those limits which it is not lawful to go beyond. It is well known to you, indeed, that our above-mentioned predecessor paused long ere he yielded this measure of benignity, being induced thereto by no other motive than the necessity he felt for preventing still greater evils then threatened as assuredly about to come upon the Church and the Catholic clergy of those provinces. Who then would have thought it possible that this Pontifical declaration, though most indulgent, and accepted as it had been over and over again by the King's envoy in this

city, would be applied in a manner such as to pervert the unshaken principles of the Catholic Church and to be made completely repugnant to the intentions of the Apostolic See? But that which no individual could have imagined or dreamt of, and even slightly to have suspected which would have been a crime, has been accomplished through the artful influence of the secular power. No sooner were we apprised of this, not without great anguish of mind, than we hastened to send our expostulations to the proper quarter, declaring at the same time how great was the necessity we were under, in virtue of our Apostolic office, of duly warning the faithful not to consider as coming from the Holy See that which it held in abhorrence. And when we had received an answer importing that our complaints were entirely groundless, there came to us a letter from one of the prelates of the above-mentioned provinces, who being at the point of death, and about to render to his Eternal Judge an account of his stewardship, and having transmitted to us a transcript of the instructions given by the bishops at the instigation of the civil government, distinctly declared that he (perceiving through the illumination of divine grace the grievous injury that would thence arise to the Church, and the violation therein done to the canons) retracted freely and of his own accord the error to which he had put his hand. We immediately used all diligence (transmitting to his Most Serene Majesty a copy of this transcript) to make it more and more known that we entirely disapproved, as adverse to the principles and laws of the Church, the manner of interpretation applied by the bishops to the Apostolic letters of our predecessor. Thus you perceive, venerable brethren, that we have in this matter neglected no part of our duty: nevertheless (we say it sorrowing and utterly overcome with grief) while we were left in entire ignorance of what was going on, and were still expecting a favourable reply to our expostulations and declarations, it was signified to the Archbishop of Cologne that in the affair of mixed marriages he must adopt that interpretation which had been condemned by us, or resign his episcopal functions; and he was at the same time informed of the determination of the government to interdict him from his pastoral jurisdiction in the event of his acting otherwise. And immediately, he, as was right, resisting, matters fell out as with horror we at the outset complained to you. And mark the conduct observed towards us! it was only on the first day of the present month that the chargé d'affairs of Prussia here announced to us as shortly about to happen, or as happening at that very time, what had been done and finished ever since the 21st of the preceding month. Under such circumstances, venerable brethren, we feel that we owe it to God, the Church, and the office we hold, to raise our Apostolic voice and denounce openly in this your assembly this violation of ecclesiastical immunity—this contempt of the episcopal dignity—this usurpation of sacred jurisdiction—this prostration of the rights of the Catholic Church and of this Holy See. And in doing this we are anxious also at the same time to render to the Prelate of Cologne, a man endowed with virtues of every description, the praise so justly his due for his unconquerable pertinacity in defending, and at his own so great peril, the cause of religion. We avail ourselves moreover of this opportunity to declare solemnly and in public (what we have never ceased to

do up to the present moment in private), that we entirely reprobate every practice concerning mixed marriages wrongfully introduced into the kingdom of Prussia contrary to the genuine meaning of our predecessor's declaration. But the evils of the Spouse of the immaculate Lamb daily becoming worse and worse, we vehemently conjure you—the partakers of our care—to humbly offer up with us prayers to the Father of Mercies that he may look down propitiously from His high dwelling in the heavens upon this vineyard which he hath planted with his own right hand, and mercifully dispel the storm that hath so long assailed it."

Our readers must perceive at a glance the infamous suppressions of this popish document. As if the court of Rome did not know that the question of mixed marriages, though one of the main points, was very far from being the only point in controversy between the government and the Archbishop! We have by anticipation answered most of its swarming falsehoods. The Pope would actually wish it to be believed, that he had been left in utter ignorance of what was going on in Cologne, in the teeth of the damning facts we have detailed above (see p. 256). "Nobis plane insciis!" says the Pope, in defiance of the archives of his secretary of state's offices, and of the Cardinal Capaccini, who was probably there and knew its falsehood. How comes it, by the way, that this cardinal is now in disgrace at the Vatican?

The briefs of Pius VIII. and Cardinal Albani were accepted "semel atque iterum," says the Pope, by the Prussian minister; this he must have known to be false; and we have shown that they were only then accepted, when the construction which the bishops would put upon them was known to his majesty.

The alleged departure from the provisions of the brief, in the convention, is asserted to have been even "artificioso sæcularis potestatis impulsu." Need we stop to refute this monstrous charge, after the detail we have given of the circumstances connected with the making of this convention, and the recital of the express terms in which each bishop sent in his adhesion to it?—(see supra, p. 243). As to the expostulations which the Pope says were addressed to the Prussian minister at his court in reference to the convention, this part of the allocution is designedly perplexed with falsehood. The facts are curious and illustrative. Some secret emissaries of the Romish See had, as it appears, transmitted to the Vatican, some time previous, a pretended copy of the convention. To the expert in such matters we need hardly say that it was a false and garbled copy; containing as usual some degree of truth, destroyed by the greater strength of its associated falsehood. Among the most ludicrous of these falsehoods was the allegation that the convention contained a clause

that the instruction of Cardinal Albani* should be "quâ nulla declarata," and that it had been therefore suppressed.

This was brought as a charge against the Prussian government, by the secretary of state of the court of Rome. The Prussian minister, in replying to such an unworthy imputation, did not content himself with the dry denial of the existence of such a document (as he would have been perfectly justified in doing by the usages of diplomacy), but actually went out of his way to indicate the existence of the real one, which it would be the duty of the bishops hereafter to lay before the See of Rome.

It will hardly be supposed that this denial of the Prussian minister forms the chief burthen of the Papal Esposizione. Yet such is the fact; and utterly unable to defend their hero of Cologne, they indulge in a personal attack on the Prussian minister at Rome—a man of learning as profound (and Europe at large knows it) as his private character is pure and spotless—the worthy successor of Niebuhr, and eulogy can scarce go higher.

We now come to the notable juggling in the case of the poor old bishop of Treves. We have already called our reader's attention (p. 243) to the marked manner in which he expressed his concurrence in the convention. On the 1st October, 1836, he had also addressed a letter to the Pope, strongly eulogizing the convention, and setting forth in a forcible manner the beneficent effects of the new discipline under it; and he ended by stating the solemn sanctions under which this letter was written—"on the day on which I have taken the Lord's Body as my viaticum, being shortly, if it shall please God, about to bid farewell to the world." He lived, however, some weeks after this; and it appears that a letter, dated ten days after the former, and entirely recanting it, had been transmitted to the Pope. If this last letter be not, as we, in common with all reasonable people who have taken the trouble to consider the matter, believe it to be, a vile and impudent forgery, let the Pope make the most he can of testimony thus contradictory; the former certainly given under circstances as awful as the latter could be. Those who know the secrets of a Romish death-bed will not stop to inquire whether this last letter be genuine or not.

The want of diplomatic courtesy charged on the Prussian charge d'affaires ad interim, in not annihilating time and space be-

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* The instruction of the Cardinal Albani was in extension of the provisions of the brief, and so liberal was it thought to be by the Court of Rome, that it was requested it might not be made known to the clergy at large, by the bishops to whom it was addressed. A likely thing, therefore, that this instruction should be "quâ nulla declarata."

tween Cologne and Berlin, from which last he of course derived his official intelligence of the Archbishop's arrest, is so paltry, so contemptible, so thoroughly modern-Roman, that we forbear to enlarge upon it. The punctilious in such matters may find an answer to all their difficulties in the reply of Baron Altenstein.

Thus have we gone through the various matters in the allocution, and shown that every assertion is either an equivocation, or a direct downright falsehood, or a wanton and insidious complaint. With a copy of this allocution the Prussian minister at that court was greeted, on his return to the papal states for the purpose of laying the matter before the holy see. On his remonstrating on its outrageous character, and offering, notwithstanding, to fulfil the duties of his mission in proving to the court of Rome the guilty acts of the Archbishop; he was met by the constant reply that the court of Rome would hear nothing until the Archbishop was restored to his diocese! A degree of ludicrous insolence, which nothing but a consciousness of strength, and a real regard for its own Roman Catholic subjects, could have prevented Prussia from chastising as it deserved.

The persistance, however, of the court of Rome in this silly impertinence, effectually prevented any concessions on the part of Prussia; and the Chevalier Bunsen, with a patriotism worthy of all commendation, thinking that, from the virulence with which he had been attacked personally, both in the allocution and the Esposizione, his further presence at Rome might be an obstacle to reconcilement, applied for and received from his majesty a permission to retire from his post in that city. His place is supplied *ad interim* by a chargé d'affaires; with small prospect, however, of effecting any conversion to good sense or good feeling on the part of the court of Rome, if we may judge from the recent allocution on the occasion of establishing a bishopric in Algiers, which appeared in all the papers of the day.

We have nearly done with this utterly disgraceful matter; not so, however, we fear, either the Roman Catholics of Prussia, or their government. The hierarchical reaction triumphant in Belgium, and communicated by contagion to the Rhenish provinces, and in the spirit of which all Baron Droste's actions were conceived at the beck of a ruffian party there (with whom he has subsequently been proved to have held close correspondence*),

* The unexpected length to which this article has reached, compels us to give only in a note the following most illustrative letters, written by the archbishop's Chaplain, Private Secretary, Professor, Theses-composer, Factotum and Leporello, Michaelis, to the Pfarrer Binterim, at Bilk, near Dusseldorf. They were found in the house of the latter by the police when on another scent, and have since been acknowledged by Michaelis as his. They need no commentary; but are themselves invaluable as such

has yet to receive further development ere it meet from civil governments the check and the chastisement it merits. The shibboleth of this party is that flimsiest of all the flimsy inventions of sophistry

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on the subject of our article. We give them in a literal translation; premising only that the *Jesuits* are *strictly excluded from Prussia* by the laws.

" Most reverend and most honoured Sir,

" I have attended to the affair of Father Schulten. In answer to your agreeable letter, now, two requests. 1. Could you give me a short characteristic of the deacons of our diocese; (α) how disposed towards Rome; (β) towards celibacy and *habitum clericalem*; (γ) as to science and *adroitness*? 2. For the first, it is of essential importance to get some good men (tüchtige Männer) to Cologne. Herr Laurent will probably come; only 'tis a pity that no living is now vacant for him in Cologne. Could you give me the names of any young people qualified in those three respects, especially from Belgium? It would give us (sed tantum inter nos) *great delight to smuggle in some Jesuits* (einige Jesuiten hereinzuschmuggeln). Could you tell us of any who speak German fluently? From Switzerland or *Rome would be too marked*. Speak, I pray you, *secretly on this subject* with Father Schulten. If some of them are to be found, then we must consider in what way to commence further proceedings. If you are acquainted with Herr Laurent in the diocese of Liege, pray write, and beg of him to accept the small thing; there is only this chaplaincy of St. Columba vacant, which has been offered to him; further promotion will soon follow. Keep *quite secret*, pray, this obscure letter. &c. &c. EDWARD M..

Cologne, 7 April, 1837. In haste. o. a. m. D. g.
To the Pfarrer Binterim, &c. &c. Bilk, near Dusseldorf.

(*From the same to the same.*)

" Most reverend and most honoured Sir,

" Your much esteemed letter of the 25th of last month has given me great delight. Just hear how far matters are matured. The archbishop gives his benediction (Segen) to *every thing*, but meanwhile *still shut his eyes to every* thing; so that the enterprise is only a private enterprise. I shall shortly *contrive to introduce into* (unterbringen) *Cologne four Jesuits* one by one, and then one into Bonn. They will soon find a field of action here. I am *now directing the minds of some talented youth exclusively to this end*, and in Bonn are very many of the most talented theologians, who are desirous of entering into the order. With these I will form a bond of faith, and *bring them into connection with the Jesuits* of this place. From *Rome two Jesuits* are expected. The two Prussian ones at Nivelle *are well known to me*; *they lived in our house* at Münster. I could wish that for the first, the younger Joseph Van Hamm should be promoted *as soon as possible* hither. One need only refer him to me; I will, take care of the rest. For safety's sake he may bring with him a *medical certificate, prescribing for him a residence on the Rhine*. In Burtscheidt and Aix, the Society of the Mission is starting again into life; here things move more heavily; but 'twill soon come.

" One thing more only. The archbishop wishes much that all processions should be restored. To a petition for a procession which was to last many days, the archbishop returned for answer, ' that he gave the permission of the church to it; only they must see that the civil authorities would not object.' Pray *work, and keep, moving*, that *all that has fallen into desuetude* may come back to life. The Bonn gentry have been forbidden by the Ministry, 1. To name the name of Hermes; 2. To make use of any of his writings, especially the Phil. & Positiv. Introduction; 3. To propound any one of his doctrines. Hilgers has been prohibited lecturing on dogmatics. . . . &c. &c. E. M.

Cologne, 2d May, 1837. o. a. m. D. g.
For safety's sake, *not paid*; you do so too.

There was also another letter in the same strain, but let these two suffice; they speak volumes as to the *loyalty* and *honesty* of the Archbishop.

nd *logodædaly*, or verbal finesse—"the liberty of the church;" *i. e.* f the church of Rome, and its entire independence of the state n any form or relation whatever. These men are wise in their eneration, and know full well the value of a word—liberty, even hough it mean the liberty of evil-doing, sounds sweet in ours as t did in Athenian ears. But the liberty which these men preach nd advocate, is despotism; despotism, too, in that form which o express seems almost a contradiction in terms; a despotism it once the most intense and the most expanded; the liberty vhereof they speak, and the church's entire independence of the state, are compatible with the liberty of no state whatever, nor with he independence of any other body within it. With one principle alone are they compatible—a principle, the very enunciation of which will, we are aware, excite a smile on the faces of some of our readers, but which we know has never abandoned the councils of the Vatican; and which now, owing to causes that lie upon the surface, number more advocates on this side the Alps than at any period since the Reformation. We mean that principle which places all temporal power in subordination to, and derives it from, the ecclesiastical; and recognizes states, in fact, but as parts of the mighty organism of the church. If any one doubt the present activity of this principle, let him read the disciplinary, doctrinal works with which France, Belgium, and Bavaria abound; let him read a practical illustration of it in the dominant spirit of the Belgian clergy, since their own revolution, and in the acts of the Baron Clemens-August Droste von Vischering.

We much deceive ourselves if the nineteenth century is not to witness still greater efforts to carry into practice this long-dormant, but yet living principle. The efforts, we believe, will be strong, unceasing, virulent; yet we have no fears for the ultimate result; nor have we fears for any but passing evils to Prussia from the experiment which has there been tried. We know that the monarch of Prussia has taken his part; that, secure in the zealous attachment of his Protestant subjects, and conscious that in the course which he has pursued he has exercised power but to secure eventual liberty of conscience to all his subjects, he will not be scared by that evil principle which has been well described as being but the ghost of the old Roman empire sitting enthroned upon its tomb.

We know that further concessions to the Romish hierarchy—already pushed to an extent which has excited the sorrow and anger of many among the most liberal and loyal Protestants of Prussia—will *not* be made. The forbearance which the insolence and besotted bigotry has hitherto derided as weakness will

not be proof against fresh aggressions or even against the hostile attitude recently assumed. But a few years since, the Rhenish Roman Catholic Church lay in the dust. Its revenues were exhausted or alienated; its temples in decay; its priesthood wallowing in brutish ignorance—even the spelling of a breviary being beyond the attainments of some! From that state of ruin and inanition it was raised to its present splendour and noxious power by the care of the monarch alone. Behold the bitter fruits which the hand that tended and watered the almost sapless trunk, and fenced it round, and guarded it from the spoiler, has gathered from its regerminating strength!

In viewing the case of the Archbishop of Cologne we have studiously avoided much allusion to the hostile state of feeling in the Rhenish provinces, as connected with other subjects of complaint more fully treated in a subsequent article.

It cannot however be denied that the Prussian government itself sought to gain its ends not only by open kindness and forbearance, but also by manœuvring, as of old; and at the selection of Baron Vischering for Cologne was to win over the Westphalians: a bold measure; and able, had it succeeded. But Rome will, even now, succeed only so far as popular discontents support her steps. Her efforts in all quarters have been latterly addressed to resuscitating the influence of her religion. Malta, France, England, Canada, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, are strong evidences of this, as also the important letters given in our note pp. 261, 262, to which we cannot too strongly call the reader's attention. It is in truth the general outbreak of a grand Roman Catholic movement EVERYWHERE. The real defect in Prussia, as in Canada, is the having two systems, one actively hostile in its nature, the other passive, both recognized by the government. Yet we are told this ought to be the case in Ireland. If, however, a despotic government, like the Prussian, cannot check and control the evil, how can the British constitution prove competent to the task?

Although Prussia cannot venture to risk much at the moment, and against the formidable rivalry of Austria, yet we doubt if the latter will seek to embarrass her farther. Still the former power is bound to maintain the course she has taken, and may soon, and must ultimately, separate from the Roman supremacy, though not from Catholicism.

ART. II.—*Die Seherin von Prevorst. Eröffnungen über das innere Leben des Menschen, und über das Hereinragen einer Geisterwelt in die unsere. Mitgetheilt von Justinus Kerner. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe.* (The Female Ghost-Seer of Prevorst. Discoveries concerning the Inner Life of Man, and the Invasion of our Sphere by a World of Spirits. Communicated by Justinus Kerner. Second improved and enlarged edition.) Stuttgard and Tubingen. 1832.

To such English students as with strong faith and ardent hope are just setting out on a journey of exploration into the wondrous fields of Magnetic Science, this work must be an inestimable treasure: a mine of glittering facts;—a plentiful harvest of miraculous results, that cannot fail at once to enrich the faithful reader, and furnish him with the means of prosecuting still grander discoveries in the magic realms of which it treats.

In England, animal magnetism has, unhappily, never taken very deep root: as a science it has never been well planted, nor properly tended in this country; our soil is too hard and ungenial for its delicate nature; and our scientific husbandmen too harsh and impatient to follow lovingly (as Germans only are wont) the capricious phenomena of its growth. Ridicule has always blighted its earliest buds, and where ridicule has not sufficed to destroy it, committees of inquiry have sprung up to handle it so roughly, that an unnatural and untimely death has ever been the inevitable consequence. How can a sensitive plant in a rude and foreign climate be expected to survive such treatment. But let not its enemies suppose that its not having prospered on our inhospitable shore is any proof of its absolute want of a vigorous vitality. The German gardener cares little for the fate of the seed which has fallen on our stony ground: under his own fostering care the plant has waxed into a noble tree, and in its shade—solemn as elephants under the far-spreading Banian—sit many philosophers, digesting its goodly fruits, and chewing the cud of their contemplations; amongst the most noted of these we descry Kerner, Mayer, Eschenmeyer and Görres. From the tree in question the work before us is, as it were, a leaf, which, having caught in its sybilline flight, we shall attempt to decypher, and, in simple and unstudied phrase, explain to the reader; that is, so far as we can understand it ourselves. But first, with respect to the formal authentication of the marvels which we are about to unfold, we would fain address a remark or two to the cautious public. Not having ourselves been their wit-

nesses, we cannot vouch for the absolute truth of the following facts; but we are happy to bear testimony to the respectable character for veracity, which the above philosophers who *do* authenticate them have always borne. The author of the work is Justinus Kerner, a physician, a man of serious temperament, and of a religious character; fanatical it may be, but sober and methodical in his manner of thinking, however wild and wonderful the nature of his belief. The persons above-named are his coadadjutors or rather co-μαρτυρες: they illustrate his facts; bear testimony to the rectitude of his intentions, and evidently give him their full countenance and support. Meyer is a private gentleman at Frankfort; the other two are professors. Görres is known to every student of German literature as a man of great talent and immense acquirements, which, however, he has so applied as well to deserve the appellation of the High Priest of German Mysticism. As men of learning, of a certain elevation in society, and having each of them a moral character and a scientific reputation to lose, they are as far as possible removed from the common adventurer or mere charlatan: however great may be the delusion they cherish and would propagate, they are certainly its honest martyrs. The English reader, then, must not lay wilful falsehood at their doors, however often his indignation at their outrageous demands on his belief may prompt him to the charge. There is one thing yet more wonderful than all the wonders of Magus and Magnetist, and that is, the faith which bids these welcome. Credulity is, in itself, a vast marvel, compared with which all the other nine or ninety-nine wonders of the world heaped together, would show but as a mole-hill by the side of an Egyptian pyramid. The best intentions, the soundest judgment, and the greatest acquirements seem, at times, utterly unable to prevent the understanding from falling victim to the most grotesque and absurdest belief: even as the stoutest frame is often, at last, prostrated by what was, at first, the most insignificant and contemptible disease. Premising thus, we now proceed to a narrative as monstrous as any which in the darkest ages was ever credited by the vulgar, and yet which learned men of the nineteenth century regard as strictly and literally true.

At the village of Prevorst, a little distance from the town of Löwenstein, in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, was born in 1801, Frederica Hauffe, who afterwards obtained the appellation of *Die Seherin* (the Prophetess or Female-Seer) of Prevorst. From her earliest infancy this personage was remarkably delicate and sensitive, and endowed with the faculty of seeing ghosts. She did not indulge in magnetic sleep, however, till the year 1822, from which time till her death, she was frequently affected

with spasms; these could only be cured by magnetism, and as this was generally applied by one gentleman, great was the scandal in consequence: at one period, however, she was magnetized by an individual whom scandal could not, we hope, much object to, viz. the ghost of her grandmother; and this worthy old sprite officiated for her every evening at seven o'clock (vol. i. p. 39). "It is an inconceivable fact," says Kerner, "but authenticated by several respectable witnesses, that, at this time, things of which the continued contact was prejudicial to her, were removed as by an invisible hand: they glided through the air, not at all as if they were thrown: her silver spoon, for instance, was often seen to be taken from her hand, and laid softly down upon a dish at some little distance."—(vol. i. pp. 39, 40). "In a glass of water on the table, she saw the figures of persons who did not enter the room till half an hour afterwards, and carriages travelling on the public road, half an hour before they came up to the house where she was living." When Kerner was first summoned to attend her, he disbelieved all the reports respecting the extraordinary symptoms of her case: he and his friend, Dr. Off of Löwestein, determined to discountenance altogether her magnetic performances, and they accordingly submitted her to the ordinary system of treatment indicated by her spasmodic and febrile symptoms; but under this she fast grew worse and weaker, and they were obliged to resort to a mild course of magnetism. Ashamed of the utter futility of their own prescriptions, they now, most rationally, consulted her on her own case, and implicitly followed her directions: the result of which was, that she recovered from a horrible state of collapse bordering on dissolution, and was invigorated to the utmost extent compatible with the ravages her constitution had already suffered. The state of trance induced by magnetic manipulation, and into which the *Seherin* appears to have been at length in the habit of falling spontaneously, is described as a temporary cessation of the cerebral, and an anomalous development of the ganglionic, functions—of "the inner life." The *Seherin*, whilst still in the flesh, made rapid advances towards a spiritual mode of being: her nervous fluid pervaded her structure so loosely, as frequently to be able to escape altogether from the latter: on such occasions, she was not, as might irreverently be suspected, out of her mind, but out of her body, which she saw stretched before her, and would sometimes contemplate for a considerable period. She was so extremely light that, when ordered a bath, her nurses could not get her under water, and she would not have sunk, had she even been thrown into a river: a fact which we receive as a matter of faith, since unfortunately we do not any where learn that the experiment was tried.

Kerner, however, mentions other cases, in which the operation of the law of gravitation appears to have been suspended, and profoundly conceives that birds—"that dreamy prophetic race," —may be partially exempt from it whilst flying.

Substances of all kinds produced remarkable effects upon the *Seherin*—such as either escape our cognizance, or do not occur under ordinary circumstances. The cause of this is luminously and satisfactorily explained for us by Eschenmayer. "Whilst," says he, "the soul continues to guide and govern the body, the motive powers of external nature are scarcely able to operate perceptibly upon the latter; but when the soul ceases to control the corporeal frame, because she expends all her forces in diving into a new and spiritual region, (as appears to have occurred in the case of the *Seherin von Prevorst*,) it (the frame) is then left totally exposed to the operation of the formative and impulsive powers of nature—to the powers which moulded the stone, and effect the growth of the animal and plant." A small diamond held loose in her hand caused (most mysteriously!) the eyes of the fair Seer to open widely; fixed their pupils; and strange to say, induced, at the same time, a stiffness of the left hand and of the right foot. The contact of two stems of asparagus acted very quickly on the kidnies; that of a grain of belladonna induced dizziness, dilatation of the pupil, and a feeling of choking. Natural causes undoubtedly ought not to account for all this in a person so highly gifted, but the most singular result was that produced by the touch of an unripe walnut: it caused a flow of the most agreeable feelings, filling her with good-will and benevolence towards all mankind. After learning this fact, we cannot but expect to hear that a Society for the Diffusion of half-ripe Walnuts is fast changing the kingdom of Wurtemberg into an earthly paradise. During a storm the *Seherin* always felt the flashes of lightning, and most sensibly in her abdomen.

Having mentioned a few, but, owing to our limited space, not a tithe or even a hundredth of the singular phenomena displayed by the Seherin under different circumstances, we now come to some of the marvellous faculties with which she was endowed during her magnetic trances. On looking into the *right* eye of any individual, she could descry, behind the reflection of her own figure, a form, which neither resembled the latter, nor yet altogether that of the individual on whom she was gazing: she held this "making babies" to be the image of the inner man. On looking into the *left* eye, she saw the outline of any viscus, as lungs, stomach, &c. which might be diseased, and by the side of it she saw imaged the appropriate remedy. In the right eye of dogs, or of other brute animals, she discerned a blue flame, which, says Kerner,

was undoubtedly their immortal part—their soul. We, however, hope not, as the colour was, to say the least of it, an unfortunate omen. Further to illustrate the subject Schubert is quoted, who observes, "that a secret world, hidden to the sight, often seems to gaze inquisitively and responsively on man from the eyes of an animal, as from open portals, leading from one world into the other." (!)

The Seherin, of course, was thoroughly mistress of such magnetic accomplishments as reading with the pit of her stomach; but she was sometimes contented with merely *feeling* the sense of a passage, without reading it. On one occasion, for instance, Kerner five times successively gave her two slips of paper, on one of which were written the words, "There is a God," and on the other the words, "There is no God:" after holding them for some time in her left hand she returned them to him, saying, that of the former she felt something, but that the latter only left a mere sense of vacancy. Two slips, on one of which was written "tuo fratello," and on the other, "dein Bruder" (thy brother), caused her precisely the same feeling, of her brother, although she did not understand a word of the Italian language. Kerner once laid a paper, upon which was written the word "Napoleon," on the pit of her stomach, and she instantly felt constrained to sing, and actually commenced singing, the tune of a march: he several times repeated the experiment, and always with the same result. —(vol. i. p. 710.)

There were, moreover, numerous examples of not only the faculty of sight, but the functions of all the other organs of sense also being developed in the region of the abdominal ganglia; though still, seeing, hearing, smelling, and tasting, were less frequently found there than the faculties of perceiving and feeling.

Solon's maxim—"Know thyself"—which some Germans have affected to condemn, was never implicitly obeyed before the time of the Seherin: her spiritual eyes wandered throughout her body, and examined every part of it; and even her organs of sight themselves were not hidden from her all-penetrating gaze. In the region of the solar plexus, she perceived a slowly-moving sun, and her eyes appeared to her as two luminous centres, giving off rays in all directions: the latter, according to our author, were the *ganglion ciliare*, and the *nervi ciliares*. She saw all the nerves of her body, and described the course of several quite correctly. She was a first-rate physician, and, though Kerner's patient, must have run away with almost all his practice. Whenever a person affected with disease approached her, she felt all its symptoms even without the aid of any manipulation, and could detail them with great exactitude: she was a kind of mirror, in which every malady was

reflected; and had she been held up in a hospital, and the patients made to pass before her, would have saved an infinity of time, trouble, and uncertainty, by furnishing an instant and unerring diagnosis of every case. Her most successful and famous cure (which appears to have created a great sensation at the time, and of which very minute details are given in the work before us) was of the Countess of Maldegchem, in 1828. We cannot here dwell upon the very singular affection of the latter, resulting from her having, when only six years old, fallen into a deep sleep, which lasted half a day, in a field of poppies in full bloom,—but must proceed at once to the process of cure, indicated by the *Seherin*. "I feel in her," said she (of course the *Seherin* was now magnetically tranced)—"I feel in her the number, three, and by this her prescriptions must be regulated. During nine days, she must thrice suspend three laurel leaves in an amulet; but it must not be communicated to her of what the amulet consists. For the same space of time must thou (the Count, the husband of her patient), three times a day, lay thy left hand for a quarter of an hour on the pit of her stomach. She must not be allowed any stimulants, but, thrice a day, three table-spoonfuls of daisy-tea must be given her. On no Wednesday must thou commence with the laying on of hands; and this must always be done in the morning at nine o'clock, at which time I shall fall asleep here: no person must then disturb me; I must remain in perfect silence. I shall be praying for my patient."

In her trances, the *Seherin* often gave utterance to a peculiar language, which appeared similar to an Oriental tongue. She said it was natural to her, and was like that spoken at the time of Jacob. Which we presume there is no denying. It was very sonorous, and did not vary on her lips, so that persons who were much in her company easily learnt it. She was accustomed to say that in this language she could express her innermost feelings, and that she translated from it when she spoke of them in German. Its qualities were such as to call forth the utmost curiosity of the philologist: its words gave the real value and property of the objects which they represented. Several of its sounds were found by the learned to resemble those of the Coptic, Arabic, and Hebrew languages; for instance, her word for hand was *Bjat*, which is very similar to the Hebrew *Jat*. *Elschaddai*, by which term she designated God, signifies in Hebrew the *Self-Sufficing*, or *Almighty*. A physician in her language was *handacadi;* a girl, *alentana;* glass, *chlann;* the moon, *schmado;* a many-coloured flower, *bianna fina;* a nightingale, *nochiane*, &c. For "Wilt thou not give me thy hand, physician?" her phrase was, "*O pasqua non ti bjat, handacadi?*" The sage Kerner seems of opi-

nion that this is the primitive language of the soul, (not of any body we would observe,) and which the former cannot entirely lose, though the progress of degeneracy and the mould of time have obscured and overlaid it. Happy then are they who can descend in a spiritual diving-bell to the bottom of the ganglionic system, fish up the long-lost sounds that once rang in the ears of the antediluvian world, and adopt them in place of the "noisy but empty" jargons, which, for want of better, we are compelled to give utterance to at present!

The second volume of the work before us is principally filled with an account of the ghosts of various individuals, who favoured the *Seherin* by visiting her. This opens to us an entirely novel system of *ghosteology*, for with respect to their general character, we are informed that they are not at all the extraordinary beings many people take them for: on the contrary, some of them are troubled, notwithstanding the wide range of their wanderings, with views so limited as even to astonish us short-sighted tenants of earth; and with a stupidity particularly dense considering their etherial nature. The idea that ghosts are a remarkable and eccentric class of individuals appears so ridiculous to their familiar friends, Kerner and Eschenmayer, that they cannot help perpetrating on the subject the only witticisms to be found in these volumes, and doubtless the only ones they ever accomplished. Your German philosopher, though rather dull in the society of the living, pricks up, and becomes a very lively fellow amongst the dead. "Die sogenannten Geistreichen," says Kerner, "erkennen nur ein Geisterreich das geistreich ist:" the point of this would be lost in English; but into French we may translate it thus: "Les beaux esprits ne reconnaissent pas des esprits qui ne sont pas spirituels." "It is certainly very clever," says Eschenmayer ironically, "to expect a person to be all soul when dead, who was all clod when living." After this, of course we did not expect any thing very brilliant from the spirits, and we were not disappointed;—but the reader shall judge of their accomplishments for himself.

In the night of the 20th of July, 1827, about twelve o'clock, as Mrs. Hauffe was lying awake in bed, and drinking a glass of water, a spirit suddenly entered the room, and stood before her, in the shape of a man of about thirty years of age, in a long open coat, with large broad buttons, knee-breeches, shoes with buckles, and a neck-cloth fastened with a button. This gentleman walked up to her, and said very unceremoniously, "You must come down with me into my stable;" in answer to her question, he told her where his stable was situated, and immediately afterwards vanished. He came again in the course of a few days, accompanied by the ghost of a woman; and on the 12th of August following, whilst

Mrs. Hauffe was suffering under a terrible head-ache, the couple entered the room late in the night, and the woman brought with her in her arms a child covered with rags, of which the head only was visible. At a previous visit the woman had told her, that, when alive, she had taken poison in order to miscarry; that she had been confined in the stable of the man who was now with her; that in this same stable he had buried the child; and that she had shortly afterwards been found dead in a neighbouring barn: the man also had added, that he wished Mrs. Hauffe to visit the stable, dig up the bones of the child, which she would find near the trough, and have them removed to the church-yard. On the present occasion the man exclaimed, "I am Nicholas Pleffer, the seducer of this woman, and the murderer of *this* child;—kneel down and pray with us!" All three subsequently prayed together for an hour. These spirits, who were very stupid and superstitious, came to Mrs. Hauffe to receive religious instruction: she seems to have taught them that the disinterment and re-burial of their child would not ensure their repose, but that they must have recourse to the practice of religious duties. They were tolerably apt scholars, and, if we are to judge from the change in their dress, made some approaches to the angelic whilst under her care, for we learn that they at length laid aside the garments in which they had at first appeared, for bright robes with numerous folds.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 24th of October, both man and woman visited her, and said, as with one voice, "We come for the last time, to take leave of you." She asked them where they were going, and they answered, "to a better place." They then disappeared, and were seen no more. These ghosts, as well as others who visited her, were seen by several of her attendants, but not by all. A girl who waited on her saw perfectly well the above couple and the child, and heard the former talk. Some of the ghosts who visited Kerner's house (for it was there that Mrs. Hauffe now resided) were very noisy fellows, and would certainly have been apprehended by the police, could the police have laid hold of them: they were wont to amuse themselves after the most approved fashion of the Cock-lane Ghost, but with variations, by making sounds in the air, which resembled hard blows, the rustling of paper, the falling of sand, &c.: whether, in return for her instruction, they taught Mrs. Hauffe any of those accomplishments is not certain; but we surmise that they did, for Kerner one night heard all kinds of strange noises in his house, and was informed by his patient the next morning, that she had been the cause of them. On the 8th of December, 1828, as Kerner was sitting in the next room to that of the

Seherin, the door being open, he saw her talking to a tall, cloudy figure; he instantly seized a candle and rushed into the apartment, but the strong light rendered the apparition invisible to his eyes. He often heard spirits, and was conscious of their presence, but this was the only one he ever saw; it was a gentleman, a Mr. N., who had called as he went past to leave a message with the *Seherin* for his son, who resided in the place. Kerner was at first disposed to be very sceptical on the score of these apparitions, and accordingly Mrs. Hauffe tried to prevail on some of the more rough and ready of her visitors to render themselves visible, or otherwise sensible to him; and actually sent a ghost up-stairs to his bed-room one morning at the very seasonable hour of two o'clock, who woke him out of his sleep, and caused him a succession of the most disagreeable feelings imaginable, but whom, after all, he had not the pleasure of seeing, much less remunerating for his exertions. It really was rather vexatious that Kerner could not see more ghosts, for his house swarmed with them to such an extent that he could hardly call it his own: indeed it is clear that, at one time, he must have had many more disembodied than embodied guests; and that though his family may have been alarmed by the living, they could not possibly be frightened at the dead, whom they were constantly in the habit of mixing with. The ghosts seemed, some of them, to have great difficulty in forgetting their earthly failings: one, at any rate, appears to have fallen in love with a servant-maid in the house, for he followed her perpetually; we are happy to say however, that nothing improper occurred, owing partly, perhaps, to the vigilance of Mrs. Hauffe, who kept a sharp look out upon the rake. A great number of spirits were always employed on the premises in one capacity or other; some made noises such as those described above; others threw sand out of the garden into the open windows; some ran about the house leaving the doors open, and pinching and pushing those to whom they were invisible; whilst others, who were of a more sentimental turn, made most melodious and melting music. One night, about eleven o'clock, as a lady, Mad. W. de H., was preparing to go to bed in Mrs. Hauffe's room, a dark gentleman entered, who, without taking any notice of the *Seherin*, made himself very disagreeable to her companion, by causing her to feel "the greatest anxiety and oppression:" not liking this, of course, she hastily disrobed herself, and, throwing her clothes on the ground, jumped into bed; her adventurous visitor however, evidently used to these affairs and not liking to see matters carried on in a disorderly or slovenly way, carefully picked up her garments, placed them on a chair, and then immediately followed her into bed, where his first

proceeding was to pull the pillow from under her head, and lay it on her face. What immediately followed this auspicious beginning, Mrs. W. de H., who is her own historian, does not inform us; Mrs. Hauffe, it appears, lay quite still, and did not in the slightest degree interfere, for fear of increasing the fright of her companion; and Kerner merely gives the women's account *of* the matter, under the head of "Eighth Fact"—(see vol. ii. p. 259), without adding a word of comment or supplementary information.

It is greatly to the credit of places never till now held fit for mention to ears polite, that all the ghosts who figure in these volumes (and they are some scores in the aggregate) seem to have learnt, either above or below, the art of making themselves agreeable to the ladies; indeed, with the exception of a woman who bore in her hand a human heart, and of two or three sombre-vested gentlemen who evidently came from unmentionable quarters, they all made an impression which was rather agreeable than otherwise upon those who enjoyed the happiness of their acquaintance. They were invested with very few of the terrors which accompany ordinary apparitions. They were rather troublesome and inconvenient sometimes; and might be, now and then, even mischievous; but no serious damage was apprehended from them; they were very tame, "fit for a lady, and such as a child could easily manage;" giving one somewhat the idea of a troop of domestic animals kept by a gentleman for amusement or curiosity. Kerner was, perhaps, never more contented, nor his home more cheerful, nor his affairs more prosperous, nor his family more happy, than when he was entertaining a levy of half a score apparitions. In the year 1828 particularly his house was quite a place of fashionable resort for ghosts and ghost-seers; he might with great propriety have called it an hotel—the Spectre's Castle would have been an excellent sign—and have promised, in gilt characters, "good entertainment for man and ghost." Here, however, we must take leave of "our host" and his unique establishment; but, first let us assure the reader, that we have not been guilty of the slightest exaggeration in our sketch of the work before us; on the contrary, the work is an exaggeration of our sketch; in English we have not colours sufficiently deep to do justice to the original, and we have therefore thought proper to remove the details from out the sober shade which pervades and heightens the solemn and awful effect of the German picture, into a more brilliant light. The *philosophy* of the subject, which is treated at great length in the original, from regard to our readers we have scarcely touched upon. The *Seherin's* rationale of her magnetic condition; her account of her own

mental and psychological operations; her definitions of soul, spirit, and nervous fluid, and description of their connection during life, and mutual relation after death; as well as the learned and lengthy comments thereupon of Kerner himself, Görres, Eschenmayer, and Meyer of Frankfort, form perhaps the most grotesque and astonishing part of the whole business, and this we have not even glanced at. For such manifold imperfections and deficiencies we expect the gratitude of our English readers, and the German philosophers must be good enough to pardon us; we pray them to look with pity, not contempt, on the colourless copy of their forcible painting, which is all we have to exhibit to our countrymen;—we have done our English best!

The second volume of the work contains long details of what the *Seherin* was pleased to call her solar and vital circles; and appended are diagrams of the same, decked out with all the paraphernalia of magic. This part of the subject is treated in such a sober, earnest, yet mysterious way, that the reader is, at length, completely bewildered; the ground shifts from beneath him; and above and around he is completely enwrapped in clouds of which the darkness is relieved only by incoherent phantasms; he feels constrained to deny the existence of all substance, and to doubt whether aught but shadow "lives and moves, and has a being;" to reject reality and its solid universe, and put his faith in "an array of spectral hosts." Though we have not got quite so far as this in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, it would really seem as if, in Trans-Rhenare regions, life were, indeed, become "such stuff as dreams are made of."

Mrs. Hauffe is dead: at any rate, on the 8th of August, 1829, she was removed from her bed, placed in a coffin, carefully screwed down, carried to the church-yard at Löwenstein, and there committed to the ground; so whether dead or not, she will hardly magnetize or be magnetized any more. But though the glory of Würtemberg—the great magnetic martyr—has departed, the science to which she was devoted hides not its head, but lifts it boldly even in foreign and inhospitable climes. Even here, in this land of steam and scrutiny, it has ventured to take up a determined position, and we have accordingly heard of a "*Seherin von St. Pancras;*" and of a physician worthy of the priestess;—of a Conduit-street Kerner.

ART. III.—*Recueil des Dépêches, Rapports, Instructions et Mémoires des Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre et en Ecosse, pendant le XVI^e^ Siècle, conservés aux Archives du Royaume, à la Bibliothèque du Roi, etc. et publiés pour la première fois, sous la Direction de* M. Charles Purton Cooper. Paris et London, 1838. (*Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, de* 1568 *à* 1575. Vols 1 and 2.) 8vo.

THERE is no period of English history which has been viewed in so many different lights as the reign of Elizabeth. The bitter personal hatred, engendered by the violence of religious discord, has covered the memory of the great men of that age with a slur of calumny and scandal which, hardened and inrooted by the prejudices of those through whom their characters have been handed down to us, has scarcely been eradicated by the severe historical studies of the present day. In addition to this cause of much misrepresentation, the many dark and intricate plots of the contending parties, which the publication of various original documents is now beginning to unravel, gave scope on every side to the wildest conjecture. The wretched dynasty which succeeded Elizabeth, willingly saw decried the reign whose glory and prosperity formed no advantageous contrast with their own meanness and imbecility, and they had also family prejudices which gave a false colouring that has been perpetuated more or less in all the histories previous to our own time.

The present age is peculiarly favourable to historical research, not only in England but throughout Europe. We hear every where of Record Commissions and Historical Societies. We have had frequent occasions to comment on the exertions of the French government in publishing the monuments of their national history, and to the noble collection of documents which it has produced and is producing. Our own government—we are ashamed to say it—has allowed our Record Commission, which had already done much good, to fall a sacrifice to the jealousies of those who were employed under it. We have still our State Paper Office Commission, and we esteem highly the volumes it has already published; though it might, certainly, be made somewhat more efficient. But the few volumes which our government has given to the historian are a small compensation for the mass of invaluable matter which is still suffered to lie neglected in the dust of our record offices. There is, indeed, much to be done, and at present, we fear, little inclination to do it.

Whilst we lament the neglect which with us the great cause of

historical research has experienced from the government, we receive from time to time some consolation in the scattered contributions which are made by the exertions of individuals. It is thus that we owe to the disinterested zeal of the able secretary of the late Record Commission the publication of the dispatches of La Mothe-Fénélon. There are periods when the correspondence of the foreign ambassadors are eminently important, and none more so than the reign of our first *maiden Queen.* It is this correspondence principally which can throw some light on the extensive ramifications, both internal and external, of the great plots which so long menaced her life and throne, and which aimed at the extinction of Protestantism; for the grand conspirators in them were the foreign ambassadors, acting under the orders of the very monarchs who at the same time were reiterating their professions of friendship towards the Queen of England. Unfortunately, much of this correspondence is lost, and more still of their deeper intrigues were probably never committed to paper, even under the security of private cyphers, but were transacted orally by trusty agents, who were devoted to the cause of Catholicism. Enough, however, remains to give us an extensive insight into these dark transactions.

Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, a brother of the direct ancestor of the famous Archbishop of Cambrai, was one of the most distinguished diplomatists of the reign of Charles IX., well skilled in the intriguing and treacherous policy which then characterised the dealings of the courts of France and Spain. He had distinguished himself in various embassies previous to his being chosen for the resident ambassador in England, in 1568. The period of his arrival in London was one of great interest and difficulty. He had left his own country involved in intestine broils; and he found the English cabinet embarrassed by the presence of Mary Queen of Scots, who, after losing her crown and the affections of her subjects by her own crimes and imprudences, had been driven to seek shelter in England just six months before. Indeed one of the chief objects of his embassy was to support the party and cause of the Scottish Queen, as involving in no slight degree the interests of his own religious party; the others were, as he states them himself, to hinder the English from aiding the French Protestants, to counteract as far as he could the intrigues of the Spaniards when they were opposed to the interests of his master, and to aid in cheating the Queen of her rights to Calais. La Mothe-Fénélon had his first audience of Elizabeth at Hampton Court on the 14th of November.

From the beginning of her reign up to this period, Elizabeth had been gradually acting more decidedly and boldly in support

of the Protestant interests. At first, the known feelings of the court of France, with Mary Stuart in their hands, and of Spain, ever ready, in spite of their jealousy of their neighbours, to promote the general interests of the Catholics, rendered the situation of Elizabeth critical, and obliged her to act with extreme caution. The proceedings connected with the siege of Leith served at once to lay open the views of the French, and to show how unscrupulous they were in seizing upon any occasion of forwarding them, while, by the check they then experienced, they were themselves taught to act with more caution in future. The conduct of Mary on her accession to the Scottish crown, showed that Elizabeth's foreign enemies were constantly awake; and the activity of the English agents brought various matters to light, which revealed glimpses of the danger, while they pointed out the steps to be taken in order to avert it. That there had been made a great and formidable coalition for the entire destruction of the Protestants, there can now be no doubt; and it seems equally certain that the chosen instrument on which it all turned, was the Queen of Scots. But a principal aim of the conspirators was the subjugation of England under a popish prince, and they severally, calculating on the prey even before they had entered into action, began in their own minds to quarrel about the division of the spoils. It was soon perceived by Elizabeth's counsellors that the jealousies of her enemies were her greatest safeguard. They, however, were anxious in their turn to form a strong defensive league amongst the Protestants, which should have more unanimity because the parties who composed it were the persecuted and not the persecutors. By this measure, the hatred which the principal Catholic powers bore towards the Protestants was increased, and shown more openly in the persecution of that part of their subjects who professed the new religion; and the latter, strong in themselves, and encouraged by the sympathy and movement of their fellows, began to arm in their own defence. The result was a long series of desultory but savage warfare, which diminished the resources, and effectually put a check on the projects, of Elizabeth's enemies. At the same time the ill conduct of the Queen of Scots rendered her unfit, as an active agent, for the great cause with which she had been identified.

The foreign Catholics, finding their hands full at home, sought to effect their original purpose by stirring up domestic seditions in England, and unfortunately there were but too many who were ready to join in their treacherous plans. The heads of the Catholic party in England were the chief representatives of the older feudal aristocracy which had been broken down by the dynasty of the Tudors. They were jealous of the present govern-

ment less because it was opposed to the Catholics, than because the able ministers who surrounded the throne were men who had risen up in and been formed by the circumstances in which they were placed,—because in fact they had been chosen from among the gentry and not among the old nobility of England. The bait which caught them, was the hope of being restored to their old influence by the overthrow of the Protestant government, and in this expectation they joined their counsels with Elizabeth's bitterest enemies. In her wish to conciliate all parties of her subjects, Elizabeth had allowed to remain or admitted several of these nobles on her council, and they scrupled not to use the privilege she had granted them against their mistress. It happened, however, that their influence lay chiefly in the northern and north-eastern parts of the kingdom, which were more convenient for communicating with the Spaniards than the French. The jealousy of the latter was soon excited, and their ambassador was employed, not to counteract and overthrow the intrigues of the English conspirators, but to outwit the Spaniard, and turn his plots to their own advantage. The detention of Mary in England afforded an opportunity of carrying on their multifarious intrigues with more vigour and perseverance than even while she was seated on the throne of Scotland.

The year included in the first volumes of La Mothe-Fénélon's dispatches, formed one of the most critical periods of Elizabeth's reign. They open with the embarrassments created by the affairs of the Queen of Scots, and after letting us into much of the secrets of the conspiracy which was headed by the Duke of Norfolk, and the intrigues connected with it, close with the suppression of the northern rebellion under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the end of the year 1569. At the time of the ambassabor's arrival the Commission of York was assembled to hear the complaints of the Scots against their fallen queen. In one of his earliest dispatches, he mentions a rumour which had reached the ear of Elizabeth, that the Duke of Norfolk, who was president of the Commission, was secretly serving the cause of Mary, and that he had already formed the project of marrying her, and that this, combined with some partiality which he showed openly to her cause, had induced the Queen to prorogue the Commission to Hampton Court, where its proceedings might be carried on under her own immediate eye. Every one knows the result; and though the letters give many interesting details and notices of the affairs of the Scottish Queen at this period, they do not throw any new light on this transaction. Indeed nothing strikes us more, in the perusal of Fénélon's dispatches, than the extreme darkness in which the mind of the cunning ambassador

seems to have been as to the real designs and character of Elizabeth and her ministers. His accounts of the domestic affairs of England are often very incoherent, and the hearsays on which he founds his opinions sometimes perfectly absurd: but he was acquainted to a certain degree with the secrets of a party, and on *its* intentions and proceedings his correspondence gives us much information. His interviews with the Queen are also highly characteristic.

It was the policy of Elizabeth to serve her party abroad more by the hopes and fears which her apparent irresolution was calculated to excite, than by an open and perhaps only half-efficient aid, which would have caused their enemies to act more unitedly and more vigorously.* The dispatches which carried to the French court the continued professions of Elizabeth's friendship, are full of indefinite suspicions and indications of levies and preparations whose object is often not even guessed. The Queen herself, from time to time, mixed her friendly conversation with threats that kept alive the ambassador's apprehensions, without affording him any substantial object on which to fix them. There is no doubt that she secretly gave important aid to the French Protestants; but she ever held firm to the conscientious distinction between aiding the Protestants against the oppressions of the Catholics and the aiding of subjects in rebellion against their sovereign. Her aim was confined to the saving from destruction the party in France who were in reality the bulwark which kept off the storm from her own threshold: but she never sought more than a peace which might protect them, and she was always willing and ready to negotiate between them and their enemies.

We leave, however, the ambassador's complaints and expostulations on this subject, to enter upon the more important transactions which mark the eventful year 1569. Very soon after his arrival, we find La Mothe-Fénélon engaged in the most culpable intrigues against the government to which he was sent. Nares, in his Life of Burghley, has collected all the different allusions to a plot for the ruin of Secretary Cecil at the beginning of the year above mentioned, which involved an attempt on the minister's life; but it required our ambassador's dispatches to clear up the vague account which he has made out of them.

The feelings of the old nobility to which we have alluded, were especially mortified by the favour bestowed on the reputed upstart Sir William Cecil, and their hatred towards him was increased

* On one occasion (vol. i. p. 340) La Mothe-Fénélon alludes to a complaint of the Marechal de Cossé, that his dispatches left them in as much dark as ever whether they were to look for war or peace from the Queen of England, thus creating an extreme embarrassment, and almost tying up their hands.

by a belief that he was the main support of the Protestant cause, and the author of all the measures against the Catholics and the Queen of Scots. It seems not quite clear whether the plot against him was first suggested by the Spanish ambassador, or whether it had already been talked of amongst the Catholic nobles, and had been seized upon and pushed forward by the agents of foreign intrigue. Certain it is, that the Spanish ambassador is the first person mentioned as concerned in it. On the 28th of December, 1568, La Mothe-Fénélon writes in a secret letter to the queen-mother—

"The aforesaid ambassador of Spain came to treat with me of matters here which might concern the common service of our masters, and particularly two things which he considers very important, and almost necessary for the welfare of Christendom. The one is, that knowing, as he says, no greater heretic in this world, nor more adverse to the Catholic religion, than is Mr. Cecil, I ought, for my part, in the name of your Very Christian Majesties, as well as he for his part in the name of the Catholic King, to labour to make him lose that place, and that favour and credit, which he has with the Queen his mistress. To which I made answer, that I shall be always ready to serve the cause of the Catholic religion in every manner possible, and we must consider the best manner of setting this matter a-going; for the said lady had entirely committed all her affairs to the said Cecil, and no prince would easily be induced to change such a privy minister, when she was satisfied with him. He answered, that he had already begun by putting a good hand to the business, having so managed that a part of his affairs are managed by another secretary, and that I should not forget to strike my blow, when I saw the advantage of it."

He adds soon after in the same letter, fearful apparently that the advantage would all fall to the share of the Spaniard,

"As to Mr. Cecil, it is true they say he is a zealous friend of the new religion, and that it is to be desired a more moderate person held the chief place with his mistress; but I do not see that it would be easy to deprive him of it; and I am told that he dissuades his mistress from war with France, and that he is a close friend of the Earl of Leicester, who professes to be your servant."

Soon after broke out the dispute between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alva, the goods of Spaniards were seized, and their ambassador himself placed under arrest; whereupon, as La Mothe-Fénélon informs us, the Spanish ambassador endeavoured to injure the reputation of Cecil by sending letters addressed to the Duke of Alva, which he knew would be intercepted, and filling them with matter calculated to throw blame on the Secretary, so that "I have been told," says La Mothe, "several of the principal lords of the council met last Thursday at Nonsuch, in the chamber of the Earl of Arundel, on this affair, and the said Cecil

was not called." The place of meeting, combined with other things, seems to show that this assembly had some connection with the great plot. That it had not been given up is clear, for, after several allusions to the attempts of certain lords of the council to place Cecil in a false position by throwing on him the blame of different mischances which had happened, or, as they expected, would happen, Fénélon writes at last, on the 8th of March, 1569, as follows:—

"That some of the greatest and principal lords of England being enraged at the form of the government of the kingdom, conducted by Secretary Cecil alone, who has assumed the authority of ordering all things at his own sole pleasure; and seeing that he is now doing his best to make the Queen his mistress enter unnecessarily into the war of these troubles which are at present in Christendom, and to make a beginning by provoking without cause the King and the Catholic King by favouring those who stir up war against them in their own countries; which has been the cause of these seizures at Rouen and in the Low Countries, to the great discontent of all this kingdom; they think there is now an opportunity of being able, by strong representations of things belonging to the dignity and greatness of this Queen, and to the good and honour of her crown, *to unseat the said Cecil, and recover for themselves the authority and management of the state.*

"And although several had long entertained this design, yet, as they had come to no understanding on the subject, and had not dared to open themselves to each other, no one had hitherto undertaken it, and the most noble and those who had the greatest interest in the kingdom waited till the people, knowing their intention, should be the party which, by the multiplicity of disorders and necessities that would arise out of these things, would begin to cry out, and so it has now happened that upon the said seizures, and to carry the trade of this place to some other spot than Antwerp, the merchants and *bourgeois* of this city have been to make remonstrances to this Queen; and some also, very notable personages, and of respect, have been accused for matters of religion, others have been imprisoned for the affair of the Spanish ambassador, others have complained of the fraud of the lottery, and the mayor and officers of this city have been taxed by the said Cecil, in the presence of the said lady, of not doing their duty to chastise those who speak irreverently and detractingly of her and of the lords of the council.

"By which the said lady seeing that it was necessary to look promptly to these things, which concerned the tranquillity of her kingdom, and that she must also resolve on peace or war with the King, and similarly with the Catholic King, and that the affairs of the Scottish Queen and the Scots needed settling, as well as those of Ireland, and that also the Cardinal de Châtillon solicited a hearing and answer for the Sieur du Doict, she caused the lords of the council to be summoned to settle their matters, this same Cecil perceiving, by the coldness and countenances of these lords, that he could not order them alone. But they pretended to be ill in their chambers, and the said lady has not been able

by any means to get them together since she has been in this city. And the Earl of Leicester having also been drawn to this party, he likewise took advantage of a slight cold to excuse himself from attending at the hours of meeting of the council. Wherefore, on Ash-Wednesday having come expressly for this purpose a little before supper into the chamber of the said lady, when the said Cecil was there, and the Duke of Norfolk, the principal of them all, being by, he was very glad that the said lady, in the presence of the said Cecil, began to discourse of her affairs, and to grieve that all these lords would not come to the council to determine what ought to be done; and, after having, with great humility and respect, prayed very humbly the said lady to excuse him if, for the duty and infinite obligation which he had to her service, he told her, as a good and honourable knight, that the best and principal part of her subjects saw affairs so ill conducted, and so much against their inclination, that they feared, either that the state would incur some danger, or that the said Cecil would have to render an account at the risk of his head of the things which had hitherto passed. At which speech the said Cecil being much troubled and the said lady moved, she fell into a great anger against the said earl; whereupon the duke, who was at some distance, addressing the Marquis of Northampton, who as yet was not one in the conspiracy, tolerably loud—'See, my lord,' said he, 'how the Earl of Leicester, when he followed and approved the opinions of the Secretary, has been favoured and welcomed by the Queen; and now that he would virtuously remonstrate his good reasons against those of the other, she shows him a very ill countenance, and would send him to the Tower: no, no; he shall not go to the Tower alone!'—To which the said Marquis of Northampton replied, 'I praise God that you, who are the principal subject of this kingdom, will at last show your virtue, which I am ready to follow and aid as far as is possible, for I also am come to complain.'

"And thus the most part of the nobility are come to an understanding, and are united, and have required that the said Cecil should show the true state of affairs, and how he has conducted them during the last eight years."

He then goes on to tell how Cecil had attempted in vain to detach Leicester from the conspiracy. But his information seems to have remained very vague and uncertain till two or three days later. Between the 8th and 13th of March, the conspirators had made a formal communication to the French ambassador, and his private letter of the latter date lets us into the secret of the views of the conspirators and extent of the plot. The grand mover was the same Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine and envoy of the Pope, whose name occurs so often in the plots which followed. He had applied to the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley, "whom he found very well disposed to his design, (of establishing the Catholic religion by the overthrow of the present government,) but not bold enough to undertake anything, unless the

Duke of Norfolk joined in the plot, who has been very difficult to gain; but being at length persuaded, he now takes the matter more to heart even than the other two did."* The ambassador goes on to say that they had persuaded the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke and Northumberland, to join them, with several of the less zealous of the Protestants; and that, having come to the resolution, in conjunction with Ridolfi, that it was necessary first to effect the overthrow of Cecil and his party, they had for this purpose worked upon the Earl of Leicester, and gained him over to the attempt against the Secretary, without telling him anything of their further designs. La Mothe himself avows, that so soon as he discovered what was going on, he knew too well what was for the service of his master, not to put his hand vigorously to the wheel. Ridolfi was sent back to Rome to get a bull of the Pope, which the conspirators, who expected to be in full power on his return, were to put in force.

This is the last direct notice of the plot against Cecil in the dispatches. One thing seems clear throughout, that in this, as in most of the other conspiracies during this reign, each person encouraged the other by the grossest misrepresentations of the numbers concerned and the success they had already obtained, until at last the project failed through their own mutual mistrust. It seems certain also that the Duke of Norfolk was engaged in the most culpable designs. How far Leicester really compromised himself is not easy to say; we find him just before and immediately after in terms of apparently perfect friendship with Cecil. He seems to have acted an intriguing part, without any very criminal design, except that of raising his own importance by unworthy means; and the other conspirators, thinking to deceive and use him, were deceived themselves.† La Mothe-Fénélon, after throwing so much light on the plan and object of this conspiracy, is perfectly silent as to its termination. Our other authorities, however, though they leave us in the dark as to its prime cause, and its connection with the grand Catholic conspiracy, fill up the deficiency in the account which we have from the ambassador. The Queen stood firm to her Secretary, and the

* The ambassador was so anxious to preserve the secret of the persons engaged in this plot, that even in the copy-book of his dispatches, his secretary has left blanks for their names, which are inserted by the ambassador's own hand. The conspirators introduced continually persons' names who had no connection with them, to compromise those persons, and gain over others who were thereby encouraged to join them.

† Nares gives all that was previously known concerning this plot, which is very unsatisfactory. He and his authorities agree in representing Leicester as "at the head of the principals" in it, and the Duke of Norfolk as one of those "*who were wrought upon*," and became dupes to it. The revelations of La Mothe-Fénélon show that the real state of the case was exactly the reverse.

conspirators, unable to move her by their representations, determined to call a council unknown to her, to frame there a charge, and commit Cecil to the Tower on their own authority; and then, they said, when he was not present to defend himself, they would easily make out some accusation to ruin him. But the Queen received information of their design, and disconcerted them at the moment when they were preparing to put it into execution.

The failure of the plot against Cecil does not seem to have discouraged the conspirators. Their enmity towards the minister ceased not, though it was often covered by the cloak of outward friendship, or exhibited only in a vexatious opposition to his councils. A secret report of the French ambassador, on the 20th of April, informs the French court that the English Catholics were already contemplating a rebellion against the Protestant government; that they had taken courage from the recent successes of the Catholic party in France; that they had stipulated with the Duke of Alva to land Spanish troops in England; and that, after having used their utmost exertions to thwart the measures laid before the council, the lords of the Catholic party had retreated from it altogether. The ambassador describes the part which the Duke of Alva had taken in the great conspiracy, and recommends to the king and queen-mother, that they should take four measures for securing themselves the same advantages as were sought by the Spaniards.—

"First, that they make a strong representation to the ambassador of this Queen of their complaints against England for things done to them and their subjects since the beginning of these troubles: the second, that, as the Duke of Alva intends to demand *millions for hundreds* of all that has been taken, and even Ireland as a reparation for the injuries he has sustained, that they also make various *great demands* as well for satisfaction to themselves as for the affair of the Queen of Scots: the third, that they publish an ordinance similar to that of the said duke, prohibiting all trade between France and England: and the fourth, that they *move to the coast of Normandy and Picardy the people of the Pope and the Italians* who are come into France, in order *to give courage to the Catholics here, and to intimidate the Protestants.*"

The ambassador, while he advises for the present the greatest moderation and prudence, lest they should themselves only fall into a trap of the Spaniards, makes no secret of his having done all in his power to encourage the Catholics in their design, and of his conversing secretly with them and with "a prudent and well-advised gentleman, who aids, *in the name of the Pope,* to conduct this enterprise here." On the 23d of May, we hear again of the opposition of some of the council to Cecil, with the en-

deavours of the Catholics to calumniate him in the ears of his royal mistress, and of the able conduct of the Secretary in weathering the storm, who, according to La Mothe-Fénélon, had even caused the Duke of Norfolk in full council to accuse the Queen of Scots of having made over her claims upon the English crown to the Duke of Anjou. It is not easy to conceive what might be Norfolk's aim in this proceeding, unless it were to lull suspicion as to his own secret designs, and furnish an additional argument for the advantage of her marriage to himself as a means of shutting out all foreign alliances. The Catholics gained over the duke by feeding his weak ambition with the prospect of such a marriage; and we are inclined to believe that that nobleman at least sometimes nourished the hope of being able to clear himself in the end from the direct charge of treason, by obtaining, if he could, Elizabeth's consent to a marriage which was to be effected by the intrigues of her enemies, and then leaving them. Thus all the parties concerned in this conspiracy attempted to outwit each other, from the ambassadors of the foreign states to its most intimate agents. The Spaniards were anxious at all risks to obtain the greatest advantages themselves; the French sought to hinder them from getting too much; the Earl of Leicester had been drawn into a collateral plot by the hope of obtaining the chief place in the cabinet, if Cecil were *unseated;* the Duke of Norfolk was led by the hope of marrying the Scottish Queen, and at least causing her to be restored to Scotland and proclaimed next in succession to the crown of England: and the Pope and his emissaries would only be satisfied by sending Elizabeth as a prisoner to Rome, or putting her to death, if she resisted, placing Mary on her throne, and extirpating heresy.

During the summer of this year, the Queen excited much alarm in the mind of the ambassador by her strong remonstrations against the continuance of the civil war in France, and her declaration to him that she knew there was a league against the reformed religion, that she had formed a counter-league amongst the Protestants, and that, if the king did not soon grant a pacification, she would interfere much more openly and actively. Towards the end of June another matter occurred to take away for a moment La Mothe-Fénélon's taste for conspiracies, by exciting hopes of another kind, well calculated to overthrow all the designs of the Spaniards. He had received some hint that Elizabeth was again inclined to turn her thoughts to a foreign marriage, and that the King of France, or his brother the Duke of Anjou, were the persons most likely to succeed. On the 28th of June he had an audience of the Queen, who, after other matters had been debated, turned the conversation to the rumoured

marriage of the two daughters of the emperor to the kings of France and Spain, and paid some compliments to the persons of the former monarch and his brother. The ambassador seems to have considered this as an opening of the affair he had at heart, took it up eagerly, made Elizabeth some handsome compliments in return, and pressed the advantages of a match between her and the king. Her answer is made in a tone of raillery, and she ends with a cutting bit of satire on the queen-mother.

"I told her," says La Mothe-Fénélon, "that in truth every body is astonished at the wrong she did to the great qualities, which God had given her, of beauty, knowledge, virtue, and greatness of condition, in not desiring to leave after her some fair posterity to succeed to them. That no one ought to take it ill if she gave it a mature consideration, since God had given her room enough for choice, for there was no prince who would not esteem himself very fortunate to be chosen; and that I thought the choice ought now to come from herself, as I fancied that hereafter no one would venture to offer of his own motion; but that I would say, to make a good and right election, I saw nothing better or more desirable in all Christendom, for princesses to marry, than these three princes of France, sons of King Henry, of whom the eldest was the very worthy King, true successor of his father, the second so very royal in all sorts that he only wanted a crown, and the third would without doubt resemble the other two.

"She answered, that the King would not accept her, and that he would be quite ashamed to show, at an entry into Paris, a Queen for his wife who appeared so old as she did, and that she was no longer of an age to quit her country, as the Queen of Scotland had done, when they carried her very young into France.

"I said that, when such a marriage or a similar one happened, there would commence the most illustrious lineage that had been for a thousand years in the world, of the extraction of the two most noble and most ancient crowns in Christendom, and that it seemed to me she was joking, after having before spoken against the years of the King [who was very young], to speak now against her own. But that, as she bore her years well [she was now thirty-six years old], so as they had in no degree diminished her beauty, the King and the Prince on the other hand had so much improved by theirs, that they had acquired beauty, strength, and stature, so that as men they were perfect.

"And that the said lady ought to desire nothing more than to make an entry into Paris, for she would there be the most honoured, and welcomed, and blessed, by that good and great people and by all the nobility of France, of any other place in the world; and, if she did not like to pass the sea, perhaps some one would undertake to make so happy a voyage hither that she would reap great pleasure and content from it.

"'I dont know,' said she, 'how the queen would be pleased, for perhaps she would like to have a daughter-in-law so young that she might order her at her will.'—'I know,' I replied, 'that the queen is so be-

nign, and of such a gentle and gracious conversation, that you would both love above all other things to be in each other's company, and to please one another; witness the honour and respect which she has always borne to the Queen of Scotland, and which she still bears to her.' "

The grand conspiracy was still in motion. In a memoir sent with the letter just quoted, La Mothe-Fénélon alludes to the secret advances which were making for a marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, which was to be brought about *whether Elizabeth liked it or not.* The Spanish ambassador was also engaged in this intrigue. By this time, however, some intimations of their proceedings seem to have reached the ears of the Queen, and in an interview with the ambassador, of which he gives an account, on the 22d of August, she complained heavily of the secret practices of Mary, and told him that some of her own counsellors and nobles were pursuing a course that was likely to cost them their heads (*et menassa les plus habilles et les plus grandz de leur faire trancher la teste*). On the 1st of September the ambassador writes a secret letter to the queen-mother, with an express desire that she would immediately burn it, in which he tells her that *by his interference and management* the duke and the Scottish Queen had mutually agreed to the marriage, the conditions being that the duke should immediately cause her to be released and restored to the throne of Scotland. Norfolk himself had been with the ambassador, and had commissioned him to ask in his name the favour and assistance of the French Queen and the Guises to the undertaking, desiring him at the same time to recommend that they should speak boldly to Norris, the English ambassador in France, for the release of Mary, and to urge them above all to send secretly a party of soldiers to Dumbarton, to hold out the place against Murray and the English party, promising that he would do his best to thwart the English government, in case this measure should irritate Elizabeth against France. A few days after this, the projected marriage was discovered to Elizabeth, who signified her displeasure to Norfolk in various "*grosses paroles.*" The duke, who had been trying to strengthen himself against her by the friendship of foreign princes, her enemies, and was doing his utmost to cross her counsels, even by causing foreign troops to land in Scotland, had the face to assert that he had never aimed at anything which was not agreeable to her, or for her service: and at the same time he was thinking, if we believe the French ambassador, of effecting Mary's escape, concealing her in some other part of the kingdom, and absenting himself from the court. A letter of the 23d of Sep-

tember conveys the intelligence that the duke had put in practice the latter part of this design, and that he had retired into the country.

There can be no doubt, from various important documents which have been lately discovered, that this was a critical period in the conspiracy. The duke seems to have hesitated at the brink of the precipice over which he stood: the foreign ambassadors, and those who were in the conspiracy, exhorted him to proceed, and wished the plot to be put at once in movement; the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were ready to rise with him; and it seems certain that he was on the point of performing the other part of the design above alluded to, in carrying off Mary by a sudden *coup-de-main,* raising a rebellion of the Catholics, and calling in the Spaniards. But some of Norfolk's friends who were not acquainted with these ulterior designs, and saw his conduct in no other light than as an attempt to marry without the Queen's consent, counselled him to return to London, in the confidence that the Queen's anger would blow over; and to their counsel his weakness led him to listen. During the period when he was absent from the court, the French ambassador writes a secret letter informing the queen-mother that the nation was on the eve of a civil war; and we learn that Vitelli, Marquis of Catena, an experienced Italian commander, was hastening over from Flanders, ostensibly to negociate with Elizabeth, but really, as we find from other sources, to direct the motions of the insurgents.

The departure of the Duke of Norfolk caused no little emotion in the court and in the capital: the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, with Lord Lumley, Norfolk's intimate friends, were put under arrest; the seaports were closed, so that even the ambassadors were not allowed to send dispatches to their several courts, and Vitelli was himself delayed on the road. An incident occurred at this time which shows how unscrupulous all parties were as to the means by which they arrived at each other's secrets.

"Sire," writes La Mothe-Fénélon to the King on the 3d of October, "having written you a dispatch on the 27th of last month, and the bearer having obtained his passport of Lord Cobham, which only delayed him an hour and a half, when he had proceeded on his road about three miles beyond Lord Cobham's house, and was passing a wood, some men, better mounted than himself, with their faces masked, (though not so carefully as to hinder one of them from being recognized,) attacked him with their swords, and threw him down with such violence that he rolled under the feet of their horses. They immediately

demanded his French letters, and having obtained them, they bound him and tied him to a tree, and so left him."*

It appears that, fortunately for the ambassador, his dispatches of that day contained nothing that was calculated to compromise him; and the Queen made an excuse for the violence as having been done entirely without the knowledge of herself or the council, promising to punish severely the authors of it, if they could be discovered. The ambassador of Spain was also closely watched, but he cautiously abstained from sending any letters out of England.

On the 7th of October the ambassador writes, "I hear that the Duke of Norfolk will arrive at court to-day, although I have done, and have caused his chief relations and friends to do, *all that was possible to hinder him from coming*, we all believing that, on his arrival, he will be sent, with the other lords who are under arrest, to the Tower." He goes on to say that he knows not what could have induced him to take such a step, "unless it be that he is fated to be beheaded, and cannot help it, because he is come of a family who are naturally given that way:"† and he adds that he had used every precaution, in order that the part which he had played in this affair should not be discovered by Norfolk's seizure. Accordingly, as soon as he could obtain an interview of the Queen after the duke was committed to the Tower, our honest ambassador asserted most resolutely, according to his own avowal, that he had never heard a word of the duke's project, until *she* had now made him acquainted with it by her own mouth. The Queen professed herself satisfied, but gave him clearly to understand that she was well aware of the intrigues of the ambassador of Spain.

The slight information given by the ambassador on the proceedings relating to the examination of the nobles who had been imprisoned and put under arrest, is of no importance when compared with the state documents which have been published in England. Among the other persons who were arrested and examined, were Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the same Roberto Ridolfi, who has been already mentioned as an active agent of the Pope. However, measures had been so well taken to preserve secrecy with regard to the more important aims of the conspiracy, that Norfolk's trial passed by without doing more than exciting vague suspicions: and he satisfied Elizabeth for the

* We learn from a letter of a later date, that the packet of dispatches were afterwards found unopened in the area of the ambassador's house, with a note saying that the persons in whose possession they were had been compelled to get rid of them by the activity of the officers in search of the offender.

† His father, the Earl of Surrey, had been beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII.

present by a written declaration that he would never again communicate with the Queen of Scots, unless by her permission, while he secretly wrote a letter to the Bishop of Ross, assuring him that he had done it only to blind the Queen, whilst it was his fixed intention to proceed in his former practices.*

The suspicions of the English government were turned towards the northern counties, where signs of excitement were observed in the beginning of October. Elizabeth seems to have been aware that Norfolk, or at least some of those who were connected with him, aimed at carrying off the Queen of Scots by force, and accordingly Mary was placed under greater restraint, and measures were taken to prevent any attempt at releasing her. No serious insurrection appears to have been foreseen at this time, although orders had been sent to the sheriffs, &c. in the northern counties, to hinder all assemblies of people, and to take away from them, as *graciously* as possible, all arms, to give diligent notice to the Queen of the least novelty that might happen, and more particularly to keep a sharp eye upon the Catholics. At the same time the presence of the Marquis of Catena (Vitelli) caused great mistrust, and he and the Spanish ambassador were carefully watched. At the beginning of November further precautions were taken, and an extraordinary watch was held night and day in the streets of London.

Recently discovered documents show that at the period of Norfolk's arrest, the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were already preparing to arm their tenantry and dependants in support of the grand conspiracy, and that they had offered to rise with him, if he would act at once instead of returning to court. A letter of the French ambassador, dated November 18, (after the rebellion had actually broken out), mentions the continued excitement in the north, and shows that Elizabeth looked upon it as having some connection with the duke's practices.

"I was told two or three days ago, that the Queen of England, being a little more favourable towards the lords who are in prison, intended to allow the Duke of Norfolk to remove to the quarter of the said lady in the Tower, which is spacious and large, because he felt some inconvenience from want of air in that where he is, which is small, and is the very place where his father was confined before his execution; and that

* The ambassador, who had denied in Elizabeth's presence, that he had had the least knowledge of Norfolk's affair, boasts that the duke was held steady in his purpose chiefly by his exhortations. "Nevertheless," says he, "the said duke having been weak enough to return, he was immediately placed in arrest in his house under a strict guard; where, however, I found means, by the Bishop of Ross, to inform him of their Very Christian Majesties' support in the matter of the marriage, which has so encouraged him that he is resolved to persevere in it to death."—vol. ii. p. 301.

she will grant to Lady Lumley the enlargement of her father the Earl of Arundel, and of her husband Lord Lumley. But I understand that when matters were at this point, there came a letter from the president of the North (the Earl of Sussex), who writes that he has great difficulty in restraining the people of those parts from open rebellion, whereupon the aforesaid orders for these lords are countermanded, until it be discovered whence this uneasiness proceeds, and a remedy be found for it."

At the same time orders had been sent to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to make their appearance at court, and many English Catholics sought passports of La Mothe-Fénélon, in order to retire into France from the inconveniences to which they were under these circumstances subjected by the jealous eyes of the English court. On the 22d of November he writes, "that rumours are afloat in London of the northern Catholics being in arms, and the suspicion runs strong against the said marquis (Vitelli), because of these troubles, which seemed to have taken more consistency since his arrival, which may perhaps, it is true, have given some warmth to them; but in my opinion the excitement comes from another cause." (vol. ii. p. 432.) In fact, the French ambassador was kept as much as possible in the dark with regard to the intrigues of the Spaniards until when, nearly ready for action, they thought it necessary to assure themselves of the support of the King of France, and he would fain have it believed that the spirits of the English Catholics were raised or depressed solely by the vicissitudes of the civil war in France, their activity at present being a simple result of the victory of Moncontour. However, three days after this dispatch, on the 25th of November, he had received certain information of the breaking out of the rebellion; the English Catholics had applied to him for aid from the king his master, and he was enabled to speak more positively of the part the Spaniards had been playing, which tended not a little to excite the jealousy of France.

The two northern earls had refused to appear at court in obedience to the Queen's orders. They were the only two representatives of that older feudal aristocracy, when each baron summoned his vassals at his beck to march either against prince or subject, whenever he saw cause of offence against him; and the dispatch of an herald to arrest them, drove them to raise at once the storm which it was otherwise their intention to delay till the spring. The ambassador found that the rebels were in a secret understanding with the Catholics throughout the kingdom; and that they had long negotiated with the Duke of Alva and the Spaniards. He declares his suspicions that the latter were contemplating some grand enterprise upon this kingdom, in which

the rebels were to be instrumental, and mentions their intrigues to break off the treaty which had been made between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, for the purpose of forming a Spanish alliance. He describes the rebellion as promising to be no less serious in its results than the civil war which then raged in France, and informs the king and queen-mother that the rebels had applied to him for their aid (particularly for money), which he had promised as far as he could venture before having received further orders, that he was using his utmost skill to break the Spanish intrigues with the Scottish Queen, and he adds—

"Some others have told me that they desire your majesties to cause some show and preparations to be made in Normandy and Brittany, under colour of shutting up the sea against those of Rochelle, which will give courage to the Catholics of Cornwall and all the west country, who are no less staunch than those of the north, and they all consider that this will be a great help to them. In truth, I think that such a demonstration, by holding this Queen in fear and the others in hope, will be more for your service at home, under present circumstances, than if you acted more decidedly."

The fate of the rebellion of 1569 is known to all our readers. The two earls having raised considerable forces, marched towards the south as far as Clifford Moor, where they mustered their men, and remained for a moment in suspense whether they should push on towards the south, and liberate the Scottish Queen, or turn to York to attack the Earl of Sussex, whose army was not yet assembled. Other counsels, however, prevailed. Some of Elizabeth's staunch adherents had been levying forces in their rear, and they returned to form the siege of Barnard Castle, where Sir George Bowes had established himself. After a gallant defence, Barnard Castle surrendered, but dissension had already shown itself in the rebel ranks, and Sussex was now marching towards them. The result was, that the earls retreated a short distance with part of their army, then broke it up and fled over the Scottish border.

The letters of the French ambassador during this period are extremely curious. On the last day of November he writes that the rebels had marched from Durham to the neighbourhood of York, that it was reported they had defeated and taken prisoner the Earl of Hunsdon, and that the Earl of Bedford had been sent into Wales to hinder a rebellion which was threatened there; that troops were raising on all sides to go against the rebels, and that as yet there was much uncertainty in whom of her nobles the Queen could place her trust. The Queen of Scots was moved into a place of greater security, and there was talk of sending her to Kenilworth, or even bringing her to Windsor. The Queen of

England at the same time had expressed strong suspicions that the foreign ambassadors were at the bottom of these troubles, and shut up her sea-ports more closely than ever. On the 5th of December he adds, that Lord Hunsdon and Sir Ralph Sadler having been joined with the Earl of Sussex, (against whom some evil reports had been raised), they had sent favourable news to court; that the earls having advanced to the neighbourhood of Pomfret, with the intention of sending 800 horse to surprise Tutbury and liberate the Queen of Scots, they had been disappointed by the sudden measures taken by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and had retired towards the north in some dissatisfaction with one another; but that some had told him in secret that the danger in which Elizabeth stood was much greater than it was represented. On the 10th of December he informs the French court that the rebels were entire masters of the north; that their forces were increased to 15,000 men,* of which 4000 were horse; and that they were about to besiege Sussex, Hunsdon, and Sadler in York. At the same time the Duke of Alva, who was assembling forces in Zealand, was eyed with great suspicion. La Mothe-Fénélon himself was evidently as yet unconscious *how far* the Duke of Alva was concerned in the insurrection.

On the 17th of December, La Mothe Fénélon writes that he had had an audience of the Queen; that *he had offered her the king's service against her revolted subjects*, but that she seemed not to think much of it, declaring "that it gave her very little uneasiness, and that she had intentionally allowed the two earls to break out so far, without using any great force against them at first, in the expectation of what has since happened, namely, that they and all who aided them are already tired of their folly, and are breaking up of themselves; and that if it were not for her honour so to do, she would not send a single soldier to put them down; yet to provide against all chances, she had already sent such sufficient forces, that she hoped in four days to have a satisfactory account of it all." At this time the ambassador again alludes to the suspicions against the Duke of Alva, and the preparations he was making; reports that the forces of the rebels were reduced to 6000 foot, and 1500 horse; mentions the siege of Barnard Castle, and speaks of a general pardon sent to the rebels, excepting only twelve persons. In the dispatch of the 21st of the same month, we have very little information, except that the rebels were still confident, and a postscript announces the capture of Barnard Castle.

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* In fact, they were never much more than a third of this number regularly armed.

The dispatch of the 27th of December (the last yet printed), is the most important of all those relating to the northern troubles. After having reported to the King the rumours as to the motions of the rebels, and the daily expectation of a battle, he sends secret communications to the queen-mother, which he begs her to communicate to none but her son. It seems that the rebels, having been disappointed in the promises of the Spaniards, had come to a resolution of seeking directly the aid of the French, and some of their agents had been with the ambassador. From them he had learnt, that the first design of the two earls was to march direct to London, after having liberated the Queen of Scots, and to seize the towns of York and Newcastle; that they expected *a million of Catholics* would rise and join them on the way, and that the nobles who had been in intelligence with them, would appear with them, or at least aid them with men or money.

"However, having suddenly enough marched thirty miles beyond the city of York, the Queen of Scots was instantly removed, and, although the lower classes might have followed them, none of the lords appeared, stirred, or sent towards them; whereupon, not thinking that they had enough money to conduct their troops to London, because they would not live upon the people, nor that they would be able to get possession of that city immediately upon their arrival, because it is powerful and well furnished with arms, and they could not expect there any movement in their favour, they went back towards York, which profited them still less, because that city being well furnished with soldiers by the care of the Earl of Sussex, they were obliged to return towards the quarter from whence they came."

They had informed him that their men were by no means diminished or discouraged, but, on the contrary, that they were strengthening themselves; that most of the nobles concerned in the conspiracy had refused to join them because they had risen before the time agreed upon, "which the said earls seemed to confess, but excused themselves on account of the pressing summons to appear at court, and the fear of being seized one by one in their houses by a simple serjeant." He now reckoned their forces at twenty thousand men, and informs the queen-mother that Vitelli was still lingering in London. In a second report, in cypher, he says that the two earls having been led to this undertaking by the prospect of aid from Spain and France, had now represented to him that they were sufficiently strong in men, but in great want of money, and begged urgently that the King would send some to Calais or Boulogne, from whence they would take it.

"As to the ambassador of Spain, although he made them great promises, and they have even a letter under his hand, which he of Northumberland always carries about him, and although before the rising he urged them to take up arms immediately, by offers of great and present

aid of harquebuziers, corslets, cavalry, and a hundred thousand crowns. yet now that they are in arms and in want of money, the said ambassador having the means of providing them with eight thousand crowns by two merchants of this city, who offer to advance them on his word, they are much dispirited by his not only refusing to do so, 'because,' he says, 'he has no express commission of the Duke of Alva for it,' but also by his showing a coldness in regard to the rest of the succours promised, saying that they must not expect that the Duke will come forward to give them, unless some one of the greatest and chief among them go to him to agree on what conditions they are to be given and received.

"By which, I have no doubt that, seeing them at this time far advanced and in need of him, he wants to draw them into his own plans, and, among others, into his grand project of a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don John, who is to have secured to him her claim on the succession of this country; to which the Earl of Northumberland has always shown himself very favourable; and that he will also engage them in an agreement not to lay down their arms, or make any treaty, without him.

"And it is clear enough that this coldness is only an artifice; for I know that the said Duke was much disappointed, because Viscount Montagu did not pass over to him as he promised,* for which purpose the ambassador had already given him a letter, and the said Duke has sent directions to persuade the said Montagu, or some other lord of quality in the kingdom, to go to him.

"Which the said ambassador uses all his persuasions to do. And moreover, as he and the Marquis of Catena have not been able to obtain a passport to write into Flanders, they have so contrived it, that the Sieur Barbarini, a Florentine gentleman of the troop of the said Marquis, having, under pretence that it was necessary for his health to repass the sea, obtained his leave, though without being able to carry any letters, they gave him secretly these four words, '*believe entirely the bearer*,' signed with their names, and written on so small a piece of paper, that he was able to conceal it in a secret part of his person. The message intrusted to him was, that there being no hope of according the difference about the prizes, although the said Marquis had offered to this government the most gracious, in fact humble, conditions that he could, but they showing themselves obstinate in not listening to them, they pray the Duke of Alva to delay no longer doing the worst he can to them as inveterate enemies, and recommend that he hasten to undertake something against them, while these troubles in the north are warm, lest he never again find so fair an occasion. And since the departure of the said Barbarini, another English gentleman has been sent to the Duke by the said Montagu, who, because he intended to land in France, applied to me for a passport; and besides this, I understand that those of the north have sent over to him the 'Sieur of Marconville,' who is the most able and sufficient man among them."

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* In a former letter (of the 5th of December) the ambassador says that he had understood the Earl of Southampton and Viscount Montagu were gone over to the Duke of Alva, on the part of the rebels: but on the 10th of the same month he had learnt that they had determined to stand by the Queen.

However, as it happened, the expectations of the French ambassador, and the designs of the Spaniards, were suddenly disappointed and frustrated, for in a letter written on the same day, but after these dispatches were made up, he informs the king that Elizabeth had herself sent him intelligence of the final dispersal of the rebels, and their flight into Scotland, though he still professes to hesitate in believing it.

The vacillating and inaccurate intelligence given from time to time by La Mothe-Fénélon on the proceedings of the rebels, points out pretty clearly from whence he obtained no small part of it—no doubt, the aisles of St. Paul's, the great resort of newsmongers in those days—and it forms a remarkable illustration of a passage in a tract by Thomas Norton against this same rebellion.* These letters also, by affording the dates when different news, or sometimes mere rumours, reached the court and the metropolis, give us a striking proof of the slowness with which the most important intelligence then travelled. On the 22d of November, the ambassador received the first hint of the rebellion, which had been formally opened at Durham on the 15th. On the day he received this intelligence (November 22) the rebel army was mustered on Clifford Moor, the most southern point which they reached on their intended expedition to Tutbury and London: this is the latest intelligence which the ambassador had received on the 5th of December. On the 10th of this latter month, he reports their removal from "the neighbourhood of Pomfret" (Clifford Moor) to the environs of York; whereas they passed thence by Richmond the 25th of November, to Barnard Castle, which was besieged on the last day of the same month. He received the first news of this siege on the 17th of December, and at the same time announces their occupation of Hartlepool. Late on the 21st of December he received intelligence of the capitulation of the former place, an event which occurred on the 10th of that month. On the 27th he remains in good hopes of the progress of the rebels, until after he has finished his dispatches he receives information from the Queen of their final dispersal on the 18th; and as he professes not to put entire faith in this intelligence, it seems clear that on that day it had not reached London, although we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Ratcliffe that his brother's letter bringing this important news reached the court at Windsor on the 26th.† From these dates it would appear that even the dispatches of the army only reached London from Yorkshire in

* See this curious passage quoted in Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times*," 8vo. Colburn, 1838. Vol. i. p. 346-7.

† Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 345.

seven or eight days, and that ordinary news was still slower in its movement.

The foregoing may serve as a specimen of the lights which these two interesting volumes throw upon this critical period of Elizabeth's reign. Thay leave us no room to doubt that a great plot had been formed by the agency of foreign intrigue for the overthrow of the Protestant government of England—that it did not actually gain a consistency until the Duke of Norfolk was drawn into it—that the first overt act was the partial plot against Cecil, into which the Earl of Leicester had been drawn—that the eagerness of the Duke of Norfolk in pursuing his design to marry the Scottish Queen had risked its explosion or discovery—that the northern rebellion was a great (and untimely) explosion of the same grand conspiracy, where the foreign intriguers deserted their friends the moment they found that they were not likely to succeed. By the suppression of this conspiracy the strength of the Catholics in England was broken, and the English government received a great accession of moral strength: from henceforth the domestic plots were more partial, and of less moment. Yet such plots were continually fomented by foreign agency, and Jesuistic propagandism, until the execution of Mary, the great blow given to the Spaniards in eighty-eight, the decline of the Spanish power in the Netherlands, and the accession of Henry IV. in France, gave peace to Elizabeth's declining years.

History is much indebted to Mr. Purton Cooper for these two volumes, and we hope,—in fact we have little doubt,—that they will be so well received as to encourage him to proceed in his most laudable undertaking. We confess that we are very curious to see the continuation—to hear La Mothe-Fénélon's account of what he heard and saw during the succeeding years until his recall in 1575. We need only add, that the work is carefully edited by M. Alexandre Teulet, a scholar employed in the archives at the Hôtel Soubise.

This work is not the only new contribution to the history of the period of which we have been speaking—we expect much satisfactory and valuable information from a volume of documents on the Northern Rebellion and the events connected with it, edited by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, which we are happy to be able to state is now drawing fast towards a conclusion. Sir Cuthbert has not only had the use of a vast mass of original correspondence, &c. relating to these events preserved in the private archives of those who were intimately engaged in them, and which have been hitherto unknown, but he has made extensive researches among the stores of the British Museum and the State Paper Office, and in the various archives of Paris and Brussels.

ART. IV.—1. Voigtel: *Statistik des Preussischen Staats.* (Statistics of the Prussian States.) Halle, 1819.

2. Hofmann: *Beiträge zur Statistik des Preussischen Staats.* (Contributions to the Statistics of the Prussian States.) Berlin, 1819.

3. Stein: *Geographie und Statistik des Preussischen Staats.* (Geography and Statistics of the Prussian States.) Berlin, 1819.

4. Lindner: *Manuscript aus Süddeutschland.* (Manuscript from South Germany.) Germanien, 1819.

5. J. Nebenius: *Der deutsche Handelsverein, in seinen staatsrechliche und merkantilischen Berziehungen.* (German Commerce in its political and mercantile Relations.) Carlsruhe, 1835.

6. Rotteh, Karl von: *Russland und Preussen, und ihre Allianz gegen Europa und die Civilisation.* (Russia and Prussia, and their Alliance against Europe and Civilisation.) 1837.

7. Stromeyer: *Der deutsche Zollverein und sein Einfluss auf den europaischen Handel.* (German Custom-Duties and their influence upon European Commerce.) Bern, 1836.

8. Etissac, Duc d': *Discours sur l'Importation du Fer et des Charbons de l'Angleterre.* Paris, 1837.

THE condition and prospects of our commerce, once the source of our national prosperity, cannot now be regarded without considerable anxiety. Our national industry has, it is true, been greatly extended, and there is in various countries a demand for English merchandize, which, in spite of the increased and increasing means of our manufacturing establishments, we can scarcely adequately supply. But we must not rely too fondly upon the fact and its favourable consequences; for however these might tend to raise our confidence, they are nevertheless precarious in themselves; in the natural intercourse of nations, the exchange and reciprocity of their wants and products have been entirely altered and disturbed by political events; by commercial unions and separations, by reciprocal oppressions and vexations; in short by the various devices of *custom-house duties.*

The entrance duties of France, the commercial union of Germany, the hostile system of Russia—these and other circumstances have already diminished, and threaten finally to annihilate the commercial superiority of Great Britain. Looking at the basis of that superiority our fears are greatly augmented; for those immense commercial establishments, which are merely supported by our colonial relations, are by no means of a solid and durable character; the industrial condition of colonies is always subject

to change, and their need of supplies from the mother-country is always diminished in the proportion of their own industrial progress. When this progress is rendered impossible by violent measures, the possession of the colony becomes necessarily precarious. A solid basis of national commerce exists only by intercourse with nations which have themselves a well-established industry, and whose demand for our products will always be similar in quality while they increase in quantity. Commerce with colonies and half-civilized nations affords its disproportionate benefits only to privileged companies, who are enabled to venture on the forementioned chances without exposing the whole fortune of their members to immediate danger. Single and less wealthy individuals are excluded from this kind of commerce; and direct their commercial activity exclusively towards better organized countries, as offering, though smaller, yet more solid and durable advantages in the main. It is consequently this latter kind of commerce which benefits the greater number of merchants, and therefore the industrious classes at large; or in other words, this alone affords a real advantage to the country. Under these circumstances we cannot regard, without a feeling of pain and regret, the unfortunate fact, that considerable loss has been inflicted upon our commercial intercourse with the most industrious and most enlightened nations of the *European* continent, and that we are threatened with a still greater interruption of that intercourse. It cannot be denied that great combinations of a political nature exist, the principal aim of which is directed against our national prosperity; and it is still more manifest that Germany, the wealthiest part of the continent, has long laboured at excluding the competition of English trade from its dominions. We cannot meet with any nation whose views in commercial affairs are not in direct opposition, whose efforts do not betray open antipathy, to our commercial prosperity. They have united themselves against us under a standard of resistance; and proclaimed their resolution to become perfectly independent of our industry, and to provide for their wants by the creation of new resources. Spain aims at the exclusion of our products from her markets by the extraordinary duties she has imposed on them;—Portugal, who from her ancient predilection for England, and more particularly by the commercial compact of Methuen, had always maintained a close intimacy, begins now to exhibit absolute opposition to the connection; manifesting her antipathy in 1837 by her new entrance law, which loads English goods with the heaviest taxes:—our powerful neighbour, France, has established a commercial system strongly resembling a complete prohibition of all importation from England. These are well-

founded assertions, and their exactitude evident in the first official report of Messrs. Villiers and Bowring. It is a curious fact, that the inhabitants of France like rather to pay enormous prices for bad French merchandize, than to buy a much better quality of English origin at a cheaper rate;—Austria, arbiter of the destinies of Italy, opposes to our commerce with the latter country a number of almost invincible difficulties;—Prussia and the commercial league of Germany have already so well succeeded in excluding us from their wealthy and industrious provinces, that the amount of our loss on exportation is astonishing;—lastly, Russia, our political antipode, our future naval and commercial rival, Russia spreads more and more her menacing wings over the Hellespont, and seizes every possible occasion to execute her schemes against our national prosperity. The most considerable of our losses has however been inflicted by the commercial league of Germany under the auspices of Prussia. Our commercial relations with the German states were always considered as of the highest importance. Our two greatest statesmen, Pitt and Fox, both regarded the question with an accordance of views, the more striking, as seldom discoverable in their political opinions. Both exhibited their anxiety to maintain our amicable intercourse with Germany, and neither shrank from considerable sacrifices whenever such were required for the purpose; and they and their successors maintained it in spite of the powerful resistance opposed to their efforts by the greatest ruler, the greatest warrior of their period.

Our commercial intercourse with Germany, however, was not founded upon such compacts as we have sometimes made with dependent colonies or half-barbarous nations; compacts which stipulated all the benefit to be on one—all the sacrifice on the other side (tractatus cum leone). Our trade was connected with that of Germany by the principle of mutual concessions, and the result of reciprocal benefits. This connection has been destroyed by the political intrigues of our enemies, and by the negligence of our ministers; it may be re-established if proper means are employed: and these we proceed to consider.

Our commercial position with regard to France is by no means better regulated than with Germany, and there exist many reciprocal vexations, the consequences of which are pernicious to both countries. It cannot however be denied that political circumstances have always proved a formidable obstacle to the establishment of commercial engagements with France; and she has of late been ruled by so inconsistent a system, that to form a solid and prosperous compact with that nation would have been extremely difficult. It has been the fortune of all those who have dealt with

the supreme chief of the actual government of France to be duped in various ways; the English ministry, therefore, having certainly experienced enough of his cunning in *political* affairs, may be excused for not being very desirous of similar success in *commercial* relations. The conduct of Louis Philippe has indeed been of a dubious and equivocal character; and in spite of the various exhibitions of his kind intentions, we are of opinion that the sympathy of the new French dynasty and its ministers has never been with us on this side of the Channel. Farther, the political position of France, and her administrative system, render it almost impossible that any consistent and extended measure as to commercial affairs should be carried into effect in that country. The principle of centralization is adopted to such an excess, that the government affects to regulate even the minute affairs of the provinces; but unable to see all, or to be present everywhere, its measures and resolves are necessarily founded only upon the basis of the reports received from the provincial offices. These in all commercial affairs are given by the commercial councils (*chambres de commerce*) established in the principal cities; but the views presented by the different chambers certainly proceed from the most various causes, and not seldom from contradictory opinions and interests; they are therefore by no means adapted for the settlement of general questions with impartiality and circumspectness. As a striking proof of the Babylonian confusion resulting from the system, we shall exhibit some points of that unhappy affair, the entrance duty on sugar from the French colonies; an important question, and one which has troubled for several years the mind of the French government and legislative bodies, but which has not yet obtained a satisfactory solution.

In consequence of the continental system of Napoleon the prohibition affecting English colonial produce was extended also to the similar products of French colonies; without this extension the regulation would have been useless, or profitable only to smugglers. The maritime trade of France and the French colonies suffered greatly, however, by the prohibition in question, and the latter were the more unfortunate, inasmuch as the British navy, powerful on the sea, rendered all intercourse with the mother-country precarious and dangerous. This prohibition of colonial goods encouraged the invention of substitutes, the most important of which was the fabrication of sugar from beet-root. Several manufactories of beet-root sugar were consequently established on an extended scale, and large sums were employed upon that branch of manufacture; but a highly detrimental consequence ensued. When in 1817 peace was restored, and the motives for

excluding colonial goods from the mother-country no longer existed, a new obstacle opposed itself to the free importation of sugar from the colonies. The proprietors of the beet-root sugar manufactories, who possessed power and influence in the chamber of deputies and in the government itself, made use of this influence for maintaining the duties upon the entrance of colonial sugars. However they may endeavour to disguise the selfishness of their motives by ample quotations of the sophistical nonsense thickly scattered through the works of political economists, it cannot be questioned nevertheless that these entrance duties on sugar are the source of ruin to the colonies; that they are a most unjust tax, laid upon the French people at large, and that they threaten to destroy the whole maritime trade of that country.

The commerce with the Indies and all eastern countries (*commerce à long cours*) has suffered considerable injury from a striking circumstance connected with the entrance duty on sugar. It is known that the merchants dealing in raw silk, indigo, and valuable spiceries, have always found it expedient to load their vessels for the greater part with sugar, and only to a small extent with the more precious articles, the latter, in any quantity, requiring an immense outlay of capital. The French merchants, however, have been debarred this resource; and the entrance duties on colonial sugar have so injured that branch of trade, that it has now no attraction for the French merchants, and, resigning it to foreigners, they have resigned with it the trade in spices also. The chambers of commerce and commercial bodies of Toulon, Marseilles, &c. have dwelt strongly on this circumstance, and represented it in their official reports as an injury to the maritime trade. We regard it, however, inferior in evil consequences to the following, as it is proved by accurate calculation, that the fabrication of 100 kilogrammes of beet-root sugar requires, in costs and expense, a sum amounting to 30f. more than the cost of the same quantity of colonial sugar, together with the expenses for its transport to French shores. The annual consumption of colonial sugar being about 80,000,000 of kilogrammes, the French people are thus obliged to pay annually 24,000,000f. for the benefit only of some half dozen beet-root sugar manufacturers! The complaints against this injurious duty have been for several years loud and clamorous, and the chamber of deputies has displayed much activity to settle this unhappy affair. The minister Duchatel made out in 1836 a report explaining the case with considerable clearness and acumen: but all the subsequent discussions on the subject have only contributed to confuse it more than ever; and the report, made by the new minister Laplace in July, 1837, exhibited but vague and contradictory points of view.

The new law, presented by the minister, would have produced only a change, and by no means an abolition, of the disastrous consequences. The chamber of deputies rejected the bill; but the effect of the duty became daily more pernicious, as may be seen by the letter which the chamber of commerce at Bordeaux has but lately addressed to the minister of commerce. Their letter begins by stating that, were they to be guided by the inutility of their efforts for the last ten years, they should remain quiet on the question; but that the condition of the colonies is no longer bearable, and that it is their duty to make a strong representation to the minister. They point out to his notice, that if the colonists go on contending with the home growers under their present disadvantage, the ruin of the former is inevitable. The 100 kilogrammes of sugar are worth in the colonies about 48f.; and this quantity on entering France pays 49f. 50c. entrance duty, besides the expense of commission, &c. amounting to between 28 and 30f.; so that the total impost on colonial sugar amounts to 78 or 80f. per 100 kilogrammes, that is, to 162 per cent. upon its primitive value in the islands. On the other hand, home-made sugar is charged with only 16f. 15c. duty per 100 kilogrammes. The members ask whether this can be called justice, and whether one article of French produce ought thus to be sacrificed to another? They point out the advantage which the home-growers have already experienced by their long immunity from imposts; and call to the mind of the minister the statement of Admiral de Moges as to the stagnation of the sugar trade of the colonies; observing, that as long as the present system continues, nobody will undertake to charter vessels for cargoes of sugar to the colonies; and that if the colonies cannot dispose of their produce, they cannot pay for produce sent from France. Hitherto produce to the value of 50,000,000f. has been annually sent to the colonies, and 30,000,000 kilogrammes of sugar have been brought to France in return. This occupied 400 vessels with 6000 seamen, nearly half of the whole maritime trade. They also ask, *that the species of produce, colonial and native, shall be put upon a footing of equality.* Thus the old question will be renewed, but it is hardly to be expected that it will be finally settled.*

They are so far in France from having enlightened views on commercial affairs, that their laws are often in contradiction with the first principles of political economy. We mention for instance the duty laid on the importation of iron and coals. We

* The Journal de Commerce, which has never ceased urging the question, expresses better hopes for its ulterior settlement; but we shall not indulge them till we see the law passed.

need not say that these two articles are the most powerful agents in modern industry. It is by their aid that men and goods are moved with the celerity of wind along gliding roads and across adverse waves. They are moreover particularly necessary in the conduct of manufactures, and for the management of agriculture. France being unprovided with sufficient supplies of these indispensable articles, it would appear a peculiar duty of the French government to assist the inhabitants in importing them from other countries. But the fact is just contrary; for the importation of English iron is burthened with an entrance duty of 200 per cent. of its value, and a similar duty is laid upon foreign coals. The Duke of Estissac, an enlightened nobleman, and the landlord and owner of different manufactories, has published his views on the subject, in order to exhibit the pernicious influence of these duties upon industry and agriculture, and upon the national comfort; several national establishments have, it seems, been discontinued for want of the requisites: as, for instance, forty-three rail-roads, which cannot be finished for want of iron. The French government, so blind and prejudiced in respect to its own commercial interests, cannot be considered very well qualified to form a solid compact with another nation. And such has proved the case in the numerous negociations carried on between France and England since 1821. Not a single material result has emanated, if we do not consider as such the diminution of the duties on cotton cloths; but this concession was made simply in consequence of the manifest fact that the smugglers imported annually into France quantities of cotton cloth to the value of 12,000,000.

We find recently, by a comparison of the French commercial returns for 1836 and 1837, that the commercial intercourse of France has remained stationary with Belgium; diminished 7 per cent. with England; 17 per cent. with Switzerland; 23 per cent. with Spain; and 27 per cent. with Germany.

This diminution of 27 per cent. of French trade with Germany amounts to one quarter of the whole trade with the latter; but the trade of Holland and central Europe has increased as that of France has diminished; the exports from Rotterdam to Germany having improved one-fifth in the same period.

The treaty between Holland and the German Union increases the loss on the part of France. She has long talked of improving her trade with England; but this intention, if ever it was such, has been confined to words, owing to the love of half measures and petty means prevalent with the French ministers.

If the circumstances we have alluded to may serve as an excuse for the English government in its negligent organisation of our intercourse with France, such cannot be valid with regard to

Germany; for the inhabitants of the latter, however less advanced in certain political institutions, have always exhibited an enlightened knowledge in social and commercial affairs. As mentioned above, our ancient intercourse with Germany was firmly established and carefully maintained by the greatest ministers England ever produced. That ancient intercourse being now interrupted, and a commercial league against England being established in Germany, we cannot exonerate our actual government from serious responsibility on this head. Instead of following the example of preceding statesmen, our present rulers have never weighed the *interior* condition of Germany; and in spite of their shifts and excuses we hope to prove clearly to the reader that the commercial union of the latter would not have been established in a spirit so adverse as it now is towards England, if our existing government had been prudent enough to maintain our former influence in the interior affairs of that country. In order to prove the assertion, we shall take a short view of the state and origin of the union.

The commercial league of Germany comprises the extensive territory between the river Niemen and the Baltic at one, and the Alps and lake of Constance at the other, extremity; on the east it is bounded by Russia, Poland and Austria; on the west by Belgium, Holland and France. It consists of the union of *four* kingdoms, *one* electorate, *three* grand-dukedoms, and more than *twenty* smaller states, the *whole* comprising 8654 German square miles, with 27,728,000 inhabitants. This population surpasses that of the British empire in Europe by several millions, and doubles that of Spain. It is besides very industrious, and rather wealthy; and its industry, being particularly connected with agriculture, has no *natural* tendency to *vie* with English manufactures; on the contrary, it is adapted for the establishment of a commercial intercourse attended with *reciprocal* benefits. The political organization of Germany contributes also to render commercial intercourse with that country particularly important for any foreign nation, because it affords extraordinary opportunities for display of wealth and splendour, and consequently offers every encouragement to trade and commerce. The dominions of the commercial league comprise the residences of twenty-six sovereign princes; and several of those princes, however limited in domains, exhibit a splendour approaching to that of the greatest empires. The army consists of 246,168 soldiers in times of peace, that number being augmented in case of war to 550,000. The amount of the annual taxes paid by the population of those provinces is 202,410,000 gulden, (£16,867,500 sterling.) By far the greatest part of these taxes consist of custom-house duties

and excise, the house and land taxes not being very considerable, and the ample revenues of the crown domains not being comprised in the amount above mentioned.

With regard to German industry we now proceed to prove our assertion, that naturally it inclines to another direction than that it has recently taken. In the course of the last century no properly *national* industry existed in Germany; several branches, it is true, had obtained a certain degree of cultivation; but the different establishments were isolate, and had no reciprocal influence. The German provinces being under the dominion of different governments, whose reciprocal intentions were seldom in harmony, and very often adverse to each other, they were naturally unable to maintain a free intercourse, and thus encourage their mutual industry by the exchange of wants and products. There were, for instance, mines of various qualities of ore in Saxony and Silesia, and in the mountains of the Harz; but although those mines remained sometimes useless for want of a sufficient number of men to work them, the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces were not permitted to assist in their working, or in the fabrication of the ore. In revenge of such exclusion the neighbouring countries opposed many difficulties to the transit of the fabricated ores, and thus both parties suffered by mutual vexations. Another and yet more striking proof of mutual perversity is afforded by the case of the linen manufacturers in Saxony and Silesia. In the latter country existed already in 1805 more than 34,000 machines (looms), which produced annually a quantity of linen cloth, valued at 2,000,000 rix dollars (1,604,166 Spanish dollars); and a very fine quality of linen was manufactured in the Saxon province of Lausitz, the annual amount of which was about 3,700,000 reichsthalers. But the market for those linen cloths was not in Germany; the other German provinces supplied their wants from Holland and Belgium; and the German manufacturers were obliged to sell their cheaper and better linen cloths to the remote inhabitants of Russia, Poland, and other and still more distant countries. This was the more deplorable as the Saxon and Silesian linen cloths were not manufactured in large establishments, but every household of these provinces contained some spinning women, providing by their activity for the wants of at least 8,000 weavers, each of whom worked with two or three small looms. The owners of those small workshops had of course no means of direct intercourse with these distant countries, and they were consequently wholly dependent on the merchants who bought and sold their produce. This isolated state of German industry existed down to the establishment of Napoleon's continental system. That acute poli-

tician understood perfectly that intercourse with Germany was one of the most powerful stimuli to our national industry. He conceived the idea of rendering Germany independent of the English trade, by creating in the former new industrious establishments, providing for all the wants of the inhabitants by their own labour, or rather by that of those German provinces which he had united with the French empire. These provinces became thus a scene of singular activity; and Napoleon never displayed more strikingly his might and powerful energy than in changing the social and industrious condition of a whole country in the short period of some months. He thereby proved that his ability to create was not inferior to his talents for war and destruction, and as the latter won for him the admiration of the multitude, the former perhaps might have gained him the acknowledgment of the more enlightened, had his work been permitted to grow and bear fruit. The German provinces were astonished at this sudden creation of an industrious movement. Those of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia were endowed with commercial privileges; the competition of foreign, and especially of English, manufactures were excluded; the proprietors of industrial establishments were favoured by the laws, by the authority of the government, and even by loans and advances of money to a considerable amount. The French government facilitated commercial transports by means of new roads and canals; it established a regular navigation on the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe; it opened the whole territory of the Rhenish confederation to commercial intercourse, and entered into negotiations and compacts with Russia, for the purpose of facilitating the intercourse of its German provinces with that country. All those efforts were made in order to create in the German industry a powerful rival to English manufacturers. We may judge the important results of these efforts by comparing the industrial state of that country in a former period with that which immediately followed the French invasion, in the period from 1785 to 1799. A German periodical, entitled "The Westphalian Magazine," contains a regular account of the industry of that country. Weddinger, the editor, mentions as a remarkable event, that in 1796 a manufactory of scythes, at Paderborn, had become so extensive as to employ seventeen workmen. The town of Solingen, it is true, had been for several centuries renowned for knives, swords, daggers, foils, &c. but this is an exception, and the industry of the province in general was, according to the publicist quoted, very unimportant. Only fourteen years later it exhibited a totally different state. The French government, in 1809, ordered the magistrates of the different districts to give in reports of all the manufactur-

ing establishments existing in the provinces of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, which then belonged to the French empire. A statistical list was composed of these reports, and deposited in the archives of the ministry of commerce. The following is an extract from that official register:—

Manufactories in Westphalia and the Rhenish Provinces in 1810.

153	woollen manufactories, with	9300 workmen, producing the value of	13,800,000 fr.
160	linen ditto	8000 weavers	3,080,000
58	cotton ditto	10000 workmen	850,000
49	potteries	800 ditto	730,000
174	steel manufactories	5362 ditto	4,522,278
99	iron mines	3832 ditto	3,363,425
157	iron works		
184	coal mines	7322 ditto	5,292,000

The following notices are likewise extracted from the official documents of that period, and enable us to give an idea of the geographical division of labour existing at that time, and the leading features of which have not yet changed.

The principal towns for *woollen manufactures* were, Hersfeld, Aachen, Neuwied, Burtsheid, Eugen, Montjoie, and Malmedy.

For *linen manufactures,* Bielefeld, Waarendorf, Gladbach, Barmen, and Elberfeld.

For *cotton manufactures,* Barmen, Elberfeld, Neuwied, Burtscheid, and Cromford.

For *silk manufactures,* Crefeld, Muhlheim, Elberfeld, and Neuwied.

For *iron and steel manufactures,* Aachen, Rensheid, Duisburg, Iserlohe, Altenn, Stelberg, Schmalkalden, and Solingen.

The amount of the capital employed in these establishments was at that time (1810) estimated at 43,000,000fr., and it is worth notice that a great many smaller establishments, of linen, paper, oil, &c. are not comprised in the foregoing. The whole was a new creation, owing its existence to the extraordinary power and energy which the great ruler of the French empire displayed in executing his projects. But it was an artificial creation, originating from and supported by extraordinary means; its existence, therefore, could not be prolonged beyond the existence of the means themselves, and the whole edifice of that forced and premature industry perished with the downfal of Napoleon and his continental system. Prussia, which took possession of those provinces, was then in such intimate relation with England that she could not but abolish those custom-house lines which separated the English merchant from continental commerce. The manufacturing establishments of Germany, however, could not in any shape rival the English, and the competition of the latter produced the sudden downfal of an industry

so suddenly created. The Prussian government, instead of alleviating these inconveniences by particular care for the well-being of those provinces, rather neglected and sacrificed them for the advantage of its ancient possessions. This tendency of the Prussian government exhibited itself not only in accidental and isolated acts, but was manifested also by legislative enactments. The concessions which the French government had made in favour of the industry of the Rhenish provinces, were cancelled by the royal ordinance of 17th September, 1817. This document expressed, moreover, the royal intention to advance by every means the commercial prosperity of the Eastern provinces, and especially of the ports of the Baltic; and inasmuch as the manufacturing establishments of the Rhenish provinces, by attracting a commercial movement, might prove injurious to the commerce of eastern Prussia, the royal pleasure was moved to annihilate them. The Prussian government meditated at that time the creation of a navy; or, as Prince Pukler Muskau observes, it wished to change the Spree* into a second Thames; and it sacrificed to this romantic scheme the prosperity of its most flourishing provinces. The royal ordinance of 26th May, 1818, contained a new regulation of the entrance and excise duties, subjecting all foreign goods entered to an equal tax, without discrimination as to quality or value of the import. This interpretation of the principle of equality was by no means favourable to the industry of the country. The duty was fixed at 12 groschen (1*s.* 6*d.*) per cwt. imposed simply according to weight, and an excise duty was also laid upon such foreign goods as competed with the manufactures of Berlin, Potsdam, and Cottbus; the manufactures of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, however, had no protection, and, unable to support the competition of English industry, they fell into ruin. The German markets of Hamburgh, Cologne, Frankfort, &c. were filled with enormous quantities of English produce of all kinds; for our manufactures were just at that period increased in an extraordinary degree, and English goods, fabricated by machinery, then unknown in Germany, were sold at such low prices as to put all competition out of the question.

Besides this rivalry, which overwhelmed the Rhenish provinces, they were, as they considered, intentionally sacrificed by a partial government. A general commission was organized in Berlin, and invested with the entire controul over Prussian industry; this commission, composed of merchants of Berlin, considered exclusively their own interests, and neglected those of their fellow-citizens. The Prussian government not only annihilated the advantages which the Rhenish provinces had obtained from the French legis-

* The little river at Berlin.

lature, but committed an act of injustice towards them as to public taxes, making use of its absolute prerogative of legislation for the establishment of financial oppression; what other name can be given to those laws which obliged the inhabitants of Rhenish Prussia to pay duties double in amount to those of the other Prussian subjects, in proportion to their fortune and number? The government abolishing, on the one hand, the municipal freedom which had been introduced during the French empire, ordered, on the other, that the citizens should pay the municipal taxes, though the administration was no longer in their own hands, and though the similar taxes (die gemeindesteuern) were abolished in all the other Prussian provinces. Besides these considerable taxes for the municipal administration, they were obliged to contribute to the general expense of the monarchy an annual amount of 8,016,116 thalers; an enormous sum, if we consider that the number of the inhabitants of Rhenish Prussia is but 2,981,852, and that the value of money in Germany is more than double that in our own country. The Prussian government was conscious of the injustice committed against its Rhenish subjects, and was anxious to conceal it. The periodicals, as well as the authors of statistical works were forbidden to give notices on the industrial state of Rhenish Prussia; and the writers mentioned at the head of our article (Vogtel, Hofmann and Stein) resorted to a very singular expedient. In obedience to the royal order they made no mention of the industrial state of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia, interesting as it was at the time (1819), but they gave a particular account of the industrial condition of those provinces in the period from 1806 to 1812. This silence and obedience formed, indeed, a severe accusation against the government.

Our former state of intercourse with Germany was re-established in consequence of the following circumstances. The want of those products which had been fabricated in the German part of the French empire, could now only be supplied by importation from England; and we find proof of this fact in the official reports laid before parliament for the corresponding years. Our exports to Germany had been reduced during the time of the continental system to an exceedingly small amount, the said parliamentary documents exhibiting the value of our whole exports into that country, in the year 1812, as but £875,000 sterling. This sum is to be regarded as an *indispensable minimum*, because Germany is in indispensable want of the articles represented by it, and which it would be almost impossible to obtain in any other way, the said articles consisting of certain products of the British East-Indian Colonies. After the above-mentioned

changes had been effected in Germany, our exports into that country increased suddenly; and by the same parliamentary documents they appear to have amounted in 1816 to the value of £3,671,480 sterling, and in 1821 to the surprising sum of £9,894,108 sterling, whilst our exports, the same year, into France were only £1,102,756 sterling! So considerable and astonishing were the consequences of the changes effected in the political combinations of Europe. The changes were then to our profit, and our industry enjoyed the benefit of their wholesome influences.

But the stage of European politics has presented a new transformation, and unhappily we are bound to confess that the chances are now as much to our disadvantage as they were favourable before. Formerly the influence of Prussia on the commercial affairs of Germany was limited, but she employed it in our favour, and we obtained the greatest benefits from her amicable disposition; now Prussian influence over the commerce of Germany is almost unlimited, and the Prussian cabinet uses it to annihilate, if possible, our intercourse with Germany. The new project has already been singularly successful. We have again recourse to our parliamentary documents, and we find that the sum of almost 10,000,000, the amount of our exports in 1821, was reduced in 1835 to £4,602,966 sterling, as the value of all products which Germany received through the medium of English trade; this perhaps will soon be confined within the above-mentioned limits of indispensable colonial goods. Such is the final object of Prussia.

The motives of these changes and of the projects carried on by the Prussian cabinet are not very difficult to discover. On the one hand it is influenced by the perfectly justifiable intention of favouring native industry, which, as we have seen, would not be possible against English competition: on the other, there are political combinations, ambitious projects, and Russian instigations, which sway the mind of the Prussian government. The great project which the Russian emperor intends to execute by the assistance of Prussia and the commercial league of Germany is, that of closing to the commercial navy of Britain the navigation of the Baltic. A part of the territory which borders the Baltic sea belongs to the Prussian dominions; but a larger part belongs to the kingdom of Hanover, the dukedoms of Brunswick and Oldenburg, and several other principalities. As Prussia could not formerly succeed in uniting these territories with the German league, (owing to the connection existing between Hanover and England,) the execution of the said Russo-Prussian project has always been delayed. But Hanover has now become

independent: and whatever may be the final intentions of Prussia, a state of isolation must be injurious to a small kingdom like the former, which some of our patriotic writers and journalists are doing their utmost to detach, by insult and injury, from British connection. If they succeed, Hanover cannot uphold its interests, but by uniting them with those of the German nation at large. The conquest of this one obstacle, so many having been surmounted, will be the signal for the cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburgh to carry on their machinations against England; and it would be difficult to foretell the consequences that threaten, for the Russian navy is powerful, and our rulers seem careless and supine, incapable of comprehending, and still more of meeting, a crisis.

We insist upon the assertion that the losses and dangers we have experienced on the side of Germany, came upon us in consequence of the indifference with which the interior affairs of that country have been regarded. The English ministry is ignorant of the real condition of the smaller German states; and the inhabitants of these states, to the number of more than 20,000,000, have never had the honour of being politically acknowledged by the right honourable minister of our foreign affairs. Having ourselves been long and intimately acquainted with that country and its inhabitants, we are anxious to obtain attention for the following notices, especially those concerning the political basis of the German commercial league.

Prussia created that league for the purpose of advancing her political projects. The nature of these projects was manifested by her Sovereign at the congress of Vienna. The enthusiastic efforts of the Prussian people having materially contributed to the downfal of Napoleon, the king of Prussia founded upon their merit a pretension to unite the greatest part of Germany under his dominion. The whole kingdom of Saxony, the whole territory between the rivers Weser and Elbe, the whole territory which formerly belonged to the Orange family, and that which had formed the electorate of Mayence—all these beautiful and extensive provinces were claimed by the Prussian crown as a reward for the sacrifices made by its people. Austria resisted however, and her resistance was successful. Prussia was obliged to content herself with the possession of some parcels of each of these principalities, and thus it happened that the Prussian kingdom is composed of a number of incongruous pieces. Her Saxon and her Westphalian provinces are separated from each other by the territories of Hanover and Cassel; and the integrity of the rest is, so to say, mutilated by a number of small principalities situate between. The desire of finding an opportunity to anni-

hilate these principalities, and unite their territories with its own dominion, induced the Prussian government to endeavour at a very dangerous expedient. The German people, naturally calm and reflecting, had never exhibited any susceptibility for the *mania* of political conspirations till infected with that disease in the year 1817—1818. It is a fact, manifest by the publication of documents and original correspondence, that the origin of those conspiracies was in the Prussian cabinet. Austria, distinguished at all periods by her undisguised conduct, and despising the mean and base procedure of her ally, denounced it at the congress of Carlsbad; and Prussia, in order to exonerate herself, inflicted the most furious persecution on the *demagogues*. Many of those victims of Prussian Machiavelism are still confined in the dungeons where they were thrown without a trial; and where they are retained, in order to bury with them the crime of their accomplices. It is easy to conceive the intentions of Prussia in this conspiracy; namely, to provoke disorder and riot in the smaller countries of Germany, and possess herself of their territories under pretext of settling their affairs.

The sagacious government of Austria having frustrated these artful schemes, Prussia sought her object by another mode of procedure. In the stronger division of the German territory it has happened that several small portions of one sovereign's dominions are separated from the rest, and entirely surrounded by those of another. There are for instance the town and district of Lipstadt, belonging to the principality of Schwarzburg, and situated entirely within the Prussian dominions. In the year 1822, when the prince of Schwarzburg was an infant, and the government was in the hand of his aunt, Princess Paulipe, the Prussian government thought it an excellent opportunity for prevailing over that unprotected princess, and persuading her to give up the territory of her ward. Prussia succeeded, and enjoys the fruit of her artful and ungenerous conduct. In a similar way she acquired several portions of the Saxon territory after the death of the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

These acts *en passant*, however, never interrupted the principal aim of Prussia, namely, that of becoming the undisputed arbiter of Germany. She has approached nearer to that object by imposing upon the whole nation her commercial laws and institutions. The grand duke of Hesse-Darmstadt was the first German prince who consented to enter into a commercial league with Prussia, giving up the interests of his own country to foreign covetousness.* From that period (1825) up to the present day,

* He has shown himself the worthy relative of that prince-elector of Hesse-Cassel, who sold his subjects to the British government to carry on the American war.

Prussia has prosecuted with admirable steadiness and circumspection her great scheme of a commercial union; and the treaties which have been lately published, the accession of several states (Nassau, Baden, Mecklenburg) which so long resisted the introduction of the new tariff, are all proofs of her crowning success. Viewing these proceedings with an English eye, we yet are free to observe that these measures of Prussia have been highly conducive to the interests of German industry.

The contract was formed by the most scandalous means between Prussia and Darmstadt in 1825. The former *having won* over the Hessian minister Du Thil and the councillor Hoffman, they *yielded* the interests of their country; they not only adopted without any modification the Prussian laws and duties, but allowed the Prussian government to erect its custom-houses along their frontiers; the whole administration of the duties was given up to Prussia, and the grand-duke abandoned his prerogative in favour of this foreign monarch.

The acquisition of the country of Hesse served the Prussian government as a means of transit to the southern provinces of Germany. There existed already in 1824 a commercial alliance between Bavaria and Wurtemberg, founded on just and equal terms, and highly advantageous to the two countries. Prussia endeavoured to prevail with both as with Hesse Darmstadt; but Bavaria and Wurtemberg possessed representative constitutions, and the commercial compact was submitted to the parliamentary assembly, or chamber of deputies; the Prussian schemes were thus carefully controuled. The conferences were however carried on during several years, till at last (in 1828) a commercial contract was agreed to on both sides. This contract however did not stipulate the establishment of a commercial union, but it facilitated the intercourse between the southern and northern part of Germany, i. e. between Prussia and Hesse on the one side, and Bavaria and Wurtemberg on the other, by fair and moderate duties. The first-named government was dissatisfied with this result, and conceived an implacable hatred against the Bavarian minister, Count Armansperg, whose talents and inaccessible honesty had very successfully resisted their arts. Their hatred, too, against that able minister was greatly increased by the latter causing all the conferences with Prussia to be published in the Bavarian "Volksblatt," accompanying that publication with a pitiless analysis of the Prussian intentions, and with a severe critique upon the dishonest practices of the Prussian cabinet. By dint of the intrigues of this power Count Armansperg lost the intimacy and confidence of the King of Bavaria, which he had previously possessed in a high degree. The Prussian

agents (and Prussia has its agents even in the Bavarian cabinet) represented the count to the king as the chief of demagogues and the protector of revolutionary machinations; he was removed from the ministry, and sent afterwards to Greece, with the honourable charge of governor, it is true, but in fact to get rid of him. As soon as Count Armansperg was removed, Prussia renewed its intrigues with greater confidence and with better success. The successors of Count Armansperg, Mr. De Mieg and the commissioner Wirschinger, who both were charged with those conferences, showed much more readiness to accept the Prussian conditions. The southern league (Bavaria and Wurtemberg) entered into a complete commercial union with the northern (Prussia and Hesse); the contract was concluded in the beginning of 1832, and although the ruling power of Prussia was not so much acknowledged in the articles of that new contract as it had been in the union with Hesse, it was nevertheless Prussia that dictated the laws of the union in all essential points, and became the arbiter in all questions of difficulty. Bavaria the most powerful, and Wurtemberg the most respected, of all the smaller German States, being thus included in the Prussian web, it was an easy task to prevail over the remaining principalities. The kingdom of Saxony was the only one from which resistance was to be expected; but the commercial union being principally calculated for obtaining in the southern Germany an open market, where the Prussians could have a *monopoly* for selling their productions, Saxony, likewise, abounding in manufactured goods, profited by the opportunity to share in the advantages which Prussia had prepared for herself at the expense of southern Germany; and as social views have always more weight with the Germans than any political considerations, Saxony overlooked her ancient antipathy against Prussia, and entered into the commercial union. The example of the royal government of Saxony was immediately followed by the smaller Saxon countries, and all those numerous small states which are neither wealthy nor extensive enough to maintain an independant commerce and an internal industry. There was but the city of Frankfort, which, free in its republican constitution, and powerful by its wealth, maintained its independence in spite of the efforts of Prussia and her political machinations against that little commonwealth. The details of those machinations would be curious; we should there find that Prussia had not forgotten her former skill in exciting revolutionary feelings and carrying on blind conspiracies. It is almost certain that the leaders of those movements in the year 1832, and especially of the riot which took place at Frankfort in 1833, had either been themselves agents of the Prussian cabinet, or had become the

dupes of such agents. This riot, which had been carried on by strangers, and was scarcely known to the citizens of Frankfort, (the whole was an affair of less than two hours) served nevertheless as a pretext for subjecting that city to continual vexations. A Prussian garrison having been placed at Frankfort after the riot, the personal freedom of the citizens was destroyed by a rude soldiery, who knew that in exercising their brutality they would be agreeable to and patronized by their masters. In the meantime the Prussian agents privately assailed the members of the senate of Frankfort, representing to them, that the only remedy against such insupportable vexations would be the union of Frankfort with the Commercial League. The senate was at last prevailed upon, and consented to the union; but at the same time explained its motives by publishing a document, in which it manifested that the resolution was taken, NOT from conviction of its being beneficial to the commonwealth of Frankfort, but merely in consequence of its federative dependency, and of the superior strength of its antagonist. The whole procedure against the city of Frankfort was very similar to that against the Polish commonwealth of Cracow;—the force of arms substituting every lawful title, and the immolation of the weak being the last act of the political farce.

The territory of the league was, it is true, sufficiently compact after the acquisition of Frankfort; but it wanted nevertheless two additional acquisitions for its completeness; the one, the grand duchy of Baden on the south—the other, the territories of Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, &c. at the northern extremity of Germany. Both were equally important for the views of Prussia; Baden, because the right bank of the Rhine, from Constance to Manheim (about 300 miles), belongs to it; and Hanover, &c. because their acquisition was necessary for carrying on the Russian schemes against England regarding the navigation of the Baltic sea.

The means by which the grand duchy of Baden has been forced to enter into the Prussian union, are no other than those which had been employed against the free town of Frankfort and against the smaller states in general; namely, *cunning*, *corruption* and *violence*. Prussia, however, met with adversaries in the chamber of deputies of Baden, who would not surrender their country without very powerful resistance. This small legislative body (the parliament of Baden) has often displayed uncommon energy together with much political judgment. Its members have distinguished themselves by an extraordinary exhibition of talent, eloquence and boldness. Such men as Rottek, Itzstein, and Welker, whose fame for talents and patriotic feeling has been

celebrated in the remotest parts of Germany, were not to be deceived by the sophistical persuasions of the enemy; they denounced openly and boldly the Prussian motives to be those of inflicting upon all Germany the yoke of its despotic government. But the force of truth and eloquence melted away before the superiority of material power; of Prussian money and of Prussian intrigues. The grand duke was frightened by diplomatical menaces as to his illegitimate succession: (he is the offspring of an illegitimate marriage between the Grand Duke Charles Frederick and a Miss Opiersberg:) the ministers (especially the learned councillor Nebenius), who had long and successfully resisted, were converted all at once, and the country was constrained to enter into that detested union, detested to the last by the people of Baden, whose hatred against anything bearing the name of Prussia is sufficiently notorious.

Hanover and the northern countries and principalities of Germany were however in a peculiar position, which rendered it impossible for the Prussian cabinet to proceed against them in a similar way. Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick were united with the electorate of Hesse Cassel in a separate league, and remained independent of the Prussian influence. As it would have been impossible for Prussia to surmount the difficulties opposed to her schemes by the circumstance of Hanoverian connection with England, she endeavoured to separate that kingdom from its commercial allies, and succeeded so far as the electorate of Cassel was concerned in the northern union. The electorate, violating the compact with its allies, separated from them and joined the Prussian union; but the death of King William of England, and the accession of King Ernest to the throne of Hanover, opened a new and more important arena for Prussian activity; the acquisition of Hanover being the ulterior condition for the execution of those schemes which unquestionably exist with reference to the navigation of the Baltic.

We have carefully perused the articles of the treaty lately given to the public, and the tariff of the German league has not escaped our scrutiny. The treaty, by which the great and powerful German nation has united the commercial interests of her provinces, so long opposed to each other—that treaty must indeed be regarded as one of the most important documents of our century. However selfish the first views of Prussia may have been in the creation of the union, the results are such as to deserve the acknowledgment of Germany and the admiration of the world. This is the general impression which the German commercial union cannot fail to excite in every thinking mind; but in regarding the peculiarities of that treaty, and especially

in perusing the different articles of the tariff, we cannot fail to perceive how the unworthy schemes of a pernicious policy have at times prevailed over considerations of commercial prosperity: and this is especially the case with those portions of the tariff which exercise their obnoxious influence upon our commercial relations with Germany. We feel convinced that it would still be possible to operate a change in the tariff, with regard to the obnoxious articles.

If we consider merely the influence this great commercial union has had upon the social condition of Germany at large, we are indeed obliged to regard it as far more wholesome than obnoxious; internal trade has been animated, and the detestable custom-house lines, which formerly separated the German states from each other, abolished;—on the other hand the commercial union is far from having realized that article of the German Confederation Act, which promises a general unity and freedom of intercourse between *all* the confederated states. The present union is by no means confederative; it is not organized in a confederative view; it is governed and directed by a protector and ruler (Prussia), who regards and makes use of it as a means for extending the monopoly of her manufactures throughout Germany, and who annihilates the greatest part of the benefits by her selfish measures. Prussia likewise profits by that union for obtaining a predominant influence in the *political* affairs of Germany; she endeavours to exercise this influence at the expense of the independence of the smaller German states, and at the expense of those constitutional rights which some of them have employed with the greatest advantage to their internal condition.

It is essential to distinguish in this commercial union two different questions; one, concerning internal intercourse, and freedom of trade and commerce throughout the united German states; the other, touching the position of the German states towards foreign countries through the custom-house system, which aims at rendering the commercial union nothing more than a second edition of the old Continental System. The first of these questions, namely, the internal freedom of commerce, is regarded by the inhabitants of Germany as a patriotic institution, which strengthens the national union of their "fatherland," and improves the social condition of its inhabitants. But it certainly is not freedom of internal intercourse among the German states that renders their commercial union obnoxious and dangerous for the commercial and industrial property of Great Britain. That union might exist, nay, would be much more advantageous for the greater part of the German states, if it were constructed upon the basis of internal freedom, and maintained on the principle of an amicable

intercourse with foreign countries, instead of excluding them from the German markets; for, we repeat it, the competition of British industry was by no means dangerous or obnoxious to the German nation at large. The German people being, by the natural circumstances of their country as well as by their own inclinations, disposed to choose in general a different branch of human activity from the English, it is evident that their intercourse and the exchange of their mutual wants and products cannot fail to be advantageous to both countries. The system of exclusion, connected with the Commercial League of Germany, has no other purpose than the establishment of a Prussian monopoly in Germany, and it deprives the German nation of the benefit which would be obtained by commercial freedom. Consequently it would not appear an act of oppression or hostility against the German people at large, if the English government could succeed in destroying the Prussian monopoly, and in abolishing the principle of exclusion which disgraces the Commercial Union of Germany.

We have shown the high importance of our intercourse with Germany, and the disastrous consequences that threaten *our* commercial prosperity from the Prussian, or rather Russian schemes, connected with the commercial union. We have exhibited *the* origin of that union, and the reasons why the German people at large, however benefitted by the easier intercourse resulting thence, are nevertheless dissatisfied with it; or dissatisfied at least with the system of exclusion, which, being no essential condition of the union, serves only to establish the monopoly of Prussian manufactures. Considering these circumstances, we are convinced that it would be of the greatest advantage to our English commerce, and by no means an act of hostility to Germany, if we could succeed in annihilating the *Prussian* union, and founding the basis of a *new union* of commercial affairs of Germany, the interior character of which would be that of freedom and independence, and its exterior relations those of free and amicable intercourse with other nations, and especially with England. There remains now but one question; namely, Is England *able* to take such measures as would be expedient for the above-mentioned purposes? The actual ministers of England have given a negative answer to this question; if they are right, our article would be sterile and useless; vain reasonings against circumstances imposed on us by an inevitable necessity. But they who actually hold the reins of government in this country are wrong in this opinion, as in many others. It is not an unavoidable necessity; it is but their ignorance, their superficial knowledge in commercial as well as in political affairs, which has allowed the

German union to become a source of danger to our commercial prosperity. Let us hear what Lord Palmerston says on the subject:—"England could not interfere with the independence of the different governments of Germany, and with their sovereign right to make commercial compacts with each other: and even in the case that those compacts should be to the utmost disadvantage of English trade, England had no justifiable pretext to hinder them, as long as no right of our nation had been violated; and that certainly had never been the case with Germany."

These arguments are indeed plausible; but who would not regard such language as childish, weak, and wholly unbecoming in the mouth of a minister of England? There is indeed no pretext for proceeding to violence against Germany; but is England so powerless and resourceless under her present ministry as to possess no other means of influencing the political and commercial affairs of Europe, than violence? If so, talent and knowledge are not wanted at the Foreign Office, and brute force might substitute political ability.

We have never attended at councils of state and diplomatic conferences; we have no documents at our disposition, and we pay no agents at Berlin, Frankfort, and Vienna. We can however see with our own eyes, and discover many political measures, highly expedient for changing the character of the German union so far as concerns adverse tendencies towards England. As it was manifest that Prussia, the head of the commercial union, was the closest ally of our commercial arch-enemy, Russia, and that the adverse position of the German union results from Prussian influence, measures of reciprocity (jure talionis) were long since imperatively necessary. Is there no medium between violence and supineness? no firm and dignified, but calm, resistance possible? or is all our political skill resolvable only into the extremes of war and imbecility? Our naval and commercial influence ought long ago to have been exerted in a counter-prohibitory system, for the purpose of humbling Prussian arrogance, and making her sensible of our capacity to repay her good and bad services with an equal measure. There are 2000 vessels employed in Prussian commerce, all which annually pass the Sound at Elsinore; and the greatest part of which are obliged to visit the British shores. What would have become of this commercial fleet, if England had wielded with common foresight and common energy her power and influence? From that moment the Prussian scheme would have disappeared with the Prussian flag. But our influence is not exclusively upon the sea: we have also the means of making it felt in the internal affairs of Prussian industry. Let us but look back at the social condition of the Prussian provinces, bor-

dering on the Baltic, and of those on the bank of the river Weichsel. These are the most fertile provinces of Prussia in corn, fruits, and timber; but since the Polish revolution their commerce and industry have sunk in such extreme distress that they suffer from absolute starvation, and consequently evince a strong disposition to riot and insurrection. These provinces are indeed extremely miserable; and there remains for them but one last resource, viz. selling their products of corn, timber, &c. to England. A repressive measure on the part of the latter against those products, would create such consequences as might well render the Prussian government eager to make any concessions whatever to England in order to avoid them. But if on the one hand we have the power to render us formidable against Prussia, we have exercised on the other our influence continually in favour of the Prussian commerce: England has always patronized the Prussian navy:—England used her influence at Constantinople to obtain security for the Prussian flag against the Corsairs of the African coast: England obtained for Prussia the advantage of *being included* in the guarantee and protection which the Ottoman Porte was forced to grant; the influence of England successfully assisted *the Prussian* efforts for the free navigation of the Rhine. Our means of usefulness to her commerce are not yet exhausted; *and what* obvious advantages would Prussia obtain if we agreed to a modification of our *corn law* in favour of her eastern provinces.

Having on the one hand so many effective means for inflicting upon Prussia, the head and leader of the German League, the most disastrous retaliation, and on the other, *for offering* to that country the greatest advantages in return for its re-establishing a reciprocal intercourse,—how can a minister of *England*—how can Lord Palmerston, be weak enough to speak of those obnoxious consequences of the German League as of an inevitable necessity?

As we cannot but consider Prussia the avant-garde of our future rival, if not arch-enemy—Russia—it might appear expedient for us to examine the face of the former country, and learn its condition a little better than we can by her newspapers, *which are all*, without exception, mere trumpeters of Prussian glory, and all censured and governed by the Prussian Cabinet. This *power is*, indeed, deeply interested in making her internal condition appear powerful, well-administered, and happy; to disseminate such an opinion she not only employs the said newspapers, but also especial agents, who are sent to all countries of Europe for the purpose of propagating such reports. It seems that the extreme anxiety wherewith Prussia has always been regarded by our actual ministers, has its origin in an erroneous estimate *of her*

power. In spite of her political tergiversations and commercial hostilities against England, Prussia has been considered as a state whose friendship, however precarious, would bring us honour and advantage, and whose decided opposition would entail on us disgrace and misfortune. But Prussia deserves no such high estimation. On the contrary, there is no civilized country in the world the situation of which has become more precarious by a bad system of government. We remember, for instance, that petition which the municipality of the city of Königsberg presented to the king some years ago, and in which the condition of that eastern province was represented as most frightful. Silesia, which formerly was one of the happiest provinces of Germany, is now exhausted by the covetousness of the Prussian government. (Prince Pukler Muskaw draws a just and striking picture of it in his *Tutti Frutti.*) Westphalia is the theatre of riots and disorder, as may be seen in the (censured) Augsburg Gazette of December, 1837, and in other German papers. Even the capital, Berlin, has been sometimes the arena of popular discontent and riot; especially when the new rite was introduced against the will, and in contradiction to the religious conviction of the inhabitants. Armed soldiers assaulted (dissenting) Protestant Churches, and killed the dissenters in the house of the Lord. Such facts, inconceivable in these times of religious tolerance, have happened in Prussia. The Augsburg Gazette relates several instances, the most striking of which occurred at the end of 1837, in the county of Gabelschwerdt, where several men were killed by the soldiers within the church.

In a word—Prussia is governed by a despotic and often imprudent cabinet; her provinces are submitted to capricious vexations; there is neither internal welfare nor exterior dignity in her position; she is the plague of Germany, and her most important position is that of an avant-garde of Russia. In this character she deserves from us no assistance, but rather to be regarded as a dangerous enemy: the more dangerous, as her enmity is hidden under the disguise of friendship. In carrying into execution against Prussia the means of opposition we have indicated, we should certainly succeed in changing the commercial relation between Germany and our own country,—and if that change, as it is probable, would be executed at the expense of Prussia, there would not be a single voice in Germany that would not congratulate us. The German nation knows Prussia to be the ally of Russia; it considers Prussia the arch-enemy of freedom and civilization, detesting both with equal hatred.

It is now above twenty years since continental Europe was under the despotic oppression of one man; since her commercial intercourse was interrupted, her social happiness destroyed, her

political independence confiscated, by the ambitious power of one individual. That individual was, however, the greatest man of his time, and the nations, groaning under his oppression, yet confessed his genius. England alone was unsubdued by the ruler of Europe; England alone resisted him: she resisted successfully, and the world owed to her its deliverance from the oppressor. Now Europe is again threatened by one single enemy, the Czar; and, like Napoleon, he also directs his schemes principally against England; like Napoleon, he causes his allies, Prussia and Germany (the latter indeed against her own wishes) to league against England and her commerce. Shall we, after having successfully resisted, after having vanquished the greatest genius of our century,—shall we not find means to resist the insidious Czar? We, who would not suffer the lion to invade us, shall we stand tamely with Lord Palmerston to be devoured by the wolf?

Even now we see Holland inclining to the Prussian scale, and admitting by treaty corn and Baltic timber under diminished duties, which the Prussian league recompenses by receiving sugar at a low rate of duty from Holland.

It may we know, and only of late, be argued that Austria and England, bound by the recent treaty, thus protect each other against the exclusive principles of Prussia and Russia, by the clause that opens the heart of Germany to the navigation of the Danube by the two first powers. But if this partial advantage, and it can only be partial with regard to the extent of country lost to our trade;—if this partial advantage be any recompense to us now in the south, is this any reason why we should heretofore have been negligent on the northern coast of Germany? What have we not lost by this neglect? and what forbearance has Prussia ever deserved of England?—Shall we recall the days of Haugwitz and Napoleon? Shall we recall her ever selfish and faithless policy thirty years since—the desertion of Austria, England, Europe, so basely ushered in by the seizure of Hanover? Has Prussia any one act of faith and firmness, beyond the only moment when her very existence required it, to allege in her favour? On the contrary, has she not more or less in every case justified the character given her by the poet?—

> "Oh! nursed in every wile, and practised long
> To crush the weak, and cringe before the strong;
> To snuff the coming fight, and, hovering near
> Like some base vulture in the battle's rear,
> To watch the carnage of the field, and share
> Each loathsome corse the prouder eagles spare; —
> A curse is on thee, Brandenburgh!"

ART. V.—*Dell' Italia: Libri cinque.* 2 tom. (Of Italy: Five books.)

THE publication of a work without an author's name, a title-page, or any means of identification, betrays of itself not merely the desire of the writer to remain unknown, but also the character of the performance. This, therefore, in the instance before us will readily be conceived as not in the slightest degree eulogistic of the persons and systems touched upon; and if a native of Italy can thus raise his voice against the ills and oppressions of his country, and thus loudly point indignation against her rulers and his own, we must most assuredly, without any reference to the correctness or exaggeration of his opinions, avoid even the slightest attempt to ascertain the author's individuality; and shall therefore studiously abstain from any thing but general observations, though this is contrary to our usual course.

It is generally admitted, in practice at least, that whatever the abstract truth or value of an opinion, much of its available influence, or even of its claim to consideration, arises from the character of the promulgator. The comparison of his language with his life is the general and most obvious test of his sincerity, and of his means of judgment also; it is the first guarantee of experience: the public in general desire, therefore, to know an author's name before reading his work, and the consequent indifference in the first instance towards all that is put forth anonymously, is not, as is too often supposed, the mere vulgar indulgence of an idle curiosity; but is, on the contrary, a tacit and incessant operation of a natural right on the part of mankind, as indeed its universality indicates, to know the grounds of the new dictation in the character of its assertor, and to learn "who made him a ruler and a judge over us." It may be, as in the case from which our words are quoted, either an insidious attempt to subvert an existing power, or a bold and generous assertion of human right, according as it is viewed by the Egyptian or Israelite, by the dominant or subjugated party; and both sides of this question must be included in the view which takes the action of the present moment, whether force or counsel, as the basis and germ of future principles and conduct.

The well-founded curiosity of the reader, however, and the, almost, duty of the reviewer to gratify it, may be fairly waived, we conceive, on an occasion like this before us. The state of Italy is so abject, the theory of revolution so widely spread, the might of despotism so strongly concentred, and anarchy in every shade and hue has so deeply and assiduously tinged the mind

of nations, that the bold emblems of principles stand out in obvious and direct opposition to each other, and revealed, like the hostile gods of the Iliad, to the eye of every one that reads the tale of our modern and political Troy; where every class, every pursuit, every passion, and every power, is ranged on one or another side of this direst conflict.

Where admitted principles, like recognized gods, are thus formally arranged for strife, we may, if it is allowable to carry on the illustration, safely dispense with the names of mortals, the individual leaders of the hosts. We ask no peculiar idiosyncrasies, no discriminative markings of individual character in such cases, but sink them all into the general shadow of a single denomination; fortis Gyas fortisque Cloanthus suffices, until the one pervading might of some newly-roused influence shall burst like Achilles upon the combatants, and carry victory in its train.

From these remarks our readers will easily deduce our impression that the author of "Dell' Italia" is not the fated hero of the field. In the power, it must be admitted, he is signally deficient, though by no means in the will, to be doing: and interesting, and eloquent, as is his exposition, and happy and even brilliant his occasional groupings, still in our calmer land and more saturnine judgment we should incline to doubt much of the majority of doctrines he sets before us.

The general development, however, of the two conflicting principles during the last five-and-forty years, has been productive of some service to the cause of humanity. Commencing in a burst of frenzy and an appeal to violence, the extreme of hate against despotism turned to an absolute idolatry of despotism, in the very land that had destroyed it; and the league formed expressly to uphold the integrity of thrones and despots, turned correspondingly to destroy this where it seemed too strongly established. Such was the outline; the filling up of the picture would, we are aware, impart a different character to its action; but can it be wonderful that the mass of mankind, incapable of discriminating the last, should have looked and acted on the bare impression of the former alone; should have turned their backs on all parties, all principles in succession, clinging merely to the ruling power of the day, and mistaking, in their confusion, force for right, and predominance for stability?

If this course of accidental action was carried out to such a degree in France, that eager but inconstant cradle of theories; a nation less the parent than the nurse of civilization; the first to receive and nourish each new-born infant of speculation at her breast, and to change it every month for a stranger; can we wonder that these hurried novelties should assume a larger growth

and more intense development when transplanted to the sister soil and more volcanic temperament of Italy? The same principle of existence, and with far fewer modifications, prevails through the whole of that unhappy land; and its peninsular form, that seems to promise a free intercommunication of products and thoughts with other realms, invigorated too in their passage by the bolder breath of ocean, yet by long desuetude of external intercourse, inflicting the disadvantages peculiar to its shape and position. It is but a feeble promontory into a land-locked sea; a narrow protension of jealousy, disunion, and weakness, that bind down the mind and the body, and bow both intellect and physical extent to the dominion of an amphibious, ecclesiastic rule: this, too, combines, as is usual in such cases, the worst portions of its heterogeneous constituents, and casuistically incorporates the tangible with the immaterial; perplexing the temporal into insubstantiality, and degrading spirituality into mere temporal objects and aims.

Thus the point of contact between matter and essence, the degree and extent of their junction or separation, which has confused or defied the most subtile and reflective minds of every age and every nation of the east and west, from the earliest ages to the present moment, has been peremptorily defined and settled by consistorial councils and conclaves of the Vatican; and administered to the unthinking, the blind, and the vulgar, as an article of faith under pain of eternal damnation.

It cannot then surprise any one that a system, not merely as arbitrary as it is vague in its influence, but, and from the very assumption of its complex nature, running counter to every known principle of fact, and brought imperiously and continually into collision with every effort of the human mind, both in science and government, should create reaction in many quarters: the weight that most effectually crushes us to earth at first, is necessarily that we strive against soonest, if we would preserve existence. To a power in excess, a power of countervailing excess is the indispensible opponent, by a just law of antagonism. Exaggerated oppression begets exaggerated hate; and the hostile principle of resistence should possess præterhuman energy in its source and centre, if it is to act effectively at its circumference, and upon others. We do not therefore look at the violence of much of the work before us; we may advert to some points in our examination; but must first present the general view of the political world taken by the author with considerable force and effect, and with as much of truth as would not mar the intended interest of his volumes.

"CHAPTER I.—EUROPE.

"Without the liberty, without the peace of Italy, neighbouring nations will never possess either full liberty or honorable peace. From the

earliest ages many a link has connected Italy with the most favoured portion of mankind: religion, genius, language, the arts, and commerce, arms, recollections; and even her very situation and shape: these links are not all broken, nor can nature consent to break them all. If Italian considerations then can never be separated from those of Europe, I deem it but right, in discussing Italian sufferings and hopes, to touch slightly the chief points of the sufferings and hopes of the whole European family.

"As animosities have subsided, doubts seem to have gathered strength in the human mind. War has passed from matter to spirit, and man feels divided from his brethren because division exists in the depths of his own mind. Men fly a deathlike quiet, and in change, simply because it is change, they seek an unknown good. They seek it, suspicious, impatient, inflamed with passionate disdain, haughty ardour, and sullen courage: they seek it, indifferent to the choice of paths towards their object; dreaming it ever close at hand, they rush towards it headlong; and finding in short-lived satisfaction only insatiate desire, they remain disappointed of results.

"See France, the envied and feared France, drag through the dust her deputies, her peers and her king; trampling as a child when weary of its toy, upon that charter for which she has lavished so many words, and so much blood: sending her soldiers, her valued soldiers, as sentinels to Greece, servants to Belgium, bravos to Ancona. See her soiled with native blood, blushing for the present, anxious for the future; without one settled opinion; now in sickly langour, now frantic with excitement: in senile terrors or infant rage for novelty; amidst apparent stagnation of events, ideas urging on, destroying each other, and blending, even where to seeming they differ most: see a republic in many minds assuming the semblance of despotism, and a wretched monarchy degenerating into an indifferent republic: disenchantments succeeding so rapidly as scarcely to allow the existence of illusions; the most fearful problems yet offered by Providence to humanity badly stated and still worse solved: thoughts, hopes, necessities of other nations, stealthily admitted by underhand means, exploding in France through an open crater, and spreading over Europe in sullen smoke or threatening scintillations. * * * * *

The state of Spain is concisely given, but with elaborate antithesis.—

"See in Spain a war excited between men devoted to a too ancient system and men devoted to a too novel hope: see an uncle contesting the sceptre with his infant niece, and hiding himself behind the swords of his followers; see guarantees of popular rights denied on one hand in the name of liberty, inflicted on the other as a chastisement, by the few on the many; inculcated amidst incendiarisms, rapine, and arms; and so many conflicting wishes and opinions mingled and shattered in the fragile mind of a female child."

The degrading condition of Portugal is portrayed at somewhat greater length.

"See Portugal in the hands of a girl; children and old men just now

encumber most of the thrones of Europe; the exhaustion of shameful discord cries for peace, and the desire of a few nobles is liberty; their liberty is like the twilight, not of the rising, but the dying day:—the palace is full of reptile courtiers; and the ministers are timid, extravagant, or vain: no more care of the people than if the people did not exist; no effort to inspire confidence or affection, or to rouse from antient indolence; to conquer ignorance, to lessen public expenditure, or prepare for the new war, perhaps impending nigh."

A slight sketch of England, presenting acts rather than causes, possesses considerable truth, and may serve as a text for a long and bitter homily; but the storm which the author anticipates in its effects is already sinking down to occasional gusts of half-exhausted, but unwearied and selfish agitation.

"See England, fearful for Ireland and herself, intent on patch-work rather than renovation; who from her actual state cannot prevent consequences resulting to destroy that very state: accustomed to make interest the measure of right, she fears to recognize rights not clearly convertible to immediate interests.—England, where private virtues have hitherto warded off the evils of civil corruption and political rapacity; where nobility was tolerated and great, so long as it had the power and the will to do good; now they must yield, since the will and the power, nay more than the power, are wanting."

We have Switzerland thus sketched.

"Next in Switzerland new customs, an aristocracy enraged at its own weakness; a democracy eager to ride above them, and demanding for the people more rights than they desire; for doubtful and unknown good risking all that is most desirable, gentle sway, contented obedience, simplicity of manners, tranquillity of life."

The Prussian provinces are struck off in one felicitous sentence; and the characteristics of Germany are happy.

"Next the Prussian provinces, for a time subject to France, aspire to more liberal institutions. Then Germany that feels the earth tremble under her Diet, and sees her armed peasantry of Holstein attack her cities.—Germany, prompt to conceive but somnolent in deciding, balancing many ideas rather than fix to any one; and starting numberless doubts in her way to certainty; that tries to scan herself and other nations through meditation, and by reasoning to discover man's capacity in action. England, France, and Italy she has taught to feel what powers of creation and destruction, what pains and pleasures lie latent in these airy theories; in these vague inclinations and that indetermination, the root, at once, and fruit of scepticism, the worst of evils for it is the most enduring."

The minor movements that complicate the position of Austria are next referred to; and the final sentence of the paragraph describes, we think with justice, the prospects of Russia.

"There is Hungary gnawing the rein, and desirous of changing, not from servitude to liberty, but from monarchical despotism to feudal barbarity. There are Servia and Bosnia in armed ferment; and Mahmoud replying to rebels, no longer with bowstrings but protocols. Styled an infidel by the people, despised, like the Pope, by his subjects; but, like the Pope, protected by European princes; protected by his proper enemies. There is Poland dominated by 85,000 bayonets, but not subjugated.—Poland, creatress of the purest of modern revolutions, and rewarded by the sympathy of all mankind; Poland, which, not from associating with the people in European conspiracies, not from a torch of discord raging in Savoy, Germany, Portugal, or France, can expect the light of liberty, but from its own virtues, its own fidelity, and from heaven. There is Russia, the ignorance of whose people is her only strength, worthy rival and heir of the Ottoman empire; Russia, that strange compound of exotic elegance and native barbarism; a monster with two heads, one in Paris, one in Siberia. Russia, more sordid and less civilized than Turkey; Russia, that scarcely changing from Asiatic, dies in becoming a European power."

The compressed strength of the Russian government over its own subjects, and the internal discontents and insurrections, so prominent on that stage in the last three months, have a strong tendency to confirm our anonymous author's prediction: the foreign position of Russia is a separate question, into which he does not enter here.

"Behold, in Algiers, civilization powerless to conciliate regard, and replied to by hatred, perhaps once again with arms. See in Egypt seeds of liberty scattered by the hands of a despot. View in Persia dull rumours murmuring of war; commotion beginning in tranquil India; and in China, the peacefullest, whole provinces resisting, battles of rebels, and mandarins slaughtered on the field.

"Watch principles of dissension in the glorious cradle of American liberty; Jamacia with her tumultuous negros; tumults in Brazil; slaughters in Peru, slaughters in Africa; and all Spanish-America a chain of volcanoes, or vomiting living flame or smoking with ill-suppressed eruptions.

"In other ages tremendous discords have agitated nations, but never have commotions been so contagious or deep-rooted; never have the passions of men so manifestly served, or felt themselves serving the cause of humanity; never have more extraordinary circumstances accompanied a wonderful change.

"Six revolutions in eight months; kings without people, people without kings; private individuals the creditors, and creators, of sovereigns. Princes scoffed for defeat, scoffed for victory; debased by exile, debased by sovereignty: vilified by popular contempt, vilified by the patronage of their compeers: servants of ancient monarchs in alliance with electors of a new; the plots of exiles spreading powerless through neighbouring nations; a host of mercenaries dying in the name of a girl, wearied by banishment from two countries, widowhood of two crowns.

"Men, as if conscious of no longer possessing a country, migrate to distant colonies in search of strange lands; new lands perpetually explored, and means of communication incredibly facilitated. Wants multiply faster than expedients to satisfy them; and such is this influx of wants, that, like the sea on the coast of Holland, it already rises above the soil we tread. What dykes can ever arrest the torrent, that, raging and turbid, it cannot break through?

"Will efficient bulwarks be found in the nod of a king or the ear of a spy? Efficient bulwarks in thousands of soldiers, when soldiers begin to feel shame at living without family or object, and dying fratricides and infamous? Or shall we find efficient bulwarks in the political constitutions, created by our legislators with such novel facility?"—vol. i. p. 9.

Our author returns to the charge against governments immediately afterwards, and in this same first chapter; but we need only quote his opinion of England, and subsequent remarks.

"* * * * Or lastly, the constitution of England, which does not prevent her from being the faithless trafficker alike of disunion and alliance, of illusions and disappointments, of freedom and tyranny; which does not teach her justice towards her colonies, humanity towards Ireland; of England, who has been unable to remove the influence of corrupting wealth from her clergy, corrupting ignorance from her people; the infliction of the lash from her soldiers; or from her manufacturing youths the still more horrible infliction of labours that leave no breathing-time for fulfilling religious duties, nor for the most urgent necessities of life."—p. 10.

"Hence we must conclude that such national guarantees, if not useless, are insufficient; and most of them have been created by the spirit of imitation, always servile, by cunning, or by experience; and to such may be applied the saying of the French deputy,* 'Legality destroys us.' In truth, if despots understood their own interests, they might with niggard generosity and well-concocted constitutions, divert the storm awhile from themselves. But, vacillating on the contrary, between provocation and fear, they tremble at the evils excited by themselves, and instead of extinguishing with their breath, they but fan the devouring flame.

"Even those sovereigns to whom the name of liberty ought not to sound terrific, conspire with the most shameless despots against the doctrines of expecting and credulous humanity. If the barbarism of Nicholas had not completed its work more promptly than their humanity: if thou, unhappy Poland, hadst conquered, the protocols of monarchy had awaited thee on thy way. The European powers, moved by thy victory and by the perils of thy new found liberty, would have hastened forward to stop thy exhausted hand, saying, 'Daughter, thou hast fought, and now we will speak—the word of a king avails more than the blood of a people. We will provide for ourselves, we will provide

* La legalité nous assomme.

for thy enemy, and, lastly, we will provide for thee.—Prepare thy soul for hope, thy breast for blows, thy neck for the yoke; and repose thee." —p. 12.

We are then favoured with portraits of two celebrated personages, drawn evidently in the life-time of the second.

"Unhappy he who hopes for liberty from any other strength but his own and Heaven's. Remember, neither justice nor humanity guides these princes. Contrive to show yourselves formidable or useful to kings, and you will be protected; you will become both by becoming better; and then you may do without royal protectors—then your time will come to pardon and protect. * * * The two evil principles which govern Europe in these days are incarnate in two evil men, Metternich and Talleyrand. Metternich, the prompting spirit of Nesselrode(!) the dextrous rider of Germany, and the real president of the Diet; Talleyrand, the alert setter of many sportmen, who scents misfortune from afar, and brings to the feet of his master republics and kingdoms as his game.

"In Talleyrand and in Metternich, I have said, are incarnate the two principles which will, perhaps, long survive these two miserable men: in Talleyrand, fraudulent and mocking policy, ever sold and ever for sale; the art of remaining the same under various forms, or of changing while retaining the same form: in Metternich, the policy of brute matter, the genius of inertness, the difficult art of stupidity.

"But far different from German stupor is the stupor that weighs down nations in our day; the stupor which arises after the chace of too many novelties, a stupor of doubt which freezes all affection, and weakens every social tie; the stupor left by the past, which vanishes like a dream, and seems to leave no traces, yet leaves them strong and deep. The inheritance of tradition has been wasted by our prodigal fathers; the chains of habit are broken; and without discriminating in the past the necessary from the useless, the transient from the eternal, we confound all in one undistinguishing hatred or attachment. And after having destroyed, or witnessed destruction, the foundations for building and instruments of restoration fail us. We have no fecundating principles, because we have no true objects; we take the means for the end: the means are variable, their season passes rapidly, and when it is gone we remain sad and disappointed; we betake ourselves to new means, as to ultimate purposes; and to a troublous dream succeeds a waking to sorrow.

"All these things teach us that political calamities are leaf and branch from a deep-set root; that, after all, political questions resolve themselves into questions of morals, philosophy, and religion; that the governors do not trust the governed, nor these the former, for neither have faith in any common principle, or at least they act as if they had no such faith; that actions are doubtful because ideas are unsettled; that men's minds are discontented, not only because they find neither satisfaction nor support in the justice and humanity of others, but because they are dissatisfied with themselves; that tyranny and servitude are so

long-lived, because the most ardent supporters of liberty still retain, in their habits and their intentions, something of tyranny and of servility; that conformity of habits and thoughts, virtue and faith, are either wanting or lie dormant in us; that education alone can restore or recall them; education is the sole remedy for such varied and deep-rooted evils.

"Such is Europe.

Our next extract has more of truth, and is also less vague than the preceding chapter.

"NAPLES.

"Although the young prince (Ferdinand) has had a wretched education, has trivial manners, and a feeble mind; though he has chosen imbecile ministers, and leaves this beautiful portion of Italy cut off, and, as it were, estranged from the rest of the nation, and from itself; although incapable of repairing public evils, and throwing impediments in the way of useful knowledge, by laying insupportable taxes on foreign books; although he allows the government to destroy municipal rights, and takes no beneficial step to moderate the ancient hatred between Naples and Sicily; nevertheless we must confess this prince, such as he is, to be the best among the princes of Italy. * * * It may be that he is compelled to it by the nature of the men over whom he reigns, and the power of opinion diffused through all ranks more equally than in any other portion of Italy. That he is the least bad of these princes is proved by his tolerance of private associations, which do more for public good than any public department; by some few of his decrees; and by his refusal to join in open alliance with the Austrians.* * * * * * Now there is no country in Italy where old and new evils, increased by inertness, appear more threatening than in the kingdom of young Ferdinand. Here sooner than elsewhere, and from very early times, grief for lost liberty, pride of conquered freedom, foreign invasion and civil massacres, domestic and foreign tyranny, debasement and courage, virtue and treachery, have manifested themselves. The lava which bears the bloody traces of the Normans, the Mahometans, the Swabians, the men of Anjou; the Arragonese, the French, the Spaniards; of Nelson, Murat, and Frimont, is an uncertain soil, covered with ruins and flames. Ancient, indeed, is the struggle there; most ancient and ever renewed the injustice and the vengeance.

"There long have been familiar conspiracy and defeat, the bliss of invoking a new yoke as a divine blessing. There long has the abyss yawned between the few placed upon the steeps of imaginary civilization, and the multitude indolently stretched at the base. Hence we find more marked, exaggerated it may be said, many good qualities and defects of the Italian nature; redundant powers of expression, of imagination, of thought, to which it is difficult for acts to correspond. Sensual existence is indulged and excited by so many allurements; hence the difficulties of inclining men of such quick intelligence, so versatile in will, to any true attachment and respect. Hence, it may be concluded,

* Ferdinand was then on the point of contracting a marriage with an Austrian princess.

becomes more urgent here than elsewhere the necessity for bringing powers and action into equal activity, by the best political institutions; and of rendering the faculties of the mind less unfruitful, and consequently better regulated, better satisfied, and stronger. To provide multiplicity of occupations, to engage, and, as it were, fatigue men's minds by a variety of new subjects, would be provident policy. But the king of Naples, does he think of his duties or his dangers?"

* * * * * * *

Judging at random we should imagine the writer to be a native of some part of the dominions governed by Charles Albert, from the peculiar vehemence with which that prince is assailed. We extract largely from this portion of the work, because it shows the strong working of the free Italian mind against one who certainly, from whatever motives is immaterial, betrayed the cause he espoused and turned traitor to his comrades. It would be idle to imagine Charles Albert a convert; the Austrian government that changed his conduct did not attempt to assail his principles, for it judged rightly these were nothing worth; and if the convictions of a previous life could lead this prince to republicanism, what can be said of the sudden alteration that interest alone, apparently, we might say demonstrably, effected in him. Were it possible that the change could deserve in reality the name of *conviction*, it could not be admitted as such by any honourable mind. He who stands elevated, as a ruler and guide, stands also as a beacon; and if there is precipitation and inconsiderateness in his conduct to the destruction of his followers, he has left him, in deserting them, no choice of infamy itself, but only an alternative of the mode of that infamy—a traitor, whether persisting in, or abandoning the cause.

"PIEDMONT.

"Charles Albert is the vilest of the Italian princes, if he is not the author of the worst evils: if he does not fear to employ in civil matters some of the distinguished men of his kingdom (and there are many); if he does not recoil from some degree of economical foresight; these things, which in other times, and done by another man, might obtain some gratitude, cannot efface infamy from his forehead.

"If he allows the heartburnings of humiliated Genoa to ferment, and by disregard increases them; if he does not think of giving better laws to his kingdom; if he leaves a free field to Jesuitical education; if his gibbets and prisons greatly surpass in abomination the intricate and treacherous policy that has disgraced his house, dishonourable and powerful governors of an honourable and powerful people, none can wonder. None expected better fruit from such a tree. * * * Charles Albert, the beloved brother of all legitimate princes, from the Bey of Tunis to Nicholas; Charles Albert some fourteen or fifteen years ago had other brothers, other allies: and with royal faith and royal courage he abandoned them

and expiated his fault by his treachery; not even then convinced of having made sufficient expiation, he hastened to combat the stranger with the stranger, to sell the blood of his own people to the cause so lately detested. Seeing the vision of the throne of Italy vanish, he clung with desperation to the throne of Sardinia. Timorous under the popular banner, brave under that of despots. * * * To Charles Albert the kings said, 'Thou wouldst have a throne: sell us thy honour; we will buy it with our favour;' and to Charles Albert this appeared a glorious bargain."—vol. i. p. 43.

"Italy is sufficiently warned to dread him as a giver of liberty, both by the circumstances which have taken place, and by the inveterate nature of kings. Charles Albert will never assume the mask of liberator till he sees matters desperate for himself and his fellows; when Italy no longer has need of him, and may regard him not as a help, but a hindrance. Let this be borne in mind by the friends of luke-warm liberty administered in the smallest possible doses; such are not wanting in Italy."—vol. i. p. 44.

"When Charles Albert mounted the throne he first attempted by force, and then sued for, the hopes of Italy turned on him; and many thought that from these heights were to flow the waters which should fecundate liberty throughout the land. Providentially Charles Albert disappointed those hopes—thanks to his own villainies and to God! As Italy must look chiefly for her own welfare to herself, so each portion of Italy should do the same. Contagion may be imported, health is indigenous. I conceive the movement must originate in one part, and communicate itself to the whole mass; but such part should be prepared and fitted for the movement. France or America, as well as Piedmont, may be the occasion of Venetian freedom; the occasion, not the cause; and if not nations, think whether kings."—vol. ii. p. 198.

This, however, was written long before Charles Albert was induced by the flourishing state of his dominions to take 10 per cent off the taxes of his Continental provinces.

We offer the concluding reflections on Italy:—

"He who despairs of Italy, must of necessity despair of all the human race, for ours are the destinies of Europe. Neither reason nor fact bear out the doctrine of those changes in which nations fall never to rise again.

"Three times has Italy risen, three times has she fallen. She has possessed the civilization of federated mercantile nations; she has possessed the glory of one sole city conqueress, benefactress and tyrant; she has possessed the multiplied life of rival republics; there remains to be tried the existence of the entire nation, either in one body politic, or separated into large divisions united by the bonds of federation. Nations fall it is true, but they rise again to move in a wider circle and with freer motion. All will rise again. The bright sun of oriental civilization has set, but the new day of true creation will begin from that side. England will fall, France will fall; they will taste of the languor, the ignominy, the scorn, the bitterness which their haughty sons cast each

day upon deserted Italy; but they will arise new, together with Italy, greater than before; and from their own calamities, they will learn to sympathize with, and to assist suffering.

* * * * *

"And ye, called the last four years, or the last fifteen years, to the bitter repast of exile, oh! make it scorned by noble examples; and if wishes and words may alone be granted you in your ill fortune, be those words lofty and those wishes pure. Give not to proud strangers the spectacle of despairing inertness or of impotent intrigue. Suffer with dignity; respect your brothers in adversity; imitate the illustrious among these, and they are numerous. * * * Be as models to your distant countrymen; make your enemies blush, not rejoice; create in exile an Italy pure, united, tending to her own perfection and her own glory by the force of lofty affections. Without affection there is no society, and there are no affections without faith in common principles.

"We should lay down common principles then for Italian and European society, or leave time for experience to point them out; or, better still, return to those already marked and then abandoned. On these conditions liberty awaits us, not sudden, I believe, but sure. Our day has been dark; but before it set, the sun, suddenly illuminating the dreary clouds, shone forth and inundated the land with splendid light. Slowly and watchfully in sorrow will pass the night, but the new day will arise serene at last, and will shine with the rays of gladness, if not upon our bowed heads, at least upon our tombs. And our sons looking upon them will say: 'Here rest those who have fought and wept for us; blessings and peace be with their sleep.'"

It is singular that this deep wail over the woes of a nation, and virulence against sovereign power, is exactly the state of every country in Europe where the Celtic race is widely disseminated and predominant. We cannot but think that it must be some inherent fault, the eager and restless temperament of that singular family of mankind, that contrasts everywhere so strongly with the descendants of other peoples. In all instances of the kind there is an apparent internal check to civilization beyond a certain limit, a dislike of actual institutions; a love of change; a spirit of individual disunion; and all are more or less in actual subjugation, and in all these cases too arising from an inordinate love of freedom. We have only to glance at the map: the Iberian Celts of Spain; the Milesian Celts of Ireland; the Pictish Celts of Wales and Scotland; the Sarmatian Celts of Poland, are not less remarkable than those of Italy, for the qualities we have enumerated as common to the original family; from all which, except only as to subjugation, the Gallic Celts of France are not exempt. In ancient Italy the case was strongly exemplified, where every other race sank under the predominant might of Rome: and she, the sole exception, would probably have proved the strongest in-

stance, but for the influence exerted over her by the conquest of Greece. The arts and civilization of the latter were transplanted and cultivated by Rome, but flourished only as exotics in a soil evidently foreign to their nature. The schemes of early Rome were immediate conquests, and violence towards her neighbours; the Latins would have been barbarians, had not the Greeks been their slaves. As it was, the dreams of Grecian imagination expanded the closer intellects and sterner aspirations of their masters, and acted upon their spirit only by modification and expansion, and not by essential alteration. The restlessness of fierce daring remained, but was enlarged; governments, institutions, arts, and sciences, all were tolerated merely, all were submitted to, because all were to be subservient to the energy of foreign conquest and dominion. The views and institutions of Greece were adopted, and even reflected, by Rome; but the objects of the two nations were essentially distinct and different. The aims of the first were individual, of the latter universal: the Greek sought to rule his country, the Roman to rule the world.

We turn, however, from political considerations to the milder duties of private life and feelings: and here we find much in which we can cordially coincide with our author; though the incessant declamatory tone, the first, imperfect efforts at a loftier style of composition and eloquence, continually awake a doubt that these excessively fine sentiments and excessively fine language are but a holiday guise, an ebullition of passions, rather than the settled convictions that actuate the conduct in every-day life. From these, nevertheless, we extract largely, as indications of the actual reasoning powers and domestic sense of Italy at this day.

"We will pass in review the rich and the poor, the city and the country, then woman, queen of the family and most influential instructress of man. Thus after having examined the various orders of society, coming to employments and professions, we will consider the administrators of power, the dispensers of public instruction, the ministers of religion; finally, distinguishing men according to their opinions, we will speak of the indifferent, of those attached to the present, and of the friends of a new order of things. Treating this wide field, we beg to be read with the same love for the welfare of humanity with which we write. If our words appear severe to some we ask excuse from the necessity of the thing, and we promise the willing retractation of any error which can be proved to us an error. In one thing only the writer does not fear to have erred, and that is the most important of all; that which moves him to speak, that which is the animating principle of his weary life. I fear no error in believing that to Italy and to the world, peace and liberty can alone come from the religion of Jesus Christ, and that the other r.ad can only lead to useless experiments and

shameful discord. Already the aversion to all religion begins to appear a superstitious folly, already mockery rebounds against the mockers of Christ, already every sincere faith is looked upon as a respectable thing and indispensable to the happiness of man; already in each secret fibre of the human being, a name vibrates, and persists invincibly; if repulsed it returns and makes itself felt more sensibly than a mere name, a mere idea,—with it every thing is lofty, without it every thing is mean;—it is the name of God."

There is truth in the following, but to declaim is far easier than to discover a remedy not destructive of independence of spirit.

"THE POOR.

"No, God never created this smiling sky of Italy, these gentle plains, these cheerful hills, as a contrast to and insult upon the miseries of man: he never gave to the sons of Italy minds so lively, and so apt for all good impressions, in order that a few lost in pride should revel in the enjoyment of all that is useful, and in all the treasures of the beautiful, while the many should languish in the silence, in the ignorance, and the solitude of poverty. A single individual suffering from the want of necessaries, there where many suffer a weary satiety of superfluity, is a disgrace, not only to those in power but to the whole city. Now if the youth are bred up by thousands to a way of life which hardly allows them to gain a subsistence, still less to obtain any healthy food for the mind; or even means of becoming, without additional misery, fathers and mothers;—if thousands of females grow up without any other portion than early, insidious, and rapidly passing beauty; to whom adolescence brings only tormenting yearnings, and youth only peril; for whom love is a misfortune, and the title of mother only grief and suffering: all may see that such a state cannot last without tremendous danger."

The aristocracy merely of wealth, is especially obnoxious to the preceding observations.

"THE RICH.

"Intellectual culture is neglected by the greatest number; the fine arts become a means of corruption, when not administering those deep impressions which condense a whole existence into a sigh. The fountain of true, that is, of deep enjoyment, is poisoned, and life remains one tedious search after pleasure, which still recedes as it is pursued—and what can be more miserable than those pleasures which, like rotten weeds upon a pond, float on the minds of those blessed with fortune. They know not how to alternate these pleasures with wholesome exertion; they know not how to direct them to an aim; they know not how to answer to that voice of truth which pleasure itself awakens in the heart of man, to make him aware of her own sublime nature; hence the torment which renders these unhappy beings more miserable than the poorest wretch.

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"I know no innovations more dangerous than those suggested by

mere physical advantage, without some more lofty aim. Terrible, more than a hundred tyrants, terrible would be that day, in which the Italian people should arise to fight, not for the rights of their own souls, not for the happiness of posterity and the dignity of their own brethren, but for a softer bed or a less hard crust of bread. I call him a conspirator, not a liberator, who barters with hunger or with the avarice of a people, as a seducer makes barter of the helplessness of innocent beauty; he comes to the people and buys patriotism as he might buy treason. It is disgraceful to make pecuniary advantage the medium of liberty, to make the most unchangeable of causes depend upon a hope so often fallacious, to endeavour to elevate the human mind by the very means which provide its pollution. On the contrary, it is great to say,—'We are the martyrs not the vendors of liberty, to her name we have consecrated our whole being, because we know no name more dear or venerable after that of God. True liberty brings also the comforts of life: but he who seeks from her only the comforts of life may despair of finding even these. And when we speak of these comforts, it is not for ourselves, but for our brethren who suffer, for our aged fathers, for the children of our friends, for the mother of our enemies, if indeed among those who bear the name of Italians we still have enemies: could each of us, like the divine Redeemer, collect in himself the ignomy, the sufferings, the agonies of the human race, each of us would yearn to redeem the miseries of all, even with the cost of life.'

"These words are awful yet gentle and worthy of Italians, and I know some who could utter them in strength and lowliness of soul, but they are few.

"It will be said that no change of state can ever be brought about by a nation all heroes; that with lofty feelings are always mixed some evil passions; that the generous intentions of the few must suffice to direct the aim of the many; that we must not stop to consider intentions when the effect is good.

"This is in part most false and detestable, in part true; but it is also true that the most fortunate revolutions have been ushered in by the most upright intentions; that even the lowest populace in taking arms have known how to die for something nobler than a piece of silver or a loaf of bread, for even the lowest populace have souls capable of sublime inspirations."

The next subject, like the preceding, affords ample room for declamation in all ages; but there is some novelty and interest in the views taken by our author, as well as much folly, inconsideration, and impracticability.

"WOMAN.

"Families are the foundation and guard of the social state. Now in Italy, as elsewhere, the families of the poor are the most virtuous, and this confirms what we have already said, that our hope is in the people.

"What the generality of mothers among the rich are, the effects prove: devoured by the demon of ennui, slaves to appearance, slaves to human prejudice, slaves to foreign fashions, in dress, in food, in language:

unfit to find in lofty thoughts a diversion from their own misery; apt only to weaken the minds of the miserable beings, incapable of pity, who surround her. And is this woman, the mistress of all gentle thoughts, the angel of consolation, she who reveals to man the secrets of his own soul? She on whom depends the peace of our existence, the destiny of our sons?

"All are not such as I have described, and less so in Italy than in France; but still there are too many, and they are precisely those who attract most notice, and whose example is most contagious; those who move in the narrow circle called high life, on the motions of which it is supposed the fate of nations depend. They think indeed sometimes of liberty and prattle of it; and they present as harbingers of liberty, illness, vanity, affectation of ill, weakness of body, of will, and of thought. They talk of liberty and live in the midst of balls and intrigues.

"While thousands languish, while the present lours, and even lightnings gleam the darkness of the future; do they find a tear for so much suffering? In them the love of change is a foreign fashion, and they dream of liberty as of a diversion to their present ennui, as an incitement to pleasures.

"If the despots were to say to the greatest number of those who thus dream of liberty,—'Ye ask for liberty? Ye shall have it on one condition: no more wanton luxury, no more stupid parties, no daily theatre. The richest and the most delicate amongst you shall mark each hour by some useful work, shall bring up her own children, shall take charge of her household cares; she shall seek out the poor as now she seeks out amusements, she shall benefit them not only by giving them food, but by improving them; she shall benefit by holding them in esteem. She shall alternately inhabit town and country; her duties fulfilled, she shall acquire the knowledge of her own rights; she shall exercise these, and teach them in her own family; and the rights of the poor, of the oppressed, and the ignorant, these too she shall defend.' . . . If thus spoke the despots, what would be your answer?

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"In the present day marriage portions and the dread of the devouring expenses of married life render early marriages impossible; or else they take place too early, inconsiderately, and unconsecrated by the paternal benediction or maternal example.

"Unschooled in their reciprocal duties and rights, the unfortunate couple find themselves yoked together, not knowing how, or to what end. Oh! the torments, the suspicions, the misery, the new passions that arise in the unsatisfied mind; that render their days stormy, their nights full of despair; that darken their future days, making every amusement a source of new bitterness; and, what the existence of misery could not do, teaching them to convert unhappiness into a habit, and the agitation of resentment into the fixed character of the mind. Oh! who can utter the miseries which both for men and women are prepared by a desultory improvident education, which teaches us neither to be free with dignity nor to be slaves with tranquillity.

"In family ties consists public weal. So long as woman continues to

be at once slave and tyrant, not only princes but citizens will be at once slaves and tyrants; for if the evils, tyranny and servitude, were not mingled and blended together, and if the governors and the governed did not partake of both, these ills could not be so tenacious as they are. If subjects did not take a delight in domineering over and despising their equals, they would not with such cowardice be trampled upon by kings. Woman, we repeat, is one of the roots of slavery; if in families the old, and yet ever new precepts of love, be not fulfilled, liberty can only add licence to animosities, a new force to the spirit of destruction.

"Then where minds are not fitted to the charge of domestic cares, every other charge which is superadded finds them harassed and ineffective. Unfit to govern himself, how can man give a rational education to his children? and woman, devoured by unutterable and ill-endured sorrows, how can woman diffuse serenity over her family, instil fearless and noble sincerity, and promote attachments neither submissive nor overwhelming? How shall her children have that wisdom which alone makes men and republics great, the wisdom of the heart? Let us weep over the ills of this most unhappy being, for they are our own; let us weep over their desperate and uneasy resignation, for it is like the impotent disquiet, the compulsory, factitious peace of Italy.

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"The relations which exist between the child and the adult, between man and woman, between master and servant, between the rich and the poor, are all tyrannical. The weak in age, in sex, in station, in fortune, are ever oppressed and subdued, and therefore ever rebellious. It is not enough to change political forms; we must regenerate education, marriage, families, municipalities. We must provide that no one shall think him or herself stronger than the other; that the child, the beggar, the scullion, the old woman, the guilty wife, all shall have their rights. This is liberty, all the rest is smoke.

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"From woman will always arise either great impediments or great assistance to freedom. Woman in Italy, capable of inspiration, prompt to obey, prompt to command on proper occasion, is a guarantee for us of a fate less hard. Even where men are most spoiled, most weak, women are less spoiled, less weak, than they. But imperfect and ill adapted instruction given to women in Italy is often an incitement to ill.

"They feed body and mind with song and dance, desultory reading, and delicate indolence: they make a boast of weakness of mind, and a pleasure of susceptibility to the slightest annoyance, while they heed not the real ills of their country, their husbands, their sons, or their own hearts. Let them have less music, less dancing; let them avoid schools and convents; let them communicate with their equals, with the lower classes, in the presence of their own family; let them learn and love many things and many reasons with a pure and innocent love; let the hours of women be filled with occupation, and distributed for various studies; let them learn and understand household cares; and let no ranks disdain the very lowest of those cares, for no rank is free from the wants which are satisfied by those cares, and it is requisite to know the use of

the needle. Let them have sober reading, and the elements of those natural sciences which are most suitable to women; modest gymnastic exercises, games such as excite the mind to address: all things in short tending to one aim, but without letting that aim appear ever in view, or exercise a despotic sway.

"Let them all have an occupation by which they can earn their livelihood; let them turn to some of the most easy trades, and let them hasten the time when woman shall be able to live independent of man, and treat him as an equal; when she will give up to him from love, from reason, or from duty, not from the influence of unjust law or mere necessity; when in many offices of private and public life woman may take the place of man, and be to him a helpmate and a friend in the full extent of that most exalted word; when the time alone and not the means shall be wanting to her good works.

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"Women who bring up citizens, who lead states, who can read, and think, and pray; who have duties and rights,—women, even they will become one day electors of deputies, and not only electors but elected; in every municipal council, in every provincial and national assembly will sit at least one woman. This appears now a thing ridiculous to propose, so well do most free-men understand liberty."

We cannot but pause a moment in the midst of these fantastic tirades to point out to the reader some circumstances that strongly impress us during the perusal. It is worthy of notice that all the professors of liberalism show themselves its converts only so far as consists in claiming from their opponents the utmost latitude of thought and expression in favour of theories, and against all existing institutions; and in making, on the other hand, no allowance whatever for the opinions of their opponents in return. A liberal, of course, hates his own sovereign most of all; but he hates all others by sympathy, though in minor degree; and every thing like rule and order is so obnoxious to him, that all persons, however innocent of the acts themselves, yet if placed even in the connection of relationship or marriage with their rulers, must of necessity be vilified; and this the more, in proportion as their sex or conduct renders the outrage more revolting to the feelings of the individual and the common sense of the world at large. Exactly as all decency in England is disgusted with the wanton abuse by a notorious pauper-fed libeller of a military chief whose laurels might bar even the lightning, if it came from heaven, and whose worth and integrity of principle are acknowledged and prized by all but the basest, who envy a renown they cannot imitate; so our Italian reformer of morals and proprieties includes in his sense of duty to his country a diatribe against one individual for the serious crime of being a woman, or an empress; we cannot tell which. Of what avail, we would fain ask, are these

sublime sentimentalities, so novel to nature and to society that in the nineteenth century they require a formal announcement to the world at large, if, after all, they are not reducible to practice by their very preacher, in the common form of decent forbearance?

Admitting even that the then reigning sovereign of the House of Hapsburgh was the worst of tyrants, (which the writer, as we shall see immediately, does not venture to affirm,) this chivalrous champion of womankind does not hesitate to stigmatize his empress for the formal crimes of dancing well and using a looking-glass! (vol. i. p. 46). Reform, we learn, is proceeding only by instalments, but what a happy moment will it be for regenerate Europe when the fair sex shall dispense with the duties of the toilette, become iconoclasts of mirrored images, and imitate "the great unwashed," in just abhorrence of a candid reflection of their own faces.

But the political conduct of Austria is, in the writer's opinion, so bad that he can say but little about it: and with what he has said upon the subject it is just possible the Austrian government might continue to exist, especially as our author puts forth this notable proposition against the (late) emperor Francis, "He was the greatest of oppressors *because* he was the *least*." We shall not stop to scrutinize this sagacious assertion, because it is no part of our duty to explain what we do not understand; and because we think it, like Sir Lucius O'Trigger's quarrel, "very pretty as it stands, and any explanation would but spoil it." Some attempts, it is true, are made by the author to define his meaning, doubtless from the very natural misgivings of his own mind: but these we pass over. We merely suggest, however, that the idea itself is not original, but simply a translation from the well-known line in an English tragedy,—

"My wound is great, because it is so small."

to which the Duke of Buckingham subjoined impromptu,

"Then it were greater, were it none at all."

"EDUCATION.

"In education is all our hope: among so many painful spectacles there is one comfort; the anxiety with which on all sides schools are multiplied, new methods are tried, and books on education are read. But there is a great difference between instruction and education, and sometimes the advance of the one injures the other; there is an ignorance happier, purer, more refined; possessing more strength than knowledge when this is incomplete, conceited, and licentious.

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"Instruction should be open to all, but forced upon none; it should be open to the poor, to orphans, to the illegitimate. To orphans society should furnish a guardian; to the illegitimate child a guardian

and a name; he should be made in all respects equal to others, if afterwards his discoverer, his parent, let him have his share of the inheritance as if he were legitimate, until the rights of inheritance become by new laws better adapted to Christian truth. A father who by concealing the existence of an illegitimate child, should have cheated a third party into any contract whatever, should be punished as for a fraud."

"ON DUTY.

"It would be satisfactory to find one principle from which should be derived the reason of all things good and profitable to us as individuals and as citizens; a principle which in its simplicity should comprehend the true spirit and the best effects of force, necessity, justice, and love; and should only afford to them moral land-marks, surer guarantees, and a more stable foundation. Let us not seek for this in abstruse theories, and we shall perhaps find it more easily. We have it in the invincible love of self, which is ever confirmed by human actions and human thoughts, even the most mischievous and most guilty; this innate love of self leads man incessantly to seek his own good, and he finds it in the simple exercise of his moral, intellectual, and corporal faculties.

"From this love spring our inclinations and our wants; and of this exercise of these faculties, if immoderate, spring vexations, griefs, remorse, discord, war, and death painful and dreaded; if on the contrary moderate, spring pleasure, joy, peace, and the hope of still greater blessings. The moderate exercise of these faculties conduces to their own perfection; their immoderate exercise degrades and weakens them. If one faculty is exercised beyond its due proportion, all the rest are injured by it; if exercised within its proper limits, the rest are benefited. There is therefore no real love of self without the exercise of the faculties of the individual, nor any complete exercise of the faculties without order and without harmony.

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"And now then the *useful* is become *duty*. The angelic soul of Fenelon on one hand confounds self-love with love of self; on the other, Helvetius and Bentham have poured out but few spare drops of the mystic cup of human happiness, or, stirring it rudely, they have shown us only the drugs. Yes, truly, the useful has its share in all human attachments, all human actions; yes, all human calculations resolve themselves into calculations of utility; but this utility is the most rigid of all legislators; it is not mere material utility, and out of material benefits themselves it comes forth most immaterial, and therefore most true; it is not to be sought in its ultimate effects, but in its own deep cause and source.

"Helvetius and Bentham have prostituted in vile language the two most pure truths. Truly did Homer distinguish between the language of gods and the language of men.

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"The origin of duty is an invincible instinct of nature; from duty right is generated and branches forth.

* * * * *

"He who neglects a duty loses a right."

Like the foregoing, the following passages abound in attempts at truth and lapses into error: whatever his objects and talents, power of judgment and calm reasoning are assuredly not the author's forte.

"THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENTS.

"When Filangeri affirms the conservative principle to be the aim of government, he is mistaken. All governments, even without the efforts of men, by the mere slow operations of time, fall and crumble away, and it is fitting to innovate according to circumstances. Their aim should be, not their own preservation, but the perfection of the human race. To attempt nothing new is flagrant injustice: and republics may sin in this way no less than monarchies. Every mode of government, where political acuteness must stand, like a rope-dancer, upon the equilibrium of power, with one rank opposed to another;—by which means it is supposed the state will be maintained:—all such governments will either languish impotent of all good, or will be agitated by aimless discord.

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The following sage remarks are but a crude adoption of our late New-Lanark teacher's doctrines.

"In this respect of all rights, civil or political, of property or monarchical authority, evil does not grow out of change itself so much as out of the manner, the time of the change, or the intention of those who bring it about. To dispossess proprietors, as in the French or the Portuguese revolutions in Asia, is a sin. Christianity, as it has already destroyed slavery, so will it gradually destroy property, the last hold of slavery; but human violence will only heap ruins, and render slavery more insupportable because more sensibly felt. Take not away rights from the few, but extend them to the many.

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"Capital, enjoyment, strength, and lives are wasted to an immense amount, through the prejudice which considers property as an individual right.

"For instance, were many sufficient storehouses situated contiguously or in one building, it would save materials, firing, space, tools, and persons employed in the care of the goods; commercial associations would spare middle-men, agents, travelling clerks, and various apparatus of business; so on in every thing. By association, each individual, relieved of many and most pressing cares, would have a better opportunity of developing his own faculties; he would *do* more; he would learn more; and many occupations, labours, and offices, which now consume the entire life of certain ranks, would be accomplished by the co-operating works of all hands in a few spare moments. In this alternation and community of occupation, women would have their share, and a large one. For the real regeneration of nations, it is necessary that all present riches change their present possessors, not by rapine or confiscation, by gift or any other gratuitous mode, but by industry and enterprize.

"Suffering, and the perpetual goading of calamity, will never diminish, till men, raising their eyes from their own miseries, turn them towards God, reverencing him, and looking to him alone for peace, strength, and glory * * * * * * With religion will arise men thinking and saying and doing great things; with religion will arise new principles, and means of easy and perfect government."

We do not profess to understand all or much of the following; but it shows the writer earnest and honest, however enthusiastic and mistaken.

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"Future pontiffs will find, or will assist to form religions, not material and full of show, decked in gold and silver, but full of the adoration of the spirit; this will be truly the Catholic religion, living and giving life, an expansive not a compressing power; a thing unimaginable to us, degraded and become impotent to understand, not only the future but the past. Rather than extend our hand to the veil which covers the future, and rend it with the weak points of our systems, it becomes us to reverence this mystery as a provident law, a source of virtue and of enjoyment. This undefined atmosphere, in which float the germs of so many things yet unknown, has something of the awfulness of infinity; it allows the mind to breathe more at large, and leaves a wider field of human creation, for truly desire is creation. Sure am I that the Catholic religion, in its essence, will never be destructive of the new liberty of nations; it will, on the contrary, assist to establish them.

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"Propose to yourselves as examples, the new things attempted in the time of the apostles, of the early popes and bishops, and wise men; bring back some things to their pristine simplicity; add other and ever new ones, which shall answer to the ever-pressing wants of innovation, of the age; turn and direct them to good ends. Endeavour not reforms—reform is a poor word—but the renovation of the intimate essence of existence, and a daily and uninterrupted renewal of life. New truth, if we consider rightly, is a truly Catholic thing; error on the other hand is a thing ever old, and heresy ever mouldy: error is the rind of new truths, but the rind does not itself yield fruit: truth is an eternal root, ever fruitful, ever bringing forth new flowers and new fruits. Variety in unity affords both truth and beauty; variety without unity is rottenness and death; take away unity, and not only ten, but even four, elements, cannot hold together. Before the existence of the Christian religion, and after the birth of the sects which have divided it, human nature has been capable of great efforts in proportion as it has had strength of belief, and accordance in faith. Sects, even though not Catholic, have lasted, insomuch as they have had something of a Catholic principle in them. Something of a Catholic principle made the grandeur of the East, of Etruria, of Greece, of the Roman republic.

"Union of faith in things human and divine is a necessary condition for erecting or understanding great things; this is the germ enfolding all human destinies.

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"The stream of ages will not roll back; the world wants a new state of things, and seeks for it; and never have the yearnings of all humanity been vain, nor ever will they be. The world wants a new state of things, but not a new faith."

We must conclude by turning from these flimsy speculations, and taking a single extract from a humbler subject, on which it will be seen, as in most others we have selected, that the writer's ignorance is at least equalled by his presumption. The "sacred science" of diplomacy is thus unceremoniously handled and begins with this auspicious eulogy:

"Mercury was the god of ambassadors and thieves; that which bears the barbarian name of diplomacy was an invention of the stupid times of tyrannical cunning. It commenced with the 17th century, when ardent injustice destroyed shame; when the last images and memories of liberty perished from the face of Europe.

"The diplomacy of feeble governments is composed of boasts and intreaties; the diplomacy of the strong is composed of complaints and counsels; effectuation by threats, or else spontaneous confessions of weakness.

"The diplomacy of Italian revolutions, if it is desirable to avoid appearing abject imitators of the acts of princes, must be boasts: and the boasts of the powerless are ridiculous. Hence the revolutionists must have no diplomacy, for theirs cannot be held in honour."

This profound remark of the new race of Italian statesmen, is illustrated further by the following example; rather singular, we would observe, as cases in point:

"France, when she effected any thing, had no diplomacy; and Napoleon sunk down to diplomacy only when his power was on the wane."

We need not, probably, pursue further a topic so utterly misunderstood and consequently so ill-treated: if relations are not to be maintained, nor a medium of authentic explanations and concert in action preserved, war and despotism must be even more than now the lot of humanity.

Our readers will probably agree with us, that the writer of these volumes has done wisely to hide his name, if he has any regard for rational reputation. It is not the mere talent of fluent declamation that can make a patriot into a statesman; and the Italian states will have little to fear from reasoners so feeble, so verbose, and extravagant. Yet such in every country are the men who would fain overturn establishments, to set up theories, without bestowing a thought upon their practicability!

The Author's style is good; we wish we could say as much of his work; but he is evidently very young.

ART. VI.—*Schiller's Flucht von Stuttgart und Aufenthalt in Manheim von* 1782 *bis* 1785. (Schiller's Flight from Stuttgard and Residence at Manheim from 1782 to 1785.) Stuttgard and Augsburg. J. G. Cotta. 12mo. 1836.

UNTIL lately the biography of Schiller has been written with a disregard to facts, remarkable even in Germany, where this department of literature is singularly barren. The learned of that country, who have searched with great success into the records of the earliest and remotest nations, and who also with equal diligence and acuteness develope in their works on abstract subjects the hidden springs of human actions, yet strangely disregard the lives and characters of illustrious men of all classes, although the career of these rarely fails to furnish philosophical history with some of its best analogies and surest lights. The memoirs of the French have no parallel among their neighbours beyond the Rhine; and the biographies published in the United States of North America, which are already numerous, and highly interesting, suggest, perhaps, the true reason of the deficiency we are remarking. It probably springs from the political inactivity of the Germans. The spirit of conquest in France and the spirit of freedom in America, have called into action a vast variety of individuals; and the public of both countries find in their history materials of the greatest interest. In Germany, with the stimulus of active life absolutely wanting, it is not surprising then that the same interest should not be felt, and consequently that the materials of their history should be less regarded.

In the case of Schiller, the paucity of true details published concerning his life has led to capital errors upon its most remarkable periods; and although the noble character and fine genius of this eminent man have long been well appreciated by both his own countrymen and foreigners, it is only now that many particulars regarding him are beginning to be correctly known, and they are such as must necessarily elevate him still higher in public estimation.

A few extracts, to be taken presently, from Mr. Carlyle's able memoir of Schiller, will show the extraordinary inaccuracy of all the former narratives which that zealous and enlightened biographer consulted.

Although the first years of Schiller's childhood were passed without much instruction, for he was delicate, and his mother devoted herself exclusively to the care of his health, he soon made up for this small portion of lost time. In his sixth year he began to learn reading, writing, Latin and Greek; and at this period he is known to have exhibited poetical and oratorical talents, even in his amusements. In his ninth year (1768), He-

brew was added to his studies, to qualify him for the Church, which he had chosen as a profession: and in the period from 1769 to 1772 he passed three examinations in theology exceedingly well. His studies were somewhat interrupted by the effects of a too rapid growth upon a feeble constitution; but as his health improved he applied again so earnestly to his books, that his masters were obliged to admonish him to moderate his labour, lest body and mind should alike suffer from the exertion. At this time he was a distinguished boy, remarkable for his indifference to boyish sports, but joining in them cheerfully and vigorously to please his schoolfellows.

The proof of his early proficiency is complete. The Grand Duke of Wurtemberg had founded a military school, and its success was so great that the courses of study, limited at first to the fine arts with a few pupils only, was extended to all the sciences, and with numerous classes. In order to fill this school respectably, special inquiries used to be made of the masters through the whole country, to ascertain what boys possessed the best abilities; and upon one of these occasions Schiller was reported as the most remarkable of them for talents of every kind.

The youth's family and himself had strong objections to his entering the duke's military academy, inasmuch as it completely deranged his destination for the Church: but, as his father was in the public service, his highness's offer of a free choice of studies, without expense, and accompanied by a promise of a better provision than the ecclesiastical profession would afford, was, after some resistance, finally accepted, from apprehension that a refusal might expose the family to the prince's resentment.

The details, which follow in the memoir, are very remarkable; and disprove completely the imputation of idleness often cast upon him.

"It was with a heavy heart," says the writer, "that Schiller, now only fourteen years of age, quitted the parental roof, to be received into the military academy; and he chose the law for his profession, because this alone afforded a prospect of providing suitably for the wants of his parents. But the dry details of this study so little harmonized with his enthusiastic nature, that in the annual *confession* required from the pupils as to their character, inclinations, and bad or good qualities, he could not refrain from annexing the following passage to his first declaration: '*I should think myself happier if I could serve my country as a spiritual teacher.*' No attention was paid to this wish, decidedly as it was expressed, and much as it redounded to his honour; he had therefore no choice but to pursue the law; and he did so with exemplary diligence. But a new trial awaited him. At the end of a year the duke informed his father that, as there were too many law-students in the academy, his son could not, on quitting it, have so good a post in that branch of avocation as he could wish: if, however, the young man

would turn to medicine, he would in the course of time provide for him advantageously. A new struggle for Schiller! and new troubles for his parents! The conciliating temper, however, which never left the former in any of the changing scenes of his life, bore him through this trial also, and he submitted to the proposal.

"When Schiller began this medical course he was in his sixteenth year. His application was as usual, vigorous and discriminating; and hopelessly repulsive as he had anticipated the new study to be, a short trial disclosed many attractions. Its several parts were at first uninteresting, but he soon perceived they had a close connection with the great circle of Nature's works, and that they promised one day to unfold to him in man the mutual influences of matter and mind. From his earliest youth, his reflective and deeply inquiring habits had been stimulated by the hope of making great discoveries in science, and working out some few grand results from the multitudinous details of nature presented to observing eyes.

"Attracted by such brilliant anticipations, and defying the prescribed rules, which however could not be entirely evaded, Schiller took advantage of every leisure hour to indulge his taste for history and poetry. Klopstock was one of his favourite writers, and the most congenial to his feelings, which ever fervently clung to the sublime objects of religious faith. Unconscious, however, in the simplicity of his youth, of the high position awaiting him, and equally unconscious then of the divine gifts so abundantly lavished upon him, he would often call his decided taste for poetry an idle indulgence of imagination, and in this temper of mind would reproach himself for taking many an hour unprofitably from his profession. In fact, his poetical distractions were for a time indulged to the disadvantage of his medical studies, and brought upon him some reproofs from his professors. Still, in order to gratify his parents, whom he so dearly loved, and actuated also by a just pride, he was in reality more diligent and zealous than any of his class-fellows.

"Sometimes, indeed, poetic images would present themselves to his not unwilling mind, without being in the smallest degree connected with his graver studies: but was it a fault in him to be unable even to behold anatomical drawings and subjects on a limited scale, without being at once led by his active fancy to call up before him the whole vast round of Nature? or, when listening to his professors, even with close attention, how could he prevent his devoted muse pouring seductive whispers into his apt ear, and, despite his sincere resolves, leading his mind astray in the fields of poesy? Both were impossible: the involuntary workings of his genius were too strong for control; as if introduced by some magic power, images and thoughts fermented in his inward soul, multiplying more and more with the growth of his reason, and acquiring overwhelming influence with the enlargement of his ideas."—p. 16—23.

Schiller, nevertheless, had strength of mind to govern these inclinations of his taste—

"He was not slow," adds the memoir, "to perceive that with his attention thus diverted from professional studies, *professional success*, his great object, would never be obtained. Although his masters were struck by his originality, and by his marked superiority over his fellow-students,

he exacted far too much from himself to be satisfied with what he had hitherto accomplished. When in his eighteenth year, therefore, he resolved *to read nothing, write nothing,* and *even to think of nothing,* but that which related to medicine, until he should have completely mastered the science. In spite of the great sacrifice this resolution imposed on Schiller, he followed it up with extraordinary perseverance for two years. It was then that he studied thoroughly the medical works of Haller; and during this period he prepared himself, in the short space of three months, for an examination which gained him high testimonials. The effort seriously affected his health; for during it he denied himself even the relief of conversation; but he thereby became sufficiently familiar with all the branches of the medical profession to enter upon practice with competent skill."—p. 23.

Of such a career, it is truly surprising to find by any possibility errors, like the following, recorded in the pages of Mr. Carlyle; a writer distinguished by great knowledge of German literature, and so earnestly desirous of extending rather than narrowing the fair fame of his subject, that his biography wears more the air of an eulogy, than of a Life of Schiller.

"His progress," says Mr. Carlyle, "though respectable or more, was little commensurate with what he afterwards became. . . . Thoughtless and gay, he would dissipate his time in childish sports, forgetful that the stolen charms of ball and leapfrog must be dearly bought by reproaches. . . . . He passed for an unprofitable, a discontented, and a disobedient boy."—*The Life of Frederick Schiller,* pp. 7 & 20.

It is no disrespect to the acute critic to suggest that he ought to have taken a more cautious view of this interesting part of Schiller's history, the published details of which he states to have been "*meagre and insufficient,*" when he himself wrote.— p. 3.

The promised appointment, a surgeoncy to a Wurtemberg regiment, was a poor reward for laborious perseverance;—mean in dignity, and in pay inadequate even to Schiller's moderate wants.

But the play of "The Robbers," begun in his 17th year, and finished at the few intervals such a course of study afforded, had now been published; and it gave its young author a wide and general celebrity: Wieland and other master-spirits of the time did not disdain to express their respect for the genius which the admitted extravagances of the piece could not conceal.

This substantial earnest of fame aggravated the vexatious restraints of a soldier's life to such a man as Schiller; but his abandonment of a profession so incompatible with his tastes was unworthily and prematurely hastened by severities which, with their singular results, are now to be narrated.

In the Robbers was a remark that bore hard on the Grisons, and so roused the wrath of an inhabitant of the country, that he wrote a vindication in the Hamburg Correspondent. This appeal would probably have produced no unpleasant consequences

if a direct complaint had not been made to the Duke against Schiller on the subject. He was called upon for a defence, and strictly *prohibited from printing any more works except on medicine, and from communicating with other parts of Germany.* He replied to the charge, that "he had not used the unlucky words to express an opinion of his own, but as the careless language of a robber, who in reality was the greatest rogue of all the characters in the play; he had besides only introduced a common saying which he had heard in his very boyhood."

The reproof he received on this occasion gave Schiller pain; but the peremptory order to confine himself to professional studies, and to the walls of a garrison town, distressed him still more. Obedience was impossible. He could not annihilate his poetical tastes; and by the prohibition of all engagements out of Wurtemberg, he lost the means of improving his income;—an indispensable point, inasmuch as with the strictest economy he could not live on his pay. He had already contributed to various literary miscellanies, and was busy with his second play of Fiesco.

Pending this most unmerited disgrace he committed a military offence, of a real, though not of an heinous character. He went twice to Manheim without leave, to see his own play, "The Robbers," which was acting there with extraordinary applause. This irregularity drew upon him further displeasure, and an imprisonment of fourteen days.

Upon the visit to Manheim, Schiller formed a plan for obtaining his release from the Duke of Wurtemberg's service without giving offence, and by the interposition of a new friend he had made there. Unfortunately the exertions of this friend were slow; and the condemnation, added to the delay of relief and the continued pressure of the restraints on his studies, threw Schiller into a state of most alarming depression. Political incarcerations were far from rare in Germany, and his visits of commiseration to the unfortunate Schubart, who had long been confined in the fortress of Asperg, had given him a glimpse of what he brooded over as his own probable destiny. He soon therefore resolved to withdraw secretly to Manheim, and from that spot of comparative security make the best possible terms with his persecutors. Mr. Streicher, the author of the memoirs before us, was the companion of his flight; and with his account of it, as well as with a very striking narrative of Mr. Streicher's first acquaintance with him, we close this article.

"The execution of the plan required the assistance of a friend; and there was one individual to whom he could unbosom himself. That person was Schiller's junior by two years, but an intimacy of eighteen months had afforded some proofs of his fidelity. His disinterested attachment bordered on the enthusiasm ever excited by those rare and

noble beings whose fine intellect and finer feelings gain the affectionate regard as well as the respect of all men.

"It was in the year 1780 that the youth saw him for the first time, at the annual public examination of the academy in the Duke's presence. On this occasion Schiller held a medical disputation with a professor; and although Streicher was a stranger to his reputation, and did not even know his name, his appearance at once excited attention. His flowing auburn hair; his person, slender almost to feebleness; his frequent smile whilst speaking; his finely formed nose; his eyes winking quick when the discussion became animated; and the keen, bold, eagle-glances which sparkled from beneath a large well-developed forehead, were calculated to make an indelible impression. Streicher gazed long upon this youth, entirely absorbed in his air and manner; in short, the whole scene was so deeply engraven on his memory, that, were he a painter, he could at this day (1828), eight and forty years after the event, represent the picture living as it there stood before him.

"When after the examination, Streicher followed the students into the eating room to see the evening meal, the same youth again attracted his particular notice. The Duke was talking to him in the most friendly manner, leaning on his chair; and their conversation was earnest and long. Schiller's manner was equally unrestrained before his prince as an hour previously when disputing with the professor; his smiles were as ready; and his very winking the same.

"When in the following spring, of 1781, *The Robbers* was published, and had produced an extraordinary sensation, Streicher, through a common friend, sought the acquaintance of the author. On seeing him he discovered, to his great surprise, as the writer of that play, the same youth with whose appearance he had already been so much struck. Every reader of a book pictures to himself the person of the author, his manner, voice, and language; and it was impossible not to suppose the writer of *The Robbers* to be an impetuous young man, whose poetic fire, energetic discourse, and desire to analyze the human heart, were every moment running into extremes. How agreeably was the preconception disappointed in the present instance! A smile on Schiller's animated and unassuming countenance, beamed upon all who approached him. He would waive or answer compliments with most engaging modesty; and never fell there a word from him to wound the most sensitive feelings. His opinions on every subject were original, particularly on poetry and the fine arts; but they were always true to nature, and rarely failed to convince. His criticisms on the works of others were remarkable for liberality and correctness. Although in years a mere youth, he had the ripe judgment of a man. His habitually elevated language was very superior to common discourse; and such was its charm that the hours stole away unperceived in his society. With a disposition thus attractive, and with manners never austere, it is not surprising that he should have won the whole heart of a young artist, himself endowed with considerable sensibility; and that thus to admiration for the poet should now be joined, on the part of Streicher, a warm attachment to the man. An unreserved intimacy grew out of this acquaintance; and Schiller's pecu-

liarly unhappy situation was a natural and inexhaustible subject of conversation between the friends.

" Schiller's eldest sister had been made acquainted with the project of withdrawing to Manheim; but instead of dissuading him from it, as was feared, she warmly maintained that every safe step to relieve himself would be justifiable on the ground of the Duke's not having fulfilled his engagements.

" The resolution once formed, he was obliged to devote himself with new ardour to complete his Fiesco, as the meditated journey could not be undertaken until the play was written; and he had been too much distressed in mind to be able to pursue the work. Besides the plan, he had finished little more than two acts. But with the settlement of the project for escaping from the labyrinth, the full vigour of his mind was restored; and with returning serenity he banished every thought that might divert him from the labours of his pen. He lived only for the future; reflecting upon the present solely with a view to escape from it. With what pleasure upon each rising morn did he read over to his young friend the passages written the preceding night, and discuss suggested changes or the further development of the plot! How would his weary eyes brighten when he spoke of his progress, and his unexpected approach towards the end!

" For the last time Schiller went out to the residence of his parents, with his friend Streicher and Madame Meier, the lady of the Manheim Theatre, in order to tranquillize his mother, who was now apprized of all. As they walked cheerfully along the footpath he had an opportunity of asking Madame Meier what advantages that theatre offered to a poet. Since, however, the conversation was general, and pointed questions were avoided lest they should excite suspicion in the mind of Madame Meier, no explanation was given; and nothing was left but to cast himself upon fortune.

" The party found only his mother and eldest sister at home; and much as the mistress of the house constrained herself to receive her son's friends cordially, she could not conceal her extreme anxiety at his position. Streicher was deeply affected by the touching expression of her countenance when she looked at Schiller, and she often failed to reply to remarks made to her. But his father coming in shortly after gave an opportunity of withdrawing with his mother unobserved.

" Schiller returned in about an hour—but without his mother! To appear again was too much for her. Even if she could have been made sensible how necessary the meditated step was to her son's happiness, and that it alone would save him from unmerited imprisonment, it must have wrung her very soul to lose him, her only son, for ever. The ground of his distresses too were really unimportant in the judgment of ordinary people, and in no other country could they have produced so unfortunate a result. That son was almost her very self; for she seemed to have transferred to him her own good principles and gentle disposition. He had been to her a source of unalloyed delight, and she saw him endowed with all the qualities which she had so often and so fervently besought for him in her prayers; and now—how bitter to both their farewell must have been, was visible in the melancholy coun-

tenance and moistened eyes of the son when he came in. He ascribed his altered looks to an old malady; but he was only to be diverted from his grief by the somewhat interesting conversation of the party on the way back, which restored him to spirits."—pp. 65—75.

At length, after several characteristic incidents, Schiller and his friend left Stuttgard, giving their names at the gates of the town, as Dr. Ritter, and Dr. Wolff. The stock of money belonging to both did not exceed four pounds sterling.

"Schiller's expectation," continues the Memoir, "that he should be able soon to replenish his scanty purse, was no suggestion of vanity. How could it be thought, that the managers of a theatre who the year before had reaped so rich a harvest from his *Robbers*, would hesitate to accept a second play from its author: that second piece being well calculated to please the more enlightened few, as well as the mass of the public, with whom chiefly his first production had been a favourite? Whether the Duke's decision should be favourable or not, he persuaded himself that Fiesco would come out this year, and then the author would either obtain a good annual allowance, or else a considerable sum of money down for the copyright; so as to be at ease until he should have secured new resources."—p. 85.

Resting upon these convictions he reached Manheim in good spirits. He was soon, however, doubly disappointed. The Grand Duke of Wurtemberg was inexorable to his distressing prayers, and blind to the surpassing merits of his character. The manager of the theatre was equally blind to the great excellences of his new play, and incapable of feeling for his melancholy situation.

His *flight* was therefore continued forthwith to Frankfort, and he struggled manfully to attain the elevation to which his genius plainly destined him. Fortune at length was benign. In a very few years his fame was firmly established, and his confidence in the powers which nature had so bountifully given him, and which he had so laboriously cultivated from early youth, was justified by complete success.

It is gratifying to find that the Germans are at length sensible of the importance of preserving the fullest details of the career of such a man. A voluminous life of Schiller is now in the course of publication, and a specimen of this, which we have seen, is highly satisfactory.

"The world," said Mr. Carlyle many years ago with great truth, "seems, no less than Germany, already to have dignified him with the reputation of a classic; to have enrolled him among that select number whose works belong not wholly to any age or nation, but who, having instructed their own contemporaries, are claimed as instructors by the great family of mankind, and set apart for many centuries from the common oblivion which soon overtakes the mass of authors, as it does the mass of other men."—*Schiller's Life*, 1825, p. 42.

ART. VII.—*Paris sous Philippe le Bel.* By M. H. Géraud. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

THERE are few English visiters of the gay metropolis of France who give themselves the trouble, or who like to expose themselves to the not always pleasant task of piercing through the older parts of the town in search of the remains of the middle ages, with which it still abounds. The heart and core of Paris remains in many respects nearly the same as it was centuries ago; the width of the streets, the height of the houses, the wretched pavements, the dirt and the stench, are in many a quarter that we could point out much about the same as they were in the time of Francis I. Some of the smaller alleys of the Ile de la Cité,—many of the tortuous streets round the Hôtel de la Ville or touching upon the church of St. Merri, a place of sanguinary memory, have rarely been explored by a native of Britain; nor indeed are they ever seen by ninety-nine hundredths of the Parisians themselves; and yet to the artist, or to the antiquarian, they will repay the trouble of a walk of discovery better than a stroll under the arcades of the Rue de Rivoli or a lounge along the ever-varying Boulevards. The very conformation of the ground-plan of the centre of Paris attests the existence of the traditions of the middle ages; and from the *foci* of refinement in the Fauxbourgs, St. Germain and St. Honoré, any one so disposed may in a few minutes transport himself into scenes of comparative barbarism,—not of manners but of matter. As a mere question of art there is no doubt that the co-existence of cities of different epochs within one and the same precinct of walls, is beneficial to the eye of the painter, if not to the sensibilities of the fashionable dilettanti; and the want of something like a relief from the endless lines of dirty brick houses, few of them more than a century old, is felt, we know, by many an artist in London. It is this circumstance, that among many others, renders Paris a very fit nursing place for an archæological society; and *cæteris paribus* we should not be surprised to find the relative progress made by the modern archæological school of France become more rapid than that of our own school in London. The public institutions, and especially the libraries of Paris, hold out infinitely greater means of study in this respect than the corresponding establishments of London can pretend to do under existing regulations: and the archæological commissioners are so fully aware of the rich results which may be derived from a proper examination of their libraries, that every encouragement is given to those who attempt to bring any of their hidden treasures to light. It has been in consequence of this spirit of research that

M. Géraud has drawn out from the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque du Roi the curious fiscal account of Paris under Philippe le Bel, which we have named with the other works in our title. It is drawn up from the original manuscript which, parish by parish, and street by street, contains the list of all the inhabitants of Paris subject to the impost of the *taille* in 1292, but which, having no title indicating the cause of its being made, is therefore probably defective at the commencement. The list begins with the *Lombards* of all the parishes: they were established for the first time in Paris about the end of the 12th century, and, as is well known, were the bankers, money-changers, and money-lenders, or even pawnbrokers, of those times. It appears from the enumeration made of them in this document that they were in number 205, and that their united imposts amounted to 1513 livres and 14 sous: a Lombard named Gandoufle paid the highest contribution of his class, and is rated at 114 livres and 10 sous, which an ingenious writer in the Charte, a defunct journal, makes equivalent to 2657 fr. 10 c. of modern French money. If, the calculator adds, it be supposed that the Lombards were rated in the same proportion as other persons, that is to say, to the fiftieth part of their revenues, the income of the worthy Gandoufle would be equivalent to 130,000 fr. per annum. Making allowances for the circumstances of France at that period when fortunes in *money* were not large, whatever the extent of *landed property* might have been, Gandoufle must have been one of the Rothschilds of the day. Very few surnames are met with in the record; nearly all the individuals mentioned in it being distinguished by their Christian names, with the addition of some appellative, derived either from their native place, or their profession, or else a mere nick-name: thus Le-pelletier, Le-fevre, (*Anglicè* Smith: *Germ.* Schmidt — Faber) Le-peintre, for names derived from trades: Le-gallois, Le-normand, L'allemand, for names from countries: and Le-jeune, Le-bossu, Boi-leau, for *sobriquets* or nick-names derived from personal circumstances. M. Géraud deduces from the MS. in question an ingenious topographical account of the boundaries of Paris of that date, and traces it through the mazes of the modern, or rather subsequently erected streets; into which, however, were we to follow him, we should probably appear prolix to any one who has not trodden the *terra incognita* of central Paris. It will be sufficient to state that of the three main divisions of the capital, that on the northern bank of the Seine, called the Outre-grand-pont, was even in those days the most considerable, and comprehended the inhabitants given to commerce as well as the most of the rich burgesses of the day: the central division, the Cité, occupying the island in

the midst of the Seine, where the Roman *civitas* existed, was the ecclesiastical quarter of the town, and small as it was, contained twelve out of the thirty-five parish churches of the whole capital. The division of Outre-petit-pont, on the southern bank of the river, was occupied by the students, and the professors of the schools,—the former, a noisy and somewhat seditious set, as they have been ever since. There it was that the Rue de la Fouarre, —*Straw Street* in its literal interpretation, received at one time the crowds of students, for whose better accommodation, in a sitting or recumbent posture, straw was laid down on the open highway. Cafés did not then exist, it should be remembered, although grisettes did; and the Rue Transnonain (olim Trousse-nonnaine), and the Rue des Mauvais Garçons,—des Mauvaises Paroles,—Tirechape,—Coupe gueule, &c.—several of which epithets exist to the present day,—indicate pretty well what the popular manners of the neighbourhood must have been. The Rue de la Fouarre is mentioned even by Dante, so well was the fame of its students known; it is now one of those filthy little streets that abut on the river south of Notre Dame. But to return to M. Géraud,—he makes out that at the end of the 12th century there were only *two* advocates in Paris subject to the *taille*,—at least so the MS. would indicate: there are now more than 1300 inscribed on the Law List. Then there were only forty-two butchers paying *taille;* 500 are now reckoned within the walls of Paris; the shoetrade was divided amongst 140 *scavetiers*, or makers of light cloth shoes, slipper manufacturers; 226 *cordouaniers*, originally makers of shoes in leather of Cordova; and 25 *sueurs*, stitchers, botchers, or cobblers. It is curious to compare this number with those of the same trade, all branches included, of the present day, which is less than 600. The medical profession appears to have been divided among the *mires* or physicians, and the *mirgesses* or female medical practitioners; 29 of the former and 8 of the latter are all that we find subject to the *taille;* whereas nearly 1300 sangrados dispense *tisane* and *eau sucrée* to the modern Parisians. M. Géraud calculates the population of Paris to have been somewhat more than 228,000 in 1292: we think he must be entirely mistaken on this point, and we should rather estimate it at not more than the fourth part of the number, at least judging from the analogies presented by other European cities of that epoch. To those who take an interest in social statistics, a work of this kind, coming up from its grave of learned dust after more than five centuries entombment, is a real treat.

ART. VIII.—*Defensa de los Tratados de Paz de Paucarpata;* (Defence of the Treaties of Peace at Paucarpata) por Ant. Jose de Irrisari. Arequipa. 1838.

THIS is a most amusing as well as able performance; and for both reasons a novelty after its kind, especially from the quarter whence it comes. Whatever faults may be charged upon the government of Chile as to the choice or modes of action, and of negociators, assuredly the one act that selected M. Irrisari for a plenipotentiary is not to be numbered amongst them. He has shown himself capable of making, and under the worst circumstances of defeat and despair, a treaty in every shape advantageous to his country, rescuing a besieged and starving army from the necessity of unconditional surrender to the enemy, and restoring it in honour to its native shores; and farther, of obtaining for his own land in this very crisis conditions of the highest importance, including every thing they could desire or expect in any frame of mind short of political delirium.

One cause of this novel enlightenment in any portion of the Chilian service springs from the rare fact that the minister before us was, as appears from his work, a man of some information, and acquainted with history in general. He had actually studied the questions committed to him, and consequently was not, like the major portion of those who undertake government on the part of the people, profoundly ignorant of every thing connected with the subject. He did not trust wholly to inspiration, however amiable, for supplying facts, or rely upon obtaining experience by intuition. How such a man, therefore, came to be selected for the task might fairly be a matter of astonishment, did not the pamphlet before us satisfactorily prove that the choice was made in total ignorance of his qualifications, and thus relieve the Chilian government from the incongruity of intentionally delegating a man of common sense and ability to perform impossibilities, and set reason and honesty equally at defiance.

No such injustice must be done to the Chilian government; it is due to them to observe that the instant they discovered they had a man of sense in the country they sent him out of it; persons indeed who found that facts contradicted cherished theories could not too soon dispense with him who had made so novel a discovery; and whose conduct was the more unpardonable inasmuch as he had previously had some misgivings to the same extravagant effect. A man whose foreign studies had taught him—

> "That what's impossible, can't be,
> And never, never comes to pass,"

was clearly unfit for a land of sages who looked only to the future for experience; who raised an army entirely from the love of peace; invaded a neighbour solely to prove their dislike of intervention; and carried abhorrence of all dictatorship so far as to insist upon dictating the form of government to three foreign states.

The Chilian ex-negociator, strangely enough, appears to have been surprised by this view of the case, and even to have argued, at first, upon its injustice. That his arguments are sound, his authorities first-rate, and his deductions incontrovertible, we are ready to admit; but since they only prove that he did all that could be done, and did not do what could not be done, they are manifestly insufficient for his vindication; and his government, with equal logic and consistency, have fixed him in this formidable dilemma, that, since he failed to exceed the powers he had not, he must have exceeded the powers he actually had.

To this mode of reasoning there is obviously no reply; M. Irrisari, to his credit, admits it at once, and as an excellent joke: to carry it on with spirit he details the facts; an act to which it is clear the government could not condescend. A more ludicrous statement seldom falls to the lot of diplomacy, and our readers shall judge of it for themselves.

M. Irrisari commences by declaring that his Defence is not written for diplomatists, politicians, nor philosophers, but for those who condemn the treaty of Paucarpata; and as his government stands in this category, it is clear the worthy envoy regards their talents somewhat negatively. He thus begins the subject.

"The treaties of Paucarpata which saved the honour of the Chilian arms; which had terminated the war satisfactorily for that republic; which had saved the Chilian army from certain destruction, and in fine had secured the highest possible glory in a most disastrous contest to the government that displayed the least strength; those treaties, I repeat, so advantageous for the Chilian nation, have been disapproved, and the plenipotentiaries treated in recompense for their services with the grossest insult and the most unmerited stigma."

Relieving General Blanco, who commanded the expeditionary army, from all responsibility on the subject, the writer proceeds to show that the negociators possessed the requisite powers, and quotes the government instructions, Art. 5. which enjoins these ministers, "if compelled by unforeseen circumstances to stipulate with the enemy *any thing which exceeds their instructions*, or *materially contradicts* them," to reserve the ratification or rejection for the Chilian government. It is clear, therefore, he observes, that the very instructions authorised them to act in unforeseen cases and under the one specified reservation.

Having stated at full length in a former number the wanton ag-

gressions against ~~Peru~~ by Chile, we need only notice M. Irrisari's argument that humanity requires every step to be taken to preserve peace before incurring the horrors of warfare: and that this is the practice of nations he proves by authorities, and by the case of the English government in the reign of George II. when Charles XII., at the instigation of Gortz, joined with Spain and Russia to aid the Pretender's designs. Twenty thousand men were then landed in England, and the Swedish ambassador Gillemberg conducted the intrigue. Denial was impossible, for the dispatches of the Swedish ministry to their ambassador fell into the hands of the British monarch. Gillemberg was arrested in London, Gortz in Holland, their papers were seized, and the commercial relations of the two countries stopped. The King of Sweden in return caused the English ambassador and his family to be arrested at Stockholm. Yet even in this atrocious case the foregoing was the only serious result; the King of Sweden, through French mediation, making the amende by disavowing the act of his ministry, complaining of suspicion attaching to himself, and promising to inquire into the conduct of his ministers. These excuses were accepted by the aggrieved party.

As Chile under far inferior provocation has insisted on war alone, and rejected the disavowals and peaceful offers of Peru, we need not add any thing to our former remarks (No. XXXIX., pp. 157—178):

> " Forgiveness to the injured does belong,
> They never pardon who have done the wrong;"

and, determined upon war and " its advantages," as they termed it, the Chilian government insist upon hostilities in the first place, because the signatures of the ministers in the copy of the treaty sent to them, were not according to form, only one of their ministers, *and not both*, taking precedence of the Peruvian. Surely, a fresh copy, with fresh signatures, might have sufficed to save bloodshed.

As to the treaty itself, since (by Art. 3.) Chile was to retain for the present the vessels she had piratically seized, without any equivalent clauses to Peru; since her troops were to be restored her (Art. 4.)—a commercial treaty to be framed (Art. 5.)—her ally, Buenos Ayres, to be consulted (Art. 6.)—new interventions to be recognized and all plotters punished (Art. 7.)—moderation to be observed on both sides (Art. 8.)—the 1,500,000 dollars claimed by Chile, admitted as a debt, though the Chilian negociators confessed they did not fully understand this point by their instructions; —the mode of liquidation, omitted in that document, adjusted (Art. 10.)—the interests of certain loans in London agreed to be repaid to

Chile (Art. 11.)—an amnesty granted to the Peruvian traitors in the Chilian army (Art. 12.)—and the whole placed under British guarantee (Art. 13.);—it is difficult to imagine what more could be required, even had the vanquished party been victors; for by the second article of the treaty the Peru-Bolivian Confederation were to make the disavowals accepted by Great Britain from Sweden in the case cited; and therefore there was little hardship in the first article, namely, that Chile should forget her causes of complaint. It was also expressly reserved for the Chilian government to modify, discuss, and ratify the treaty in its several clauses.

By these terms the Chilian General Blanco saved his vanquished army, which, as a general, he was bound to do, they having failed to enforce the extravagant demands of Chile against Peruvian independence (see No. XXXIX., pp. 168, 169); and for which, it seems, three times their force would have been insufficient, according to the confession of the leaders themselves.

The invaders arrived at Arequipa; and were received with open arms, at least by the ladies; for the men had fled. Their original force was to be doubled, according to their instructions, by recruits from amongst the natives, but they were disappointed; for whereas they themselves were to receive but one real a day, and this not paid, the Peruvian soldiers regularly received two: and the former were soon in a starving condition. Wanting food and clothing, they could not advance; so they staid forty days in the desert country, as others, says the envoy irreverently, staid forty years. The author quotes authority to show that in order to march it is necessary to eat; and that to eat it is necessary to have food. To have attempted obtaining this by violence would have been destruction at once.

The army of Buenos Ayres could not assist them in another quarter, as calculated, for it had been defeated. Neither did the officers of the Peruvian government give up their employs and desert to them. But their own soldiers abandoned their ranks: the envoy hints that their habits were sufficiently abstemious before their arrival, and that there was no need of increasing this virtue. An armistice of four days gained nothing for their cause.

They had been told at home that so soon as they took possession of Cuzco and Puno, popular enthusiasm would manifest itself in their favour. The envoy conceives that as they did not get half way there, the aforesaid enthusiasm would have been of more advantage to them, if it had come when they needed it than when it would have been superfluous: and we are half inclined to agree with him. As it was, they tried to awaken this somewhat dormant emotion by pushing forward a party to Chuquibamba, where, according to the Peruvian traitors who accompanied them, they

would obtain every thing they required, and be treated as redeemers. "This last," adds the writer with disgusting profaneness, "was the only point on which we were not deceived; for the people who were to receive us as redeemers were going to crucify us!"

In fact, however, the only contrast to the general mode of reception of the Chilians during the whole campaign, was the enthusiasm and decision in their favour of the people of Chuquibamba. The commandant Espinosa was sent by General Blanco with one hundred and twenty men, to aid the *declaration* of Chuquibamba; but so soon as the peasantry of that province learned that it was a Chilian force *come to redeem* them from protectoral captivity, they, to the number of five hunded men, well armed, marched as far as Huichara to attack them, and kept up an incessant fire for a whole day upon their redeemers. Espinosa, notwithstanding this *feu de joie* of bullets, continued his march upon the place, and forced an entrance, which was defended by two hundred and seventy men; but the latter, promptly joined by a large and increasing force, seizing the heights that commanded the place, he was compelled to begin his retreat, in fear lest this friendly peasantry should be supported by General Vigil's division, which was coming down upon them from the north; and the retreat was accordingly effected, though close and bitterly harassed by the "*amiable*" Chuquibambinos. To sum up, observes our narrator,

"General Blanco received from Espinosa neither the mules, nor the horses, nor the money, nor the goods, nor the volunteers, he had so much reason to expect; but he obtained one disenchantment the more as to the important active co-operation of the Peruvians in their enterprize to destroy the Confederation."

As neither the soil, climate, difficulty of route, barrenness, and depopulation of the country, the steep mountains, and prevailing sickness, had ever entered into account with the projectors of the expedition at home, if Peru, in that part at least, was not like Chile, General Blanco was not to blame for it. Nor does it appear that he was, as has been objected to him, more blameable for not sending a battalion to Cuzco, and one to Puno, inasmuch as the whole army could not contrive to get there, nor even to obtain assistance where it actually was. He ought, it seems, to have outmarched the Peruvians; but this was by no means so easy as the recommendation, for the latter marched in one day as far as the Chilians in three.

Another objection to the unhappy general's conduct is, that he landed in the south of the country instead of the north.

"I do not know," says his colleague, "what fate might have at-

tended us in the north, but had we succeeded there as we did in the south, and this required no miracle, it would have been said we ought to have gone to the south. But south, north, east, and west, and all the winds of the compass, are contrary winds for expeditions framed without proper care and circumspection. Neither in the west nor elsewhere could we have had the same advantages as in the south, where there were no troops to oppose us; those who did so having been brought up from long distances, though we were told this was impossible."

We should have thought that perhaps the sages of the Chilian government, who laid down the line of march, were the parties most implicated in their own, foregoing, censure.

We need not dwell longer upon details that only prove how utterly unfit was the Chilian government for the task it had undertaken so gratuitously of carrying on a war against an unoffending neighbour. We shall only notice the latest expedition, its actual consequences, and probable results, as concisely as possible.

The Chilians have, in affecting to treat the question of the treaty in a purely diplomatic sense, carefully abstained, as already noticed, from touching upon the expedition in a military point of view, which we should have thought the most prominent; both, as it was a purely military measure originally, and because, as such only, it became the cause of the subsequent negociations. We want no authorities to prove that the duty of a military chief is to save his army from disasters, and that for such purposes he has a right to negociate in the last instance. We need only refer to the convention of Closter-seven and the then Duke of Cumberland, the affair of the Duke of York subsequently, the arrangement of General Whitelock at Buenos Ayres, and the capitulation of Mack to Napoleon. Yet did either the British or Austrian governments receive back the armies extricated by the respective conventions and then refuse to fulfil their own share of terms? and is not the case of Chile, therefore, a foul blot in the history of national faith? And ought not the Chilian army, if the convention that liberated them is not binding, to be returned to the captors, if there is such a thing as common faith to be found?

But the renewal of hostilities before the Peruvians had time to be apprized of the non-ratification of the treaty, was simply another dishonourable attempt of the Chilians to obtain possession of the Peruvian fleet by this stolen march. They would have succeeded in this disgraceful enterprize, but for the vigilance of the Peruvian commander, who by recent experience had learned to prize Chilian honour. It seems however that General Ballivian, the best and ablest officer of the confederation, who

embarked with his family in a vessel for Bolivia on the faith of the treaty, was made prisoner by this unheard-of violation of a solemn engagement and of the practice of nations: an act that might bring the Chilian into fair but bad rivalry with Punic faith, for be it observed that the prematurity of those hostile acts is in direct defiance of their own decree of Dec. 18, respecting the treaty of Paucarpata, wherein it is declared

"That the government of Chile disapproves of the said treaty, and that *after this resolution has been intimated to the government of General Santa Cruz*, hostilities against that government and its supporters will recommence in the same way as before its celebration."—*Exposé*, p. 19.

The causes for rejecting the treaty are thus given in the same document—

"1st. That the treaty does not either satisfy the *just reclamations* of the Chilian nation, or compensate duly for the *evils it has suffered*, or provide for the *danger* to which are exposed the neighbouring republics, whose *independence* and *safety* still remain in jeopardy.

"2nd. That even in the Articles of the treaty more favourable to Chile there are *doubtful clauses*, which for want of explanation would render useless the stipulations therein made, and cause, as it is to be feared, that after a protracted and vain controversy, the war should be renewed.

"3rd. That the plenipotentiaries of the government of Chile had in concluding the treaty exceeded their instructions."—*Ibid.*

On this we shall merely observe that it is a novel view of humanity to commence hostilities in the *fear* of *renewing war*.

Of the subsequent military and other proceedings a bare outline will suffice.

The formation of free ports in the Peru-Bolivian confederation and the consequent diminution of lucrative offices, the more lucrative as facilitating smuggling, has by giving a deathblow to the latter, considerably affected the profits of many amongst the Peruvians, and none more effectually than the immediate connections of the Ex-president, Orbegoso. This man, amiable but weak, and incapable of maintaining his own authority in more troubled times, was the first to call in the aid of General Santa Cruz, then President of Bolivia alone, and to resign his own office into his hands. The dissatisfaction of his immediate friends and relatives at the losses suffered by the abolition of illicit trade, together with the natural regret at loss of his own power, have induced Orbegoso to unite with General Nieto, of whose weakness and cowardly flight from his own troops we gave recently some account.—(No. XLI. p. 184.) During the absence of General Santa Cruz, Lima was seized and Orbegoso proclaimed president by the conspirators; amongst these was a portion of the army, who were in-

censed at the continued efforts of the protector to check the spirit of gambling that pervaded the whole military force. The Ex-president Gamarra accompanied the invaders, who drove out the conspirators and seized the seat of government and the once strong castle of Callao, now defenceless, as the guns had been dismounted and sold by the Ex-president Salaberri for his private advantage. The existence of so many ex-presidents forcibly displays the state of the country immediately previous to the assumption of the protectorate by General Santa Cruz. Discord, weakness, and consequent distresses have thus been cherished and promoted by those interested in preserving a state of anarchy.

Meantime the protector, against whom intrigue had been busy even in Bolivia, attended the congress there and satisfied them of his honourable conduct. The contrast of peace reigning there amidst the distractions of the neighbouring countries was at once admitted by the Bolivian congress; and as the army of that state remains faithful to the chief, as well as that of South Peru also, we have little doubt of his future success against the invaders; Orbegoso and Nieto having as usual, after their first defeat, fled the country without attempting a further effort.

It is however incumbent on us, as faithful narrators, to observe that some imprudent measures adopted by the protector had awakened considerable jealousy in Peru; and the more as, though trifling in themselves, they have been attributed to the advice of foreigners in the protector's employ; the Peruvians being, and with justice, jealous of the introduction of so many foreigners into their administration, and apprehensive of further innovations. Recent events, therefore, will probably be a lesson to the protector.

We need make but one remark more. After the defeat of the force at Buenos Ayres, the cities of Salta and Jujui proposed to abandon the latter and unite with the Peru-Bolivia confederation. General Santa Cruz, however, declined any extension of territory at the expense of the very enemy that had so loudly charged him with this very desire; and, to his immortal honour, has even abstained from molesting their defenceless frontier during the actual struggle of Buenos Ayres against the blockade enforced by France. Such conduct says more than a hundred proclamations.

Having devoted so much space to an exposure of the conduct pursued by the Chilian government, and which has so fully borne out our own suspicions and imputations against the sinister intentions of this power, we must now turn to consider the state of things arising from the recent conduct of France in the western hemisphere. This, attributable as it apparently is to a similar source in selfish aggression, bids fair to aid largely in overturning

the established practice of nations in the question of public relations, and to subvert the very principles of natural rights and public law.

The subject, therefore, is one deserving of very serious consideration; not merely as destructive to the intercourse of friendly nations, and in defiance of all precedents, but also as confounding two principles, diametrically opposite, by a system which affects the rights of all states; and leaves neither security for commerce, nor redress for injury and loss, thereby sustained by the respective trading communities.

The French government has not, in the course of its proceedings, put forth any document or manifesto to justify the choice of the new measures in preference to recurring to those established by the usages of nations and therefore intelligible to all. This silence on the part of the government itself may fairly create doubts whether France was satisfied of the justice of her own proceedings; and whether she has not, in consequence, been careful to avoid any step that would have necessitated an official declaration of principles, such as might be brought to the test of serious examination founded on the basis of the admitted practices and laws of nations.*

The silence of the French goverument has been but indifferently supplied by the advocates of its measures amongst the press of France. To the bold and repeated challenge of the English public writers, arraigning the course pursued as utterly at variance with established usage and the maxims of all publicists whatever, no one reply has been attempted in a country justly celebrated for intellect and science. On the contrary, the demand for a single written authority in their favour has been wholly unanswered: we may therefore conclude there exists nothing to justify the proceeding.

The only answer that has been given to the general principle, if indeed it deserve the name of answer, is a mere excuse; viz. that a blockade is a less violent measure than a declaration of war, consequently, we may presume that it is in accordance with the dictates of humanity: and to the requisition for precedents, that of England in the recent case of New Granada has been adduced.

Now we are happy to learn that our enlightened neighbours admit the superiority of English intellect in so great a degree as to adopt it at once as their sole exemplar. We must confess that this high appreciation takes us somewhat by surprise; for, with every disposition to admire and venerate the wisdom recently exhibited in all the enactments and acts of our legal sages, we still

* The papers have been *refused* to the Chamber of Deputies.

were in doubt whether their doings had obtained an overwhelming degree of reputation any where out of the kingdom, especially as they had not acquired any inconvenient celebrity within it. Their fame, in truth, being of the most modest and least obtrusive kind, we cannot be less surprised than rejoiced to find our present legal authorities in such good repute abroad, and Sir John Campbell himself estimated out of his own country like anything but a prophet; and ranking above Aristotle and Cicero, Grotius, Barbeyrac, Burlamaqui, Bynkershoek, Heineccius, Klüber, Martin, Puffendorf, De Real, and Vattel himself, to say nothing of Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, and a host of others who have treated the subject more or less directly: as an authority, in fact, above all authorities; better established than the practice of all mankind; superior to all precedent; more exact than experience; more historical than history; with opinions sounder than Right itself, and far more rational than Reason. This, *it must* be admitted, is the highest of triumphs, and as a nation we are proportionately proud of it; yet, as that eminent functionary's appreciation is not quite so high at home, before it shall have reached this not undesirable point of universal irradiation we may perhaps be permitted to offer a few remarks on the main question.

The French authorities then give up the question of historical precedent. Yet precedent is simply the action and application of law; and exemplifies and proves its meaning. It is thus a practical commentary upon right, established by the consent of nations in all ages, for the use of nations in all ages. Where it is wanting, our steps are doubtful, and our rights open to question. Without it our conduct has no guide, our opinions no basis. To dispense at once with precedent, therefore, is to proclaim that any individual opinion should determine universal relations. It is taking away the hereditary property of nations, and leaving them helpless, to the mercy of every new theorist.

Precedents undoubtedly can be dispensed with, where they have proceeded on an error: but this error should be clearly proved. This proof is indispensable, for otherwise there can be no certainty in any thing.

Now the defence of the French writers seems to proceed on this ground, and by implication; Blockade, they say, avoids Bloodshed and War: it is adopted for the sake of humanity. If this can be shown, the question is settled; precedents are dispensed with, as erroneous and noxious; and a great principle is justly asserted. Throwing precedent aside then, let us examine the principle.

We affirm that Blockade is not a more humane proceeding than War; and that this assertion is itself an error of Principle and an invasion of the Rights of nature.

We propose showing this by reason, rather than authority; thus meeting our opponents on their own grounds: and commence ab initio.

Being is given us; and since we possess it, we possess necessarily the rights it involves; in other words, such as are the absolute conditions of its existence.

These rights are of two kinds; Enjoyment and Preservation.

The first we can call a *perfect* right, for it tends to social happiness, and by universal consent.

The second we can call an *imperfect* right, being at times but a partial consent and a partial injury.

Peace, therefore, is the perfect principle or right, of happiness: and war, the imperfect principle or right, of necessity.

Each principle possesses its own rights, and not those of the other; and, therefore, cannot give the rights it does not possess.

The rights of peace exist in every state, internally; the rights of war exist simply in reference to other states.

When war overcomes peace, as by conquest, right yields to force: the stronger principle is recognized as effective and superseding the other, which, because non-effective, is not recognizable.

Such, by the way, is the principle of blockade, where war extinguishing native rights, international and peaceful, uses power with injury to others for its own ends: it is a minor conquest. Hence also blockades are recognized only when efficient, i.e. when force is actually triumphant over established rights.

Without this all blockade is null; for, force takes existing rights and transfers them to itself. If they are not taken from an adversary by the hostile power, they are not held by the latter, but remain with the adversary: and the hostile power, since it does not possess them, cannot act upon them.

This, the admitted principle of blockade, shews that the same rights cannot exist in two parties at the same time and place; but are in abeyance with the one when wrested from it by the other.

This leads us back to the main question.

As each government possesses the right to prohibit foreign intercourse from its subjects, it can only be deprived of this right, and superseded in this act of government, by violence—that is, by war:—for acts of violence do not belong to peace. And peace cannot give a right it does not, as we have seen, possess.

The seizure of property, and other measures of retaliation, are a right of peace, and thus essentially different from the foregoing; for they are the acts of a government on its proper soil: the acts of its own legislation—which is paramount in its own country over foreign persons and property in general.

It has thus a right to avoid war by the principle of retaliation

or seizure, which is admitted to be the last step of peace; and at which nations have often stopped, when war was inexpedient from whatever causes.

There is then an essential difference between seizure, which is a domestic act, and blockade, which is foreign. One is an established right, one is usurped.

But humanity would avoid war by blockade, it seems. This, as we have shown, is always a usurpation of power by force; then it is war, and not peace. Farther, blockade affects not only the parties at variance, but innocent and friendly nations; injury to whom, by blockade, is only excusable by the (presumed) last necessity of a belligerent destroying its enemy.

Is there no inhumanity but in bloodshed? Are not the ruin and destruction of parties unconcerned, their business, homes, and families, induced by blockade and stoppage of commerce? Are not the former destroyed, the latter driven to want and distress and starvation? Is it less death or destruction because blood is not actually shed in battle? Farther, does it not befal these, the manufacturing population of peaceful countries, unexpectedly, and without any indirect notification, as of war existing somewhere? Consequently does it not prevent the possibility of anticipating and preparing for such an event so far as practicable?

If it is argued that war gives little or no notice, this is putting peace on the level of war on this one point. And if the two are confounded on one point, why not on another? Thus, no feeling of security can exist, and trade must suffer proportionately.

When war is declared, if trade is stopped in its original channels it is turned into others. A new set of demands and supplies is created, new employment is afforded in various ways, as by labour and by active service also. Losses to some branches of industry therefore are compensated, if but partially, by gain to others. Blockade does not admit of this: it stagnates activity, and destroys trade and the means of subsistence without equivalent: it is, then, essentially destructive; and, as such, is War, not Peace.

This then is not humanity, but a false philanthropy; an erroneous principle, since it only changes the course of destruction from direct to indirect. The punishment of criminals enforces security: but would it be better, or more humane, to starve the murderer and felon than to execute him outright?

With regard to third parties; they only bear with the injury of war-blockade, because force has actually established its recognized right, of superseding domestic by foreign legislation in one of the belligerent states: because, in the effort at mutual destruction between these, the injury or destruction of the one is the contemplated pledge and guarantee of the peaceable existence of the

other :—for the maintenance of its rights and welfare is the condition of that existence. Force gives the blockader no rights beyond what the blockaded party possessed; i. e. prohibition and seizure.

The principle, then, which established blockade as an act of war, and not of peace, was sound in itself; and whereas war-blockades are but a portion of the operations against an enemy, and therefore are not likely to last, a peace-blockade, as excluding all other and active measures, is most likely to last: and this to the detriment of innocent parties: for the blockader injures the enemy only by injuring the friendly powers.

But does humanity profit by this system in the aggregate? The detestable Brutus and the detested Verres both inflicted greater miseries and loss of life by peaceful blockades than open execution could have done. Does not the very facility with which a strong power might thus attack a weaker, form a strong inducement, and lead to the probability of its frequent adoption among nations, who would hesitate before going to direct war? And would it not, further, be a frequent incentive to war among friendly powers, whose commercial relations could never be safe if this, an act of the last necessity hitherto, should be adopted as the first?

In war, too, weaker powers form alliances and succour each other: thus, not merely preserving a balance of powers, and thereby the existence of states, but also affording supplies in cases of prohibition by blockades. And yet the blockade which is expressly to preserve peace, would turn the simple act of inter-alliance into an act of war!

If then not only the consequences, but the necessary concomitants of an act of blockade, are acts of war, the act itself is one of war, and not of peace: and to affirm the contrary is to confound the two principles. The modern innovation, then, which inflicts general in preference to particular injury, superior in the aggregate, scarcely inferior in nature, and differing only in the mode; which induces insecurity everywhere, and offers temptations, by its facility, to the stronger; which affords no means of alleviation, or compensation; which prolongs indefinitely the distress of unoffending parties, making their welfare dependent, not on the prudence, but the obstinacy of the powers at variance; which gives the right of violence to peace; which permits one government to exercise the powers of another government without possessing itself of them; and which recognizes this forcible interference with the existing rights of another power as an act, not of hostility, but of peace, is therefore an ERROR OF REASONING, and a CONFUSION OF OPPOSITE PRINCIPLES. It can be in-

tended only for strong states against the weak; for insidious hostility against the unprepared: and its tendency, so far from alleviating misery, is to increase it, by multiplying and universalizing the sense of injury, and increasing the chances of collisions on the slightest occasions.

We repeat, that the recognition of a blockade in time of peace is admitting the effectiveness of all merely nominal blockade; for it admits that the simple act of claiming a power over another state supersedes the, hitherto unquestioned, necessity of actually holding that power before it can be exercised.

We lay down these principles without any particular reference to actual politics. In regard to these we must observe that the case of New Granada is scarcely a precedent; for to inflict injury on the minister of a friendly power is in itself an act of war, and justifying a reprisal of war, after satisfaction was refused. In the cases of Buenos Ayres and Mexico it was a matter of commercial and private injury, and redress and compensation were offered. To take the first, and this the sole, precedent therefore, is at once admitting the necessity, and the impossibility, of finding a precedent. And yet the two last instances, and Antwerp, and that of New Granada, contrasted with the acquiescence in the seizure of the Vixen and the recent American hostile aggression, all go to prove that what is termed a peace-blockade is a measure of the strong against the feeble merely, and carefully avoided between powers of anything like equal strength. France, however, that has so long taunted England as a nation of shopkeepers, has now rendered herself fully obnoxious to the charge uttered by Sheridan against the East India Company of uniting the meanness of a trader with a robber's heartlessness.

Our gallant neighbours may like to have the whole passage at hand, in order to apply it the more readily.

"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

"There was something in the frame and constitution of the Company, which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations; connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedlar and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and military line could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals: and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits; an army employed in executing an arrest; a town besieged on a note of hand; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was that they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the petty traffic of a merchant's counting-house; wielding a truncheon with one hand and picking a pocket with the other."

Though there certainly are portions of this description which

do not apply to the case before us, there is nevertheless so striking a similarity in the general details with the spirit of the system recently adopted in France, as fully to warrant the introduction of the above passage here;—if not altogether as a likeness, yet as a beacon to the gallant spirits whom a paltry and intriguing feeling of chandlery is misleading into piracy under the name of honour;—and whom it is wished to induce to seek glory in oppressing a nation already the prey of factions; and this, too, for the sake of a few speculators in *Compensations*. Yet were a point of comparison wanting, we would ask whether the disclosures, officially made, respecting military peculation at Algiers, would not justify even stronger language than the above vague sarcasm against a body of English merchants uttered by a parliamentary profligate?

For many features of the following portrait an original might possibly be found at the present day.

"It would be sufficient merely to consider in what consisted the prepossessing distinction, the captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Was it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends? In them, and in them alone, we are to search for true, estimable magnanimity. To them alone can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There was indeed another species of greatness which displayed itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But had Mr. Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness—even of the latter? he saw nothing great—nothing magnanimous—nothing open—nothing direct in his measures or in his mind. On the contrary, he had too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course was an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannized or was deceived, and was by turns a Dionysius and a Scapin. As well might the writhing obliquity of the serpent be compared to the swift directness of the arrow, as the duplicity of Mr. Hastings' ambition to the simple steadiness of genuine magnanimity. In his mind all was shuffling, ambiguous, dark, insidious and little; nothing simple, nothing unmixed: all affected plainness and actual dissimulation: a heterogeneous mass of contradictory qualities, with nothing great but his crimes: and even those contrasted by the littleness of his motives, which at once denoted both his baseness and his meanness, and marked him for a traitor and a trickster."

ART. IX.—*Gli Arabi in Italia; esercitazione storica di* David Bertolotti. Torino. 1838.

THE name of Historical Exercise, most justly bestowed by the author of the present volume upon his work, defines so precisely both its scope and mode of execution, that we are precluded at once from any very extravagant expectations either as to the information it imparts or to the ability with which the task is performed. It may fairly however be pleaded in justification, that the materials extant for the labour are so imperfect and scanty, and the facts and details in general so utterly unknown to historians, that any formal attempts to arrange them into one close and connected tissue of history would itself be a work of mere imagination, rendering the attempts at continuing and classifying, with a view to philosophize upon them, in itself derogatory to the judgment of the writer.

There is perhaps nothing more striking and remarkable in all literature than the entire ignorance evinced by European writers generally, and of all ages, of the events of Asiatic history as connected with the leading points of their own; unless indeed when these came into actual contact. This omission, however, arises in far less degree from mere ignorance of the different languages of the barbarians, and any possible difficulty of access to their historians, than from the *distinction in essence* between the spirit of the European and Asiatic families of mankind.

We mark this distinction not the less forcibly because there has been an absolute affinity, a positive descent, in the first instances, of the former from the last; and an ample intermixture by the accidents of time and conquest in various subsequent periods: for, notwithstanding the identity in the first, and amalgamation in the latter cases,—the distinction exists as though no such intermixtures had ever taken place; and in this, the latest century of the world, the difference is as clearly marked as in any of those that have ever preceded it. It is a difference that renders equally nugatory all researches of history, geography, and philology; a difference of civilization, not so much in degree as in nature; consisting not at all in the opposition of attributes, such as fixedness and mobility; but in an essential distinction of genius, antagonist in the two nations, and without reference to capacities, powers, and passions. The cause, if, haply, not referable to climate, we think hopelessly obscure: the consequence is undeniable. Throughout Asia it has found mental subservience, and enacted LAWS: in Europe it has every where produced deliberative resistance, and has established INSTITUTIONS.

When, in immediate connection with our subject, the charac-

teristic distinctions are so widely apart, the fact furnishes us with a clue to the otherwise inexplicable indifference and ignorance of oriental history in writers brought, as cotemporaries, and from other and national causes, into almost personal contact with them: and, to confine the deduction to the one question before us, it is hence that in all probability arises the mutual ignorance of Christian and Moorish writers: for though, in Spain, there are undoubtedly some instances to the contrary, yet these are far fewer than generally supposed, and to no very great extent. The Spanish historians of the Moorish wars do unquestionably in their narratives refer to the Moorish writers; but generally speaking it is but upon indispensable occasions; accidental notices, brought out by mutual relation of the same events: and seldom do we get more than a casual glimpse of the internal state of the hostile nation, of those individual traits, of those scenes of private life and feeling that in Asiatic bosoms act with so strong an influence over public affairs, and that bring down calamity upon a whole race or people from the fierce conflagrations of a spark long nourished in a single breast. The Zegri feuds with the Abencerrages are proof of this.

A consequence also follows from hence, and one of some importance to our views of history; for it admits as a general principle in our researches after the causes of the rise or decline of kingdoms, and in international cases, the fact which was so well observed by Montesquieu in the internal affairs of single kingdoms. Oppressions of the sovereign, he observes, are borne by the people, and to the utmost so long as they are general—but when oppression takes a discriminating form; when violence is offered not merely to accidental rights and property, but to the internal state of society and to the domestic circle, resistance commences at once; and spreads from the one individual outraged to the generality of the party oppressed, as in the case of Wat Tyler.

A due consideration of this fact, and of its origin, in the strongest impulses of our nature and also in the created rights of property, will at once induce us to extend the analogy to all that class of circumstances which are affected by similar feelings, and which stand in relation to foreign rather than domestic events: for there is no difference, we submit, in the passions of the individuals thus outraged, whatever difference there may be in their political relations, as native or foreign: and if, therefore, we can believe that the insult offered to his child by a tax-collector first roused Wat Tyler to rebellion against his sovereign, there is surely no wisdom in discrediting, as many writers have done, that the outrage offered to his daughter by a monarch leagued Count

Julian with the Moors. It may not have been, it certainly was not, the sole exciting cause, for where does tyranny confine itself to a single act? but if the act took place, and we see no room to doubt it, though the earlier Spanish historians take no notice of the case, it is scarcely possible to conceive that the doubtful fidelity of the governor, would not at once have been turned to vengeance by the exasperation of the father.

> 'That gather'd rage, that would forego
> 'The heart's first hope—to reach its foe:
> 'That thunder-feeling, that would strike
> 'All that its path embraced alike;
> 'Singling the loftiest, dearest ties
> 'To fall the foremost sacrifice;
> 'And gladly in the general doom
> 'Itself plunge headlong to the tomb,—
> 'No matter—if but fate descend,
> 'How wide its sweep, how wild its end;
> 'So that the ravage of its course
> 'But serve to mark the whirlwind's force;
> 'So that the ruin but proclaim
> 'The guilty's crime,—the avenger's name.—'

We have dwelt at some length upon this last consideration because in Eastern history generally, and in the one Essay before us, we find discredit thrown upon an act of the kind alluded to, for no other reason that we can divine but that it does not appear consonant with the dignity of history. But if, as we ourselves presume to think, the dignity of history is sustained only by philosophy, the latter can never consent to exclude from the sphere of her vision the genuine workings of the human mind, and especially when carried out to the widest range of action. Private feelings are the hinges of history;—and if through her ample gates the march of events is more magnificent when elaborated with those prouder and more pompous forms that are suited best for vulgar gaze, the calmer judgment will divest that gorgeous pageant of its state, reduce its masses of complication to simplicity, and trace the immediate and motive cause back to its one source, which is always to be found in the wellings of the human heart. These, in Asiatic history too, our present subject, are the more important, because from the cause assigned at our outset, the life of the sovereign is there the only history of the nation; and it is still more germane to our considerations at the moment, inasmuch as to an act of private passions is attributable the Arab dominion in Sicily.

After advertizing his readers that the present work is a sketch, not a picture, our author thus opens the subject:—

"Amidst the prevailing ardour for historical studies in Italy, it seems extraordinary that no one should have taken as the subject of his theme the fixed sojourn and domination established by the Arabs in various parts of Italy from the middle of the seventh to the end of the eleventh century; the richness, novelty, and singularity of which subject exceed all previous expectation. The history of the east and the west are thus given in Italy; the ecclesiastical annals reveal memorable portents, and the letters and arts of the middle age are illustrated from an origin always unknown.

"Mahomet died in 632. At the time of his death his temporal and spiritual dominion comprehended the whole Arabian peninsula, without exceeding its confines. But the enthusiastic disciples of the false prophet already looked upon the entire world, as then known to them, only as an open field of conquests. Persia, Syria, and Egypt fell within a few years under their yoke: then, subduing the whole African coast down to the pillars of Hercules, from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean they passed into Spain, which speedily sank beneath their power. Eighty-two years after the death of Mahomet his name was invoked at the foot of the Pyrenees.

"The Arabs were thus enabled to pass over-land into Italy, by crossing those mountains, part of France, and the Alps, as the Carthaginians had done already; or they could have come by sea from all that immense tract of country extending from the ports of Asia Minor to the Straights, and from Gibraltar to Tarragona. The Arabs, in fact, arrived by land at the extreme western part of Italy, having traversed the south of France and Provence, which they entered the very year (716) in which they had besieged Constantinople, and two years after conquering Turkestan and carrying their arms to the very frontiers of India. But they did not pass the Alps, nor advance much farther than Varo; and all the injury inflicted on Italy by this overland expedition is reduced to the devastation of some maritime portions of Liguria. It is well known that Abdal Malek, the leader of one of their armies in Gallia Narbonensis, on reaching the bank of the Rhone, pointed out to his soldiers the summits of the Alps whitening in snows in the distance; and that, not less ambitious than the African Hannibal, he desired to surmount them and subject Italy to the law of the Korann. The memorable victories of Charles Martel, however, saved France at the moment, and Italy with her, from the imminent peril of becoming a Mussulman province.

"But, more than French victories, Arabian dissensions stopped the course of their triumphs. The Ommiad Caliphs had, beyond any, enlarged the empire founded by Mahomet, which then extended from the Caspian to the Atlantic Ocean, from the confines of India to the sources of the Ebro in Spain. This vast empire fell a prey to discord and civil warfare. The monarchy of the Abassides rose on the ruins of that of Ommiah (750), and transported the seat of empire from Damascus to Bagdad."

We need but cursorily refer to the sketch of the condition of Italy from its foundation as a kingdom by Odocacer (476);—in

fact at least, if not in name, which is somewhat doubtful;—on the conquests of Theodoric, Belisarius, and Narses, to the death of Teja (553) and the extinction of the Lombard kingdom of Charlemagne in 774; and we resume our extracts with a previous notice that the Saracens began their inroads into Italy during the time of the Lombards, though confining themselves chiefly to the islands of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. "The only known allusions," says M. Bertolotti, "to the Lombard affairs against the Saracens is the following:—in the year 739, Liutprand, king of the Lombards, being applied to by Charles Martel for aid against the Saracens who infested Provence, sent his army and rode to the scene. The Saracens, hearing the rumour, returned to Languedoc." The candour and completeness of this information forcibly recals the triumphant songs of "the brave Belgians" after the battle of Waterloo, which entirely omitted all mention of the English.

"With the reign of Charles le Gros, deposed in 888, concludes the domination of the Carlovingian dynasty, magnificent in its founder, wretched in his successors. During their rule the Saracens established themselves in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Calabria, Apulia, and Terra di Lavoro, carrying their depredations even to the gates of Rome, and injuring the Tuscan and Ligurian trade. Some of these princes attempted to combat the infidels, but with little success. It is however to be observed that the Italian islands at that time held themselves dependent on the eastern empire, and so did some portions of the present kingdom of Naples; while the remainder looked up to the Lombard dukedom of Benevento, existing certainly, but owning allegiance to the western empire, subsequently divided into three."

The election of Berengarius I., Duke of Friuli, and his coronation as emperor in 915, was but a signal for fresh discord among the Italians; elections against elections, authority against authority, king against king; as the following table will show:—

Berengarius I., elected	888
Guido, king	890
———, elected emperor	891
Lamberto, king and emperor	892
Arnolfo, emperor	896
Lewis III., king of Italy	900
——— elected emperor	901
Berengarius, crowned	915
Rodolfo, king of Italy	921
Hugo, king of Italy	926
Lothario II., king of Italy	931
Berengarius II., Adalberto, ...	950

During these seventy years of rebellions, treasons, wars, slaughters, and foreign interventions, Italy suffered direfully from the Saracens, who occupied all the islands, infested all the seas, and established themselves on the main land both in the east and the west.

We may pass over the scenes of Italian discord that disgraced the reigns of the three first Othos, which are but slightly touched by our author in this place, as well as the Crusaders, and the Norman establishment in Sicily. Pisa, Geneva, and the Normans drove the Saracens from Italy (1021—1090), and spread in return the terror of their own arms into Africa; while the Crusaders (1095—1291) compelled the Moslemans to fight in Asia for their own soil.

In the twelfth century the Lombard communities won their independence, and forced the fierce Frederick Barbarossa to conclude peace. Three centuries of valour and greatness, of population, commerce, industry, and riches, succeeded, from the peace of Constance (1183) to the death of Lorenzo di Medici in 1492. During his life the fall of Constantinople once more brought the Mohammedan army to the coasts of Italy, when this unhappy land, drained of native defenders and partially the slave of Spain, had no defence but in Venetian strength and the valour of the Knights of Malta, and in the voice of the sovereign pontiff, claiming assistance from Christendom against the assaults of Islam.

Before turning to the domination of the invaders in Sicily, it may not be unnecessary to make a few remarks upon the origin of their power and of the name Saracen, which has been wrapped in singular obscurity by the conflicting evidence of doubtful and evidently incompetent authorities.

We have slightly referred to the period of the Abasside usurpation,

> "Then, when the Khalif's earthly diadem
> Sunk from the enfeebled grasp of Omar's race,
> One outcast scion of the sacred stem
> Found in Cordova's soil his resting-place;"

And Spain that, since 714, had owned the dominion of an Emir of the Caliphate, now united her plains into one oriental monarchy under the sway of the fugitive, Abderahme, Caliph of the West.

The example of Spanish secession was speedily followed in Africa within four years, and during the powerful reign of the far-famed Al Rashid, the scourge of the declining Greek empire: the Aglabites established a distinct sovereignty in that quarter, followed by the Edrissites; and subsequently by the Fatimites of Egypt, the Zairidi of Barbary, the Almoravidi of Mauritania,

and the Almohadi of Morocco; but the Saracens who established themselves in Italy came originally from Egypt before the divisions of the Caliphate.

"The names of Arabs, Moors, and Saracins, or Saracens, were indifferently applied to the Moslems before the conquests of the Turks. They were called Arabs because the empire was Arabian, an Arab was the founder of their creed, their principal sovereigns and leaders were, at least in the commencement, Arabs, and their speech was Arabic. They were called Saracens because this was the name formerly given by the Christians to the Mohammedans."

Our author subjoins an attempted elucidation of the word.

"Girolamo Serra gives the following etymology of this name. 'Saracca,' says he, 'was a city of Arabia Petræa, so denominated from Sara, the mother of the Patriarch Abraham. * * The population of Saracca was neither numerous nor powerful, yet so addicted to warfare that in the campaigns of Justinian against the Persians they sold their services to the highest bidder. The Greeks from that time began to call all the Arabs indifferently Saracens.'—(*Stor. Della Liguria.*) Other etymologies are offered, but all appear questionable.

"In the oldest Italian chronicles the Saracens are called Hagarenes or Ishmaelites."

We wonder that our author makes no reference here to the note in the 50th chapter of Gibbon, (Decline and Fall, a work to which he elsewhere constantly refers,) who has copiously adduced and slightly discussed the authorities for this name, and with his usual discrimination has pointed inquiry to foreign instead of native sources in Arabia. In truth, to admit the etymology of Girolamo Serra is but removing the difficulty a single step, from the people to the place of their designation; since it may fairly be asked, what gave this the name? Had the great historian however, instead of quoting Ptolemy at second-hand, turned to that author himself, he would have found much to assist his conjectures. Ockley, if we remember right, adopts the derivation of an Arabic term, signifying *Eastern:* which, as Gibbon observes, is disproved by Ptolemy, who shows that they lived in the *Western* part of Arabia: but this is East of Egypt, it has been objected, and they came from thence. We find that Ptolemy (Geog. Arab. Petr. l. vi.) places them to the west of the Melanæan Mountains; and again, l. vi. Arab. Felix, below the Thuditæ: this leaves no doubt of their position. On turning, however, to the description of Asiatic Sarmatia, we find another race of Saracens near the Tanais, and in the dispersion of tribes it is therefore evident that the name was carried westward: the S. then was probably only the Gothic prefix, the Hebrew ש; substance; the definite article. Since we find them mentioned as the Saracenic tribes in

the comedies of Menander, who flourished in the fourth century, the name must, on the most moderate computation, have been established considerably before the time of Psammetichus II. King of Egypt; and this, we believe, is the nearest approximation to the time of that (unknown) Egyptian King, in whose tomb is inscribed, amongst other fugitive nations, the name of the RAKKAM.

If we take the word רק, *rakk*, evidently *might;* fiery or desolating; (as compounded in the Hebrew וברקים *lightnings*, Ps. 18, 14,) this sufficiently shows the import of the root; *i. e.* the original sense of the word, which signifies properly *an armed array.* The Arabian *rokh* is obviously from the same root. The word Saraceni then was in all likelihood שרקים, *Serakkim;* *σαραχηνοι*; *fulmina belli;* The Warlike: a name which the fact of their military propensities, obvious in Amm. Marcellinus, and quoted from Girolamo Serra, sufficiently proves; and their valour in the cause of Mohammed establishes the existence of that martial spirit, the pre-eminence of which may probably have extended the name of Saracen to the first Mahommedan Arabs generally. All writers, including the careful Muratori, Anu. an. 698, concur in noticing their Egyptian connection.

In conclusion on this point we may remark, that the old Italian chronicles spoken of are of little authority even in allying the Saracens to Abraham by descent, though through Hagar, and in the opposite branch from Sara; since the Arabs were ignorant of the names of Ishmael and Hagar till the time of Mahomet. The name of Sara, princess, seems, however, unquestionably derived from the same root as the first part of the foregoing, being but the feminine form of the root, in Hebrew, אור—*ur;* in Coptic *ϱε*, Armenian or ancient Persian *ara*, bright, glorious, the sovereign.

We now turn to the Sicilian Arabs.

"The first descent of the Arabs upon Sicily is also the first mention in history of the appearance of these oriental barbarians on the Italian coasts. The year in which it occurred is not certain, but we know that in 652 Olympius, Exarch of Italy, was directed by the Emperor of Constantinople, Lord Paramount of Sicily, to carry there an army in order to expel the Saracens. * * We know likewise that Olympius was defeated by them in battle, and through vexation and illness finally lost his life"

It is curious however to find, in Muratori, that Pope Martin was accused by the Greeks of having assisted the Saracen invasion of Sicily, and was conducted a prisoner to Constantinople to answer the charge. (654.) He denied that he had ever written to the enemy, or supplied them with money; having only contributed to the wants of the Christians driven from thence. The baseness and perfidy of the Greeks was notoriously equal to even

this calumny, if such it was; but the fact at any rate proves the strong suspicions entertained of the temporal practices of the Holy See.

The civil wars between Ali and Moaviah for the caliphate (656) enabled the Greeks and Romans to drive the Saracens out of Sicily; or, more probably, Moaviah withdrew them to increase his Egyptian army against his rival. The Emperor Constantine established his dominion in that island in 663; but six years afterwards the Arabs returned in aid of Macezius against his sovereign, though too late to save him. They arrived suddenly in Sicily, with many vessels, entered Syracuse, and put the unhappy inhabitants to the sword; and, if we may credit some writers, committed many cruelties in the island. This is not absolutely certain, but it seems they sacked and burnt Messina and other places. They made subsequently frequent incursions there.

The establishment of the Saracens in the island belongs however to the ninth century, and the period of Abderahme II. in Spain, and of the Fatimites and Edrissites, already noticed, in Africa.

"The vengeance of an outraged parent for his daughter's honour against a dissolute monarch, opened, as it is said, the ports of Spain to the Saracens. The vengeance of a lover, robbed either of his mistress or his bride, conducted them to Sicily and facilitated its conquest. (827.)"

We find in the Greek historian Cedrenus, that one Euphemius, enamoured of a nun, carried her off by force from the convent. Her brothers applied to the emperor, who directed the punishment of the offender, and Euphemius fled for refuge to the Saracens of Africa, whom he induced to undertake the invasion of Sicily. The anonymous Salernitan writer, however, lays the whole blame upon the Greeks, declaring that the governor, for a bribe, gave the affianced bride of Euphemius to another; and that, not fear, but revenge, induced the application to the Saracens of Tunis.

We have already assigned our reasons for objecting to the principle on which attempts have been made, and even by the author, M. Bertolotti, to throw discredit on the tale. The enemy however landed seven hundred horsemen and ten thousand infantry from a hundred vessels, and devastated the country. But still its conquest was difficult, and the Greeks under Theodotus reduced the Moslems even to the extremity of eating their horses; but receiving aid from Andalusia they took Messina and Palermo after a long defence. Syracuse, the capital, resisted however until the year 878, when after many furious and vain assaults it was finally taken by storm and given up to violence. Its riches and opulence may be imagined from the fact that it afforded to the conquerors

the greatest booty they had ever taken, excepting only the city of Madain, the capital of the Persian empire.

Taromina and Rametta still held out, the latter to the year 965. The Greek emperor sent to its assistance an army composed of Greeks, Russians, Armenians, and Persians, who landed at Messina, but were slain or captured by the Moors; Islamism became the prevailing religion of the island, and the Greeks concluded peace in 967.

It was not till 1038 that the Greek power asserted itself in Sicily, owing to the fraternal discord of the two Saracen governors, and with the aid of the Lombards and Normans: the allies quarrelled about the spoils; and the entry of the Normans into Sicily can date only from 1061: thirty years were needed for the entire conquest, and in the year 1130, Roger I. the son of the conqueror assumed the title of King of Italy. The Moors and Jews who chose to remain were not molested in the exercise of their religion.

We may observe that the brutality of the Arabian fanatics that formed the armies of Islamism was often vainly checked by the injunctions of Mahommed, to show respect for literature. Peace and riches, however, wrought a great but natural change in their possessors; and the glories of the Abasside caliphs roused their independent brethren of Spain, Africa, and Italy to imitate their example. The Arabs who cultivated the Greek literature through its long extension from Constantinople to Samarcand, restored to Italy the lost learning of Greece, her philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and even the memory of her glorious example; and gave further, according to native testimony, the influence of their taste to Italian literature.

In this we find, observes Sismondi, the real Oriental character; not only in the frequent descriptions of spring, of herbage and flowers, the songs of birds, the murmur of streams, the freshness of fountains, the nightingale as a messenger of love, and the mental subtleties applied to amorous imaginings, but also in the necromancers, fairies, enchantments, palaces of adamant, magic rings, and all the marvels of our epics:—and these he asserts, on the authority of Denina, to have been chiefly of Arab invention. Eastern we would observe, they undoubtedly were, but certainly not Arab originally—and we may notice that these tales were absolutely forbidden to the Arabs, as devices of the demons in Persia, to which country they must undoubtedly be referred in the first instance; nor did they freely penetrate the East under the severe interdiction of Mahommed, until the genius of Ferdusi had collected them into one gorgeous tissue, heightened by the charms of unrivalled oriental genius; it was not till nearly a century after

his appearance that these magnificent imaginings found their way, through Arabia, into Europe.

In turning from the "historical exercise," we cannot but notice the allusion to architectural improvements introduced by the Arabs—as at Zisa in Palermo. Ample architectural details of the place are given at the end of the work; to these we refer the reader, and can find space only for a sketch of the ruins, which we are happy to supply from the volumes of a recent traveller and excellent judge of art, our own countryman, Mr. Standish.*

"From hence I passed to what is called the Castle 'della Zisa,' and surveyed with much pleasure this Moorish building—corresponding as it does with all similar edifices which I have seen in Spain and other places. The apartment which now remains, served doubtless in former times as a hall for audience, and is open on the ground-floor to a corridor. A spring of pellucid water flows from one of its walls, facing the grand entrance, and this is received in a square reservoir, which by a small gutter conveys the liquid into two others, all being on a level with the floor. The corridor is adorned with an Arabic legend on the frieze of its walls, but the modern embellishments which it has undergone are trifling, and in bad harmony with the ancient construction of the building. The name of Zisa is a corruption probably of the Arabic word 'Alaaziz,' which signifies 'magnificent.' A tradition recounts that this building was in the olden time both larger and more splendid than we now find it. It was seated amongst gardens, and had a reservoir for fish, with subterraneous communications, (as was usual with the Arabs in all their buildings of importance,) which communicated to other palaces and castles in the neighbourhood. The object however of this erection is still doubtful, after all the investigations and discussions of the learned; but Professor Morso, author of a work on the antiquities of Palermo, inclines to the opinion that it served as a place of recreation to the Arab chiefs resident there, and not a Moorish college or university, as has been supposed by some. The Arabic legend or inscription is merely in praise of the Divinity, and has nothing to do with the history of the edifice it embellishes, nor does it throw any light on that subject."—vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

We are the better pleased to refer to this writer on the present occasion, inasmuch as amidst the whimsical interruption of his subjects, many notices are found of the works of Arabian art in Sicily, Italy, and Spain; and all touched lightly, but with a vigorous hand. His remarks on Constantinople, too, contain much of novelty, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject of late. As a fit conclusion to this article we shall quote some portion of his chapter on the religion, customs, arts, and literature of the Arabs in Granada.

"The pure religion of the Arabs was conformity to the Koran. They

* Shores of the Mediterranean. 2 vols. London.

had, however, sects called the Malechite, the Schaphetic, and the Hanaphetic, from names of three doctors in their divinity. Our sacred writings are by the Mahommedans considered uninspired and abominable, as theirs are by us. 'Islamism' means resignation to the will of God. Mahomet, who knew little of literature, is supposed to have been aided by certain ecclesiastics, who, on the condemnation for heresy of Eutyches and Nestorius, bishops of Constantinople, who lived towards the middle of the fifth century, fled with them to the deserts of Egypt and Syria; his believers however allege that the verses of the Koran were delivered to the prophet direct from the Almighty by the angel Gabriel, on a parchment made from the skin of the lamb which Abraham sacrificed instead of his son Isaac; and that three-and-twenty years were required for their transmission. It may afford amusement to the curious if I give some account of the Mahommedan Paradise, a description of which is fully laid down in the Koran, both as to its aspect and its enjoyments. There are seven regions for the blest, all of which Mahomet visits, seated on the Alborak, an animal in breed between the mule and the horse. The first Paradise is of fine silver; the second of gold; the third of precious stones, in which sits an angel, the distance between whose hands is so great, as to require 70,000 days to traverse from the one to the other; in these he holds a book, on which his eyes are perpetually fixed.* The fourth heaven is of emeralds; the fifth of rock crystal; the sixth of a flame colour; and in the seventh is a delicious garden, watered by rivers of milk, honey, and wine, and planted with trees perpetually verdant, the seeds of which, when they fall, are converted to nymphs so handsome and so sweet, that were one to spit in the sea she would remove all the bitterness of its salt. This paradise is guarded by angels with heads of oxen, and horns with 40,000 curves, the distance between each curve being forty days' journey. There are other angels with 70,000 mouths, each mouth with the same number of tongues, which praise God daily 70,000 times, in as many languages. Before the throne of God burn fourteen tapers, equi-distant, and at fifty days' journey from each other. In all the apartments of these imaginary heavens, the true believers are served with food of the finest quality, they receive the embraces of damsels whose charms never fade, and the momentary sexual pleasures of earth are prolonged in their arms to a thousand years. The infernal regions are situated in the centre of our globe; the residence in the halls of Eblis is however not eternal; ablution in a fountain admits the guilty, through the intercession of Mahomet, to share in the remnants of repasts left by the just."—pp. 303—305.

The following concise remarks contain much that is not generally known, and may be of some value at the present time, when, notwithstanding the daily increasing intercourse with the prophet's followers, so little is known popularly of their peculiar tenets.

"To the Koran there is a kind of supplement called the 'Sonna;'—the Casuists on these books are very numerous. In the Mahommedan

* This is the angel of death, Israfil, who gazes on the book of human destinies.

code of canon law, there is a divine right distinguished from the positive. It is easy to imagine that a religion which promised so many sensual enjoyments after death, propagated amongst a nation deprived of almost all comforts during life, where the proudest and richest prince could scarcely boast of the conveniences possessed by an artisan of Europe, should have found many followers; and as the new sect increased in wealth and power, the Koran, on being consulted by the rich, presented no objections to luxury and sensuality even in this world. The severe obligations of a husband to have but one partner were unknown; the use of wine, though publicly prohibited, was secretly indulged by the affluent; frequent ablutions, in no climate ungrateful, were under the fervid sun of Syria and Arabia enjoyments, nay necessary comforts; ignorance and poverty were not regarded as sins, and the favour of the prophet was the proud prerogative which caused the meanest Mahommedan to consider himself above and better than the most illustrious infidel. Aristocratic distinctions were scarcely known. In the highest employments of state, a minister would often retain the name of the manual occupation in which he had been engaged before his elevation. Despotism, always pleasant to those in office, was here sanctified by religion. With so many attractive temptations, it is no wonder that this persuasion gained proselytes both amongst the high and the low: to each it offered advantages, and, unlike the promised rewards of our religion, which are distant and conditional, it presented immediately to its proselytes all they could most wish for and desire. The only restrictive obligations imposed upon them were daily prayers to God and the Prophet.

"The Arabs of Granada had their Mufti or bishop; his business was to settle theological disputes, and to direct the application of money for hospitals, mosques, and other buildings dedicated to religious or charitable purposes. Inferior ministers of religion, the Talbes, who possessed the accomplishment of reading and writing the Arabic language; and the Mudens, whose office it was to chaunt the hours of prayer from the minarets, served as lawyers and as curates, and in fact filled all the posts of government. Every Friday some one of these ministers convoked the people, and expounded a chapter of the Koran. The book was placed on velvet or cloth, that it might not be defiled by manual contact. The 'Ramadhan,' or yearly fast of a month, was strictly observed here; at that time it was unlawful for the pious even to smell meat until nightfall. Besides the Ramadhan or monthly fast, there were four festivals, each of which lasted three days, similar to the Jewish passover: the first of these was the 'Mulen,' for the birth of Mahomet; the second, 'Eid Segur,' in which honey and butter were to be eaten before any other viands; the third, 'Ahsor,' in which the king and the nobles gave tithes of cattle and grain to the poor; and the fourth was the 'Idquivir,' or great feast, which was held in honour of the sacrifice of Abraham; in this, the rich man killed rams to the number of his family, and even the poor always killed one. Processions were unknown amongst the Moors. The order of the Suphites was composed of Monkish ecclesiastics, who lived retired from towns similar to Christian hermits; but they had rules and a superior in all their convents. The most celebrated one was that

outside the gate of the Alfahareros at Granada. From the rules of this institution, which are preserved at the Escurial, we learn that it was founded in the second century of the Hegira, in imitation probably of the Christian monastic establishments.

"The matrimonial laws of the Arabs are similar to those of the Turks; their sepulchral rites the same also. The Arabs generally ornamented their graves with a stone sepulchre, terminating in a small pointed roof. The administration of justice resided first in the king, then in the vizier; each town had an alcalde or governor; after him came the cadis, their functions being both civil and ecclesiastic; but the halif or alguacil superintended the execution of punishments, and looked after the internal economy of the city in which he resided. The *lex talionis* was observed amongst this people; a murderer being executed with the instrument of his crime. Although Mahomet directed that succession to the throne should be conferred by election of the people, and not from consanguinity to the deceased sovereign, even among his Arabian successors this injunction was neglected: and at Granada the son succeeded the father in empire. The other members of the family, however, generally desired to rule also, and the court, at the beginning and termination of every reign, was a scene of bloodshed and intrigue. The body guard of the kings was composed of an African corps called Zegris, who were considered safer and more trustworthy than national troops. A favourite place of royal diversion was the riding-school. The kings cherished and studied the breed of horses with oriental care; their genealogy was noted as in the east, and they were treated with the utmost kindness. Horsemanship and the exercise of arms occupied the bodily energies of the Granadan sovereigns; mathematics, eloquence, and poetry, were their mental occupations; perhaps they were the most polite princes of their rank and time in Europe. The army was irregularly divided into parties, which generally formed in masses to attack the enemy, each having its leader; and the commander in chief of all was invariably a relation of the King of Mauritania. Such promiscuous bodies were easily dispersed, if not successful in their first attack; but the personal valour of the men was very great, and it required much steadiness in the troops opposed to them to withstand them, if they began the battle with gaining an advantage. The royal income consisted of tithes on products paid during the Feast of Ahsor, the 'Almoxarifazgo,' a duty of one and a half per cent. on all manufactures exported or imported, and the 'alcabala,' or auction dues of ten per cent. The 'gabelas' were taxes specially imposed for the completion of public works: the Arab word has passed to the French in 'gabelle.' Elgaleb Billah, in order to found academies, drew a yearly income of nearly 200,000 ducats from this tax. A singularity in the dress of the Granadan Moors was, that a turban was seldom worn by them, except when high in office. In the winter, a warm cloak covered their under garments; in summer, a white flowing gown supplied its place. I possess the picture of a Christian Sybil painted by Murillo, and dressed in the female Moorish garb of Granada. The painter lived at a time which was not so far distant from the Moorish dominion in Spain, that the traces of its fashions had altogether

disappeared; and, as depicted by him, they are as follow.—vol. ii. pp. 307—310.

We may pass over these details for the following—

"Of the domestic economy of this people it may be said, that they often relaxed from the orders of their prophet, and drank wine; there was however a sumptuary law which forbade them the use of silver and gold goblets. The population of ancient Granada varied, as may be supposed. In the time of Albuhagiageh, at the middle of the fourteenth century, the town is said to have contained 70,000 houses: and the historian Marmol asserts, that in 1476 it had 30,000 vecinos (five persons forming a vecindad), 8000 knights, 25,000 archers; and, in only three days, more than 50,000 fighting men were collected from the Alpuxarras, Sierra, and Vega. Masdeu says, that in the latter there were no less than 130 water-mills, and more than 300 villas for recreation. When the Spaniards subdued this province, they could only succeed in doing so by gradually destroying the fortresses and houses, and laying waste the fields; a cruel mode of warfare, which they afterwards attempted, though without success, to employ in the Netherlands. As the Moors would not trade with Christians, all excess of agricultural produce was hidden in subterraneous chambers till necessity called it forth. As we preserve our butts of wine, so they would keep a chamber of grain from the birth till the marriage of a son, and it was found after such lapse of time to have lost little of its first excellence, save the colour. The French in the present day are recommending a revival of this economy. Amongst others, I find recorded the introduction into Spain of the following grains, vegetables, and trees from Africa, attributed to the Moors:—the millet, the lupine, the white poppy, lentils, garbanzos, or yellow farinaceous peas, the Indian fig, the palm, the plantain, the sugar-cane, cotton, the cypress, mulberry, medlar, and indeed almost all the fruit trees now in general use. They were careful to irrigate their grounds, and though they raised no altars, like the Romans, to the god Stercutus, they were not the less aware of the value of manure, and never neglected its use. They worked velvet cloths extremely well; their preparation of leather is valued to this day, and Morocco skins are in general use throughout Europe. They dug for gold and the precious metals; their preparation of iron formed arms, and of lead they made water-pipes. Their use of stucco and of plaster to ornament dwelling-rooms is superior to the modern, and constitutes the principal beauty which is left us of the Arab monuments; their carved wood-work is of equal perfection. We find no coin struck by them in Spain till the time of Abdelrhaman the Second, fourth king of Cordova; it was inscribed with his name on one side, and on the reverse with a quotation from the Koran. Elgaleb Billah was the first who coined at Granada. They measured with iron chains, to avoid the variation of cord, always more or less susceptible of impression from the atmosphere. The golden money of the Arabs in Asia, issued in the eighteenth year of the Hegira, was called dinar, whence the Spanish dinero, and Italian danaro. The Arabs borrowed it from the δενάριον of the Greeks. Of Arab paintings none are left which merit attention; their colours are generally vivid and warm, but the repre-

sentation of animated nature was forbidden by their religion. The Arab literature would be respectable, did it contain no other works than the Thousand-and-one Nights,—as has been said of the Spanish with relation to Don Quixote. Quality, not quantity of writing, enhances the value of composition, and fixes the literary rank of the nation from which it emanates. In England, France, and Germany, the daily presses teem with the crude offsprings of the heated brain, and the effusions of party spirit; and the tables groan with the weight of political and religious controversies usque ad nauseam. Perhaps at this moment Italy, where no one writes but under the rod of despotism, produces the most useful works: the learned in that country dedicate themselves to the labours of science, the fine arts, and antiquities; the more easy and trifling trade of politicians is scarcely known, or punished if exercised. The princes of the Fatimas in Africa, and of the Ommiades in Spain, protected and encouraged learning; Ali Bakar Mahomed, in his 'Codex Literarius,' enumerates seventy public libraries in different towns of their Spanish dominions; and from him it appears, that in the twelfth century there were no less than one hundred and fifty authors in Cordova, fifty-two in Almeria, seventy-one in Murcia, fifty-three in Malaga, besides a host of others in Seville, Valencia, and Granada. From the tenth century downwards, we find the names of Naschina and Moghia in poetry, Mosada in history, and Leila in general literature; these were major stars amongst the constellations, for in the library of Azra, of which Schamsedin was director, works were found of more than one hundred Granadian writers, besides fourteen from natives of Illiberis. It is not however to be supposed that Arab poetry was comparable to either ancient or modern classic writing; it was always more or less licentious and extravagant; their history false and exaggerated. The Arabs wrote with few rules, and taste was always sacrificed to imagination. In mathematics, which are not susceptible of more than one mode of application, to which there is no royal road, and the acquisition of which can only be gained by following a beaten path, the progress they made was regular and secure, and it served as the basis for future speculations in science. The simplification of arithmetical and mathematical processes and quantities by the useful invention of algebra, and the studies of Avicenna and Racis in medicine, were valuable in their time to the Christian princes. An Arab physician was generally attendant on their courts: and by their confraternity the College of Medicine at Salerno in Italy was founded. Botany was advanced by Al Beithar, a native of Malaga; and though the tropical plants were not then registered, his Herbal of Europe, Asia, and Africa was useful and important. Chemistry advanced, minerals were analyzed, and vegetable substances examined. Unfortunately, the delusive notion of converting baser metals to gold, and the search after the philosopher's stone, confined most of its professors to the alembic and the crucible. The higher refinements of the science,—the adoption of electricity to produce the elements of an alkali,—were reserved for our days, and are at least as extraordinary as would have been the discovery of transmuting metals, even had it been obtained. In 807 Aarun Al Raschid, the famous Caliph of Bagdad,

presented Charlemagne with a timepiece that marked and sounded the hours by elision of metal balls into a brazen bason. The dial-plate showed twelve knights, who appeared each from a door, closing again upon him when the hour was past. We have preserved many Arabic astronomical words even to the present day—zenith, nadir, azimuth, almicantarat, alhidad, are still in use. Their men of science had observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, and Ben Isa measured the world from a degree of the Mediterranean. They brought solar quadrants to much perfection, and may on the whole be regarded as the fathers of modern science and experimental philosophy."—vol. ii. pp. 311—316.

We must refer the reader to M. Bertolotti's work for details of the Saracens in Southern Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, and Malta; and conclude by noticing that we have purposely omitted comparing his stock of information with the volumes of Gibbon, Hallam, Rampoldi, and others, of whom he makes ample use.

ART. X.—*Chinese Courtship. In Verse.* By P.P. Thoms. Macao.

THE more widely we are separated from other and distant parts of the world the more natural is our indifference for its customs and manners; and if these supply a passing trait, now and then, to add to our knowledge, and, better, to our amusement also, it is the utmost that can be required for the world of readers in general, and even any but the more scientific, learned, and curious. The number of these bears no proportion to the mass; and since it is chiefly to the mass that a journal like ours must address itself, we are bound to abstain from any thing beyond a casual notice of such uninteresting exotics.

This very necessity of abstaining, however, though it may excuse us for deferring till now an account of works like the present, so long as any more interesting or important subjects, nearer home, require our attention, will yet by no means justify our neglecting altogether those pictures of foreign and utterly distinct feelings and usages; so opposite to ours and so little known, that it is almost doubted, even by the majority of readers, whether there can be any similarity at all between them.

There are, however, two points of interest: the sympathies of similarity and contrast. The first of these is more closely connected with our general habits, and is in truth the only one that becomes a part and portion of our existence; assisting the judgment by increasing experience, and offering only such differences as add variety and novelty to previous conceptions; hues and

shades in the details, with a general similarity in the character and conduct; as of neighbouring nations to our own.

The sympathies of contrast are of course much fewer, and oftener refer to simple curiosity than to any more deep rooted emotion, or more immediate advantage in our commerce with the world. Yet it is not wholly devoid of these: however accustomed we may be to the incidents and diversities of life in Europe, yet the Chinese character, like the Chinese Chess, affords us so many novel combinations, that while it amuses, it also assists us to a totally new element; of speculative science for the sage, long treasured facts for the historian, arbitrary systems for the politician, fresh aspects of truth for the moralist, and discoveries of every kind from the dry and formidable labours of the philologist down to the lightest tale that wins a few moments from the idle, or adds one wilder phantasm to the dreams of beauty. Nor is the scheme deficient in the highest moral interest, in the noblest moral examples. More than once in Chinese history a whole council of ministers has perished successively in the ungrateful and hopeless duty of reproving the faults of a barbarous tyrant; more than once have the sorrows of love and imperial station formed the subject of tales and tragedies, as simple as they are sad: woman, too, has ruled sovereign in a land that views her merely in the light of subjected servitude: a defeated monarch has committed suicide only that the fidelity of his subjects to his family might not prove their own destruction from the wrath of an invader; and one last, firm champion of his sinking country, after ten years of unsuccessful resistance, driven with his infant sovereign from the conquered land of China to the sea, after final defeat, plunged with his royal charge into the deep, with the glorious exclamation, so well preserved by our last great poet: "It is better," he cried, "to die a prince than to live a slave!"

Facts such as these, so opposite to our every day impressions, of servile sycophants and abject womanhood in China; of the mock paternity and heartless selfishness of its sovereign, and the base, cringing falsehood of its nodding mandarines, stand out in brilliant light; and with greater effect from the dark and dingy, soil-stained canvas that bears our neglected impressions of their character: they shoot, like the electric spark, at once and simultaneously, through the linked hands of all who form the circle of humanity; they banish the intervals of space and time, redeem the lapses of an erring nature, command respect and forbearance for even ludicrous ceremonials, a barbarous casket that contains the gems of social order: they ennoble the very pulses of our own hearts by the consciousness of one common mortality; since even where most constrained and vitiated, where most emasculated by

mental subjection, and warped rather than strengthened by pedantic institutions, the spirit yet feels the consciousness of a nobler aim than life, of a prouder impulse than is awakened by the dross beneath its feet; and despite of submissive ignorance and degrading pedantry, bewildered by indefinite superstition, or chilled and lost in infidelity, it still shines in native dignity to vindicate the hand that gave it.

In enlarging, therefore, the sphere of our inquiries, we naturally take in a wider basis for facts and observations; and these confirm our judgment and assist our conclusions often the most unexpectedly on points where we might otherwise wander long in error. To take two instances out of many; it has frequently been remarked, that Shakspeare has overstepped nature in some of his characters; thus, Richard of Gloster, wooing the Lady Anne in the very moment of preoccupying grief, and winning her in spite of her horror and detestation of him. Romeo too, deeply enamoured of Rosalind, at once forgets her in the superior charms, and sudden and undisguised captivation of Juliet, and amidst all the exciting circumstances that attend his introduction to her in the house of his hereditary enemy;—"So little respect," observes even Johnson, "had Shakspeare for the character of a lover." Yet extravagant as both these cases seem, and apparently justifying the censure of inverisimilitude cast upon them, both have their corresponding antitype in the Chinese historical drama. The intermixture, too, of speech and song, which formed the gravamen of one charge against the artificiality of the opera, is everywhere vindicated by Chinese tragedy, Arabian narrative, and oriental composition in general, whence it was, almost unquestionably, derived; and in all of which the strongest emotions, even the most deadening sadness of despair and suicide, continually express themselves in song.

Having in these preliminary remarks endeavoured to win the reader to a gentler mood of attention than is usually given to oriental works, we shall no longer trifle with his patience, but conduct him at once to the subject-matter of our article.

The opening remarks of the translator are interesting enough, though rather carelessly expressed.

"In submitting the following translation of a popular Chinese work to the public, an apology seems unnecessary, for though much has been written respecting the Chinese, their poetry has remained almost unnoticed. This has arisen chiefly from the difficulties which the language presents to foreigners, and has discouraged every attempt of the kind, beyond a stanza, or a few occasional verses. As those translations are considered inadequate for an European to form a correct opinion of their poetry, an attempt has been made to render into English, the Hwa-tsëen,

'The Flower's Leaf,' the eighth Chinese literary work. It is a work of more than ordinary length, for most of their poetry consists only of a few verses, written, it might be presumed, on the spur of the moment.

"Though the Chinese are fond of poetry, they have no epic poems; and while they are wanting in those beauties which distinguish the works of the Roman and Grecian poets, they have nothing that resemble the extravagances of their gods and goddesses. The art of poetry, if it may be so called, notwithstanding is thought a great accomplishment, and every one who has any pretensions to letters, indulges himself in writing verses. This proceeds probably from the candidates at the public examinations being required to write one of their themes in verse. It does not appear that the Chinese are not sufficiently inventive to excel in poetry, but that they fail from adhering to ancient laws laid down. Nor will it be imagined, that of about *seventy* thousand graduates, (besides those who have acquired degrees) who still devote themselves to letters, and attend at each triennial examination, many of whom have applied both to books and to nature, that there is not one who has genius and inventive imagination—but the contrary may be presumed. Even Tsaou-tsze-këen, who is one of their eminent poets, exceeded not the usual laws laid down by his predecessors; and though there are several volumes of his poetry extant, they are all of that short description. The Chinese prefer a slight allusion to a subject, rather than to amplify it." —Pref. pp. iii. iv.

"The Hwa-tsëen, from which the following translation is made, is in a colloquial style, peculiar to the province of Kwang-tung, and is much read by persons of both sexes. The reviewers of the work pass very high encomiums on it, and rank it next to Se-seang, another work on Courtship. It made its appearance during the Ming dynasty, and is supposed to be the production of two persons of Canton, who had acquired high literary honors. It is of the narrative kind, as is most of their poetry that is of any length."—p. v.

"The style of the original, in Chinese, is called Muth-yü. It consists of four lines to a verse, and seven characters or words in each line; but the poem affords specimens of several kinds of metre, as may be noticed by the number of characters in a column."—p. vii.

The following peculiarities of the Chinese poetry in some of its modes are curious; and, though utterly impossible elsewhere we should imagine, yet practicable in a monosyllabic language.

"This rhyming of characters or words is carried through the verse, so that the first and third line, second and fourth line, rhyme character for character. In the eight line verses, while causiug every other line to rhyme they frequently make the four middle lines still farther to agree; i. e. if the two first characters of the third line contain a single meaning, or express two distinct actions, the two first characters of the fourth line must also convey one or two meanings; the same attention is also paid to the last three characters of the middle lines; i. e. if they contain one, two, or three significations, the third line must also contain the same number of distinct ideas, and so through the other two lines. This kind

of verse is considered the most difficult of Chinese poetry, and is greatly admired. As such compositions require a retentive memory, there are but few poets who excel in it; for though each Chinese character is a distinct word, it often occurs that two or more characters are necessary to form a phrase. In the Hwa-tsëen, from which this is taken, there are several verses of the above composition, and yet the thread of the story is continued without the least interruption."—p. viii.—x.

We subjoin the following poetical progress of poesy.

" ' Poetry did not commence with the writers of the odes which form the work called She-king, for the Tëen-mo, a work on poetry, existed much earlier. From that period, the writers of poetry continued to improve till the publication of the She-king, which Confucius denominated a King, or Classical Work, a standard for succeeding ages In the order of succession, the works of Le-saou formed a new era in Chinese poetry, which lasted till the Han dynasty, when the poets Loo and Le introduced the metre of five monosyllables. From the reign of Hëen-te, (close of the three contending nations), A.D. 552; names of celebrity arose, when every one adopted his own metre. From the dynasty Chin, to the end of the dynasty Suy, during an interval of about 70 years, no regard was paid to ancient laws laid down for poetry. At the commencement of the Tang dynasty, poetry made nearer approaches to perfection, and the poets Ching and Sung, who concealed under a plain style its beauties, laid aside the bombast. Their odes when sung, had an agreeable effect. When the dynasty Tang was in its splendour, poetry was very generally cultivated, and may be compared to a tree. The three hundred odes (the She-king) its roots; the poetical productions of Loo and Le, its tender sprouts; the compositions during the reign of Hëen-te, its branches; during the Six Dynasties, its leaves; when, from Lang and downwards, its pendent branches bore delicate and beautiful flowers.' "—p. x. xi. (*from a Chinese work.*)

The poem, which is closely translated, and line for line, into English prose, begins with great simplicity and beauty.

' As the evening advances, rise, lean on the railing, and imbibe the cool air,
For the autumnal breeze is imbued with the fragrance of the white water-lily.
A single horn of the bright moon, resembling clear water, can only be seen,
For to night, it is said, heaven's bride and bridegroom unite.*

" Since love exists among the stars, and they have conjugal intercourse,
Why should living man endure distress, and be benumbed by the cold?

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* This alludes to the constellations Chĭh-neu, Lyra, and Këennew or New-lang, Capricornus. The Koo-sze-yuen says, East of the Milky Way is the constellation Chĭh-neu, the grand-daughter of Tëen-te, (sovereign of the stars). She was very industrious, and yearly wove articles of delicate texture. So intent was she on weaving, as to be careless of adorning her person. Tëen-te, commiserating her living alone, married her to Këen-new, a constellation to the south of the Milky Way. When married she no longer applied herself to work. The sovereign displeased, ordered her to return to her former residence, and from that time only permitted her once a year to visit her husband, which takes place on the seventh evening of the seventh moon. Chĭh-neu is now worshipped by unmarried women to obtain skill in embroidery.

At seasons of joy and mirth, he should be sprightly and merry;
What should hinder his coveting a pearl, or robbing a flower of its fragrance?
" Since persons of different sex can dwell in harmony together through life,
Why should not we, by a secret agreement, enjoy the intercourse of love?
The ancients, when once in love, were bent on enjoying their heart's desire,—
Be therefore of a firm mind, and patiently wait till united in one.
" Though mountain springs are insensible of love, yet they revolve within themselves;
Why, when so much esteemed, should you believe you are forgotten?—
The prevailing wish of the age is, that love should exist during life;
Why then suffer it to decay or expire ere you have half run your course."—
pp. 1, 2.

Since it is thus proved that heavenly bodies conjugate, there can assuredly be no reason on earth, or in that celestial portion of it which forms China at least, why mortals should not do the same; the precedent being, by good fortune, so decidedly in their favour: and how those who are disposed to obey the precept of loving one another might have acted without it, is difficult to conjecture. But this difficulty once overcome, we are introduced to a prominent personage.

" It appears that in the district Woo-keang, in the province Soo-chew-foo,
Dwelt a youth of talent, whose family name was Leang;
His father, a person of letters, was usually called Jin-po,
And his mother, a woman of strict virtue, was of the family Heaou.
" As geese are known to walk alone, so did Leang, not having a brother;
His sacred name was Fang-chow, and his surname, Jih-tsang.
His countenance excelled the vernal red when added to the pale white of the moon;
And his elegant talents promised to lead him to the splendid temple of fame."
p. 3.

We regret that our personal acquaintance with the parties referred to is so slight, that we cannot judge of the merits of the following illustration, though the concluding lines indicate a most auspicious activity in the hero.

" As for vivacity and mirth, he greatly resembled Ke-king,
While his decorous and genteel manners surpassed those of Fung-lang.
Having, ere he had attained his eighteenth year, acquired a literary degree,
He impatiently waits that at once he may leap into his Majesty's presence." p. 3.

This mode of introduction to royalty is somewhat novel in Europe, and might with us take a master of the ceremonies by surprise: but the youth, it seems, is disposed for the lover's leap also, and resolves to go to Chang-chow, famed for lovely women. He obtains leave to depart from his aged mother, who recommends him to pluck, like Hotspur, " the flower of renown from the moon," and live with his aunt.

This old lady, named Heaou, is rejoiced to see her nephew, as he is " to illumine the mind of her stupid doltish boy." These young relations meet and drink,

" Till their countenances, from inebriation, became florid."—p. 11.

And,

" On looking at each other, they perceived they resembled the flower of the peach,
And that the lonely moon's shadow shone on the western wall."—p. 12.

Heaou leaves Leang (Yih-tsang) standing at the window. The following is an elaborate study of the picturesque.

" Young Leang now saw that the book-stands were filled with books, row after row;
And perceived that the flowers in every direction sent forth their fragrance.
On the table lay the pearly dulcimer, with its silver strings,
And in the brazen vase, was lit a stick of famed incense.
" The silver sang and pearly flute, hung against the wall,
And in the corner was placed a double set of dice with the chess board.
On each side of the room were suspended ancient drawings and elegant stanzas;
And the newly blown flowers were arranged in a line.
" As he approached the window, he beheld a beautiful prospect,
And also perceived a railed path which led to the white-lily pond.
The white stork, on seeing man, retires with a light step to the moon,
And the bending willow causes, by the wind, a ripple on the stream.
" On entering the garden, about to cross the red bridge at the head of the pond,
He perceived, in the water, a ripple agitating the reflection of the bright moon.
On each side of it's banks danced the drooping willow,
While in the shade lay the boat for gathering the fruit of the water-lily.
" The sportive fish caused the ripple on the water to sparkle,
While the reflection of the clouds in the pond, appeared a vast void.
On crossing the bridge, he ascended to the cool pavilion,
Where he leaned over the balusters and plucked the wild flowers.
" On his reaching the branches of the Too-we, to obtain their dew,
Their motion, unexpected, alarmed the birds, which flew off in confusion.
The cry of the Too-keuen was as if weeping for the moon expiring,
While the cries of the yellow bird enraged the visitor's breast.
" The motion of the branches effaced the moon's bright reflection,
When the dew, from their tops, bespangled his clothes.
After crossing the little bridge, he came to the winding path,
When he saw, in luxuriance, the green plums hanging on each side.
" It was there, that he first saw a pair of peacocks, just flown from the moon,
And parrots, of lofty note, in cages of gold.
Before him lay the island called Tseang-chuen,
On its banks danced the thousand-leaved peach.
" From hence a road he imagined must lead to the immortal springs,
If so, how desirable for him to become the fisherman Yu-leang.
On taking a few retrograde steps to the west, he entered the almond grove,
Where he saw the delicate red almonds which had strove to appear in Spring.
" The grass had grown luxuriantly, and obscured the path,
And the spreading branches of the Tseang-we, ascended above the lofty wall.
Having no taste for admiring the flowers that were in full bloom,
With a slowful and careless step he strolled back to his study.
" While considering, the eastern wind wafted the sound of the chess-board,
Who, thought he to himself, can be thus happy?
At this late hour, is it possible that any one can be playing at chess?
When, without the least noise, he lightly tripped to the eastern room."
pp. 14—17.

By the neglect of the servants

" Leang was enabled to reach the stone balustrades of the pavilion.
" There he beheld, to his surprise, two lovely young women,
Sitting tittering, while playing at chess by the aid of the silver light.
The hair of her who sat towards the south, did not reach beyond her shoulders.
On glancing an eye, who could have known his spirits would have been wounded!
" These ladies, he might be certain, were not mortal creatures,
For they greatly resembled those genii who retained a thought of Lew-lang.
This night, a mere glance of their persons made him courageous,
When, adjusting his clothes, he entered to view their beautiful forms.
" Little did he think, that while surprising the ladies, he would be smitten by a glance of the eye.
' What!' exclaimed they, ' there is a young man rushing from among the flowers!'
" Down the ladies threw the drafts, and hastily ran away,
* * * *
When Leang endeavoured minutely to survey them.
He could only perceive, that as she cast her almond eyes on him,
She resembled the flower Foo-yung, and her eyebrows the willow's leaf.
A red dot on her chin gave beauty to her person,
While her elegant form was enough to break the heart of man.
As each succeeding gust of the vernal breeze moved her dress,
He beheld the golden lilies (her small feet), which exceeded not three inches.
" On her looking round, with a smiling countenance,
He was as one death-smitten by the side of the flowers.
The servants, in waiting, with their mistress, instantly withdrew,
When Leang, leaning against the railings, appeared as intoxicated.
" The two sisters, grasping each other by the pearly hand,
Surprised, deigned not a word, but entered the fragrant apartment."—pp. 17—19.

The fair lady, who had smitten the young student, anxious to avoid all communication with one who could commit so flagrant a breach of etiquette, and which has highly excited her indignation, sends the servant to where he is to bring away the chess-board. The prudent messenger of course falls in with the enamoured youth:

" As she advanced towards the Mow-tan summer-house,
Young Leang, at a distance, made her a polite bow,
When addressing her, he said ' My soul with my spirit
Has flown away with the ladies, I know not whither.
" On seeing you advance, Miss, I know you are disposed
To aid me in imitating the conduct of the sovereign of Tsoo.
Whose daughter is the lady that I saw in white?
She certainly is the goddess Chang-go, from the palace in the moon;
" Or doubtless is an angel that has descended from heaven,
Who after robbing men of their souls takes her flight.
On leaving the room she cast on me the glance of her eye,
When her artful smile excited my affections, and made me courageous.
" By your aid I am desirous of communicating with her, by means of a letter,
And thus imitate the conduct of Chang-sang, by the aid of little Hung-neang.

Pih-yuĕ, on hearing what he said, being indignant, thus replied:
'Do you take the ladies of the retired apartments to be Se-seang?
"Who is Miss Hung-neang, that she should deliver your letters of love?
Or, how dare the red dust (warm desires) to enter the celestial palace.
I beg, sir, that you will decline speaking of love affairs,
For the secluded ladies have been taught to remain as unsullied as icicles.
"Cease therefore to think of possessing the celestial pearly peach,
Or being in love with the red almond by the side of the sun.
Hasten home, and seize with speed the massive weapon,
And slay those feelings which cause you to love.'"—pp. 21—23.

But the lover has evidently not acquired his learning for nothing, and he replies thus logically:

"'If crystal stalactites, as you say, cannot be sullied with dust,
Why did she excite in me those painful feelings of love?
"When, with a gay air and undisclosed face she laughed at me,—
How say, there is no road for Lew-lang to the celestial altar!
I hope, Miss, you will show me the way to the blue-bridge,
Then I shall never forget how much I am indebted to you.'
"Pih-yuĕ, on hearing what he said, with a smile replied,
'Those who are not in love cannot sympathize with those who are,
When my mistress smiled, could it be on any other account,
Than on seeing you, Sir, as you advanced, entangled in a net?
"You may talk, Sir, as much as you please about love,
My mistress does not grieve, nor will she listen to what you say.'
When she had thus spoken, with a smile she withdrew,
And left Yih-tsang expiring among the flowers."—pp. 23, 24.

Hereupon the author, deeply moved, pathetically inquires,

"Since his mind, without any cause of his own, has been thus wounded,
Who can pity him, though this night he has been bitten by the frost."—p. 24.

After passing a sleepless night, his aunt informs Leang that the ladies he saw are her nieces, and that the younger, Ma, is engaged at fifteen to her son, while his idol is eighteen years of age. We need not dwell upon the soliloquies of the lover, who relieves his anxieties, as in Europe, by a most devoted transfer of his affections to the bottle. Meantime his beloved's visit to her aunt is concluded, and

"On her return home and making her respects to her father and mother,
She carefully lifted the golden lilies, and entered the embroidered room."—p. 35.

The domestic economy of a house at Chang Chow is now detailed with much praiseworthy exactness, and as an important conversation follows, we extract the whole scene for the advantage of our fair readers:

"Pih-yuĕ, who waited on her with the keys, unlocked the silken door,
When Yun-heang entered to open the gauze windows;
Le-chun with speed dusted the dressing-glass and toilet;
In the sacred vase Yŭh-lëen offered some fragrant incense.

"Kin-han laid the coverlet over the fire-screen, to perfume it,
When Yŭh-yen proceeded to dust the curtains and bedding;
Ko-ying repaired to the purling spring for fresh-water,
While Yŭh-hwa stuck a flower of the Mow-tan in the flower-stand.
"Yun-keă came and made inquiries of the lovely Miss,
If her aunt's mansion and garden were pleasantly situated.
Yaou-sëen replied, 'The house is handsome, and garden umbrageous,
And the flowers and shrubs are in bloom all the year round.
"The fish-pond greatly resembles that in our garden,
And the Mow-tan summer-house is both cool and shady.'
Pĭh-yuĕ, addressing her mistress, thus spoke, 'Madam,
The evening I met Master Leang, for once I acted foolishly;
My folly was occasioned by your being in company with little Miss Ma;
And hitherto I have been unable to acquaint you with what occurred.
Your slave, on going that evening to bring the chess-board,
Saw that young Leang had not retired to his room.
"He was then leaning against the pillar, confused as though intoxicated;
On seeing your slave he mentioned what occurred to his mind.
He said 'When he had a glimpse of your lovely face,
His soul fled with you into the silken apartment.'
"His chief desire is to be united with you by marriage,
And of imitating the courtship that united Yuen to the family Lew.
All that he said was the sincere language of love;
One expression that he made use of was 'breaking his heart.'
"When I saw him, and heard what he said, I could not refrain from laughing,
To think that a female of a different family should so much engross his mind.
In the world can there be such another loving foolish youth,
That the object of his desires should be suspended to his heart?
"I know not how much his feelings are wounded,
But I fear, being sick of love, he will die on account of a flower.
When I addressed him a few scolding admonitory sentences,
He repeatedly sighed from severe distress of mind.
"'Love, like a fallen flower, delights in following the stream;
But I am not the person who can ease his troubled breast.'
When Yaou-sëen heard what passed, she laughed prettily,
To think that in the world there should be such a foolish youth.
She said 'From time immemorial, numbers, out of regard for the fair,
Have forsaken their families, and died on account of love;
Such conduct seems natural to loving youths,—
Who, on seeing a virtuous girl, can refrain from esteeming her?'
"But the conduct of a woman is required to be chaste,
A depraved thought should not be permitted to enter the bride's chamber.
To-day I reside towards the north, while he dwells on the south;
Should he follow the bent of his mind, no road leads to those distant parts.
"I will drop the screen, to screen myself from the influence of the flowers and moon,
And prevent the butterflies, on ascending the eastern wall, from entering my room.'"—pp. 35—38.

And with this sage resolution, doubtless to be fulfilled carefully according to the practice of young ladies, that is, so long as there is no opportunity of breaking it, the chapter terminates.

The lover discovers, after some search, the home of his mistress,

and buys the next house for 1000 pieces of gold, and lays out the grounds in a style " to excite the envy of the gods." He makes the acquaintance of General Yang, the father of his beloved, and finds in his summer-house the following song of her composition:—

" Who could it be that planted the drooping willow within the pond,
For the spring breeze causes its delicate branches to agitate the water's bosom.
Being of a beautiful green should it not be planted by the side of the stream?
Who is there that can transplant it, and make it a native shrub?"—p. 46.

At the request of Yang, Leang writes some verses also in reply, and to convey enigmatically his feelings to Yaou-sëen.

" I have heard that the spring breeze causes a ripple in the green pond,
And that the slender and pendant branches dance in the pure stream.
Having been informed that within this garden grows a tree of that description,
Can it be insensible to the distress and feelings of those who are deserted?"
p. 48.

The young lady sees the paper and recognizing her lover's name and sentiments, she tranquilly concludes that " from his hankering thoughts he will become deranged."

" Pih-yuë, on approaching her mistress, thus spoke—
' It is certainly decreed by fate that you shall be united to him!
Only look at the pair of elegant stanzas pasted against the wall,
From the pencil of a man of talent and a beautiful Miss, arranged even like one's shoulders ' (i. e. perfectly corresponding).
" Miss Yaou-sëen, in a low voice scolding, thus replied,
' Who has been with you, and told you thus much?
The secluded ladies do not seduce the rambling gods;
But who is able to behold the goddess that dwells in the moon?
" Of old, those who indulged themselves in vicious propensities,
Caused their foul deeds to descend for ten thousand ages.
As you and I have learnt to live a virtuous life,
We ought not to retain a thought in our hearts respecting that youth.
" Nor should we remain here to intercept the refulgence of the bright moon;
Better let us permit its bright lustre to illuminate the mountains and springs.'
When she had thus spoken, she with her servants returned to her room,
For the ancients say, the neighbouring walls have ears by which to hear."
p. 53, 54.

The general, anxious to obtain Leang for his daughter, opens the trenches like an old campaigner, by proposing that the two gardens shall communicate by a gate. He details his feelings also to his wife; but both are desirous that the " red leaf" should be sent by the lover.

The allusion to the red leaf recalls to our mind the passage from the Persian epic poem referred to in the notes to Lalla Rookh, and shows how female ingenuity falls naturally upon the same expedients in different countries.

" The red leaf alludes to lady Han-suy-pun, who was an attendant on one

of the sovereigns of the Tang dynasty. It is said, that she put in the stream of his majesty's park, a leaf with the following lines:

'Flowing stream, why in such precipitate haste?
Those in the palace's retired apartments are disengaged.
With haste and speed I urge this red leaf,
That it may communicate to men my desire.'

This, it is said, was picked up by one Yu-gow; who wrote the following answer on a leaf, and put it in the water to ascend the stream:

'Having obtained a red leaf with a repining stanza,
I beg to know who wrote it and who sent it?'

which was found by lady Han-suy-pun. On his majesty allowing the ladies of the palace to settle in life, Yu-gow applied to Han-yung, who was acquainted with Han-suy-pun to procure him a bride. Han-yung proposed to him the above mentioned lady. When married, they each took from a small box the leaf they had obtained, and which they had kept by them, when they observed, it is evident our union did not happen by chance. The lady, on smiling, sung the following distich:

'The elegant stanza was borne along by the stream,
And contained the sentiments I had pondered on for ten long years;
Now we are married and resemble the loving birds *Fung* and *Hwang*,
We are sure that a red leaf is an excellent marriage proposer.'"—pp. 57—59.

The servant Yun-heang after a conference with her mistress "of the retired apartment," to which we are not admitted, walks into the lover's garden, and there, doubtless against her expectations, most inexplicably meets him, attempts to fly, but somehow or other is overtaken. She learns from him that he had given up taking tea, (preferring possibly "the golden goblet," i. e. wine, of which melancholy alternative he discreetly avoids any direct mention,) and attributes this departure from the regulations of the Chinese temperance-societies to "distraction at thinking of the goddess of the moon." This distraction, nevertheless, does not prevent him, when he is told that "the goddess of the moon" is "of celestial extraction," and "has not a single atom of earth to bind her affections to any one" from artfully forcing a tear, "which he slily wiped away with his garment," and which nevertheless brought the damsel at once into his interests.

"With a low bow, he thanked the rosy maid, and said,
'How exceedingly happy I am in meeting with so worthy a person.
Should you be enabled to induce your mistress to disclose her mind,
Your kindness as to extent, will exceed the vast expanse of heaven.
"Till my person is reduced to powder, I shall never forget this day,
Being in love with a person who has no compassion for me.'"—p. 65.

Although the gentle Yaou-sëen had calculated the probabilities of her lover's going mad with a philosophy worthy of La Place himself, she had by no means included in the problem the chances, which she now learns are decidedly in favour, of his having speedily

"His parched bones interred by yonder white wall."—p. 68.

She considers

" He should be pitied, as his father, a minister of state, resides at the capital,
For his person and various attainments would usurp him the preference."—
p. 69.

And accordingly, with an eye to the main chance that greatly enhances our opinion of her judgment, directs

" Let a person be sent to make the necessary inquiries previous to marriage,
' Why should grief prevent the lovely moon from attaining her full?'
With a loud voice, she again addressed her servant Yun-heang,
And said, ' None but you and I may be acquainted with this affair.
" While in the retired apartments, we are as elder and younger sisters,
And of all the servants there is none that attends so frequently on my person,
When I heard you unravel the thread of his wounded heart,
You sowed the seeds of love, and caused him to be pitied.' "—p. 70.

Our author appears to have but an indifferent opinion of confidential communications between young ladies, at which we are greatly scandalized; for he informs us

" After they had conversed together for some time, without much untruth,"

a moderation of course unnecessary to be observed in Europe, they determine not to mention the matter; but the maid, returning to Leang, replies to his questions with a woman's fidelity.

" I perceive, sir, you are as impatient as a barbarian,
And instantly want to be seated by her side.
" If so, your slave from this moment will bid you adieu,
Then you must depend on the wild geese to be bearers of your letters.'
Yih-tsang, on hearing what she said, hastily made her a low bow,
And begged her to stop, while he addressed her a few words.
" He said, ' What the word *love* expresses, really cannot be endured,
For a single day, in the lonely study, seems to be a whole year.
Since this morning, Miss, I have obtained your compassion,
I am as happy as though an angel had condescended to visit me.' "—p. 74.

After a sleepless night when " her coverlet was cold and she could not sleep," the lady is persuaded to enter the garden and stroll into that of Leang, " as he cannot be awake." Unhappily for possibility Leang is awake, and the following conversation ensues:—

" ' From the first time I saw you,' said Leang, ' I have been deeply in love,
But till the present meeting we have never exchanged a word.'
" When his fluttered spirits were a little composed, he thus addressed her,
' How happy I am, in thus having an interview with you.
On account, Miss, of your beautiful person, long have I mourned in silence,
And have been constantly gazing to behold you, the goddess of the moon.
" I had determined to meet death through love for you, Miss,
Having as yet not a meeting to sweeten my heart.
To-day, since I have a sight of you among the flowers,
I am inclined to think that fate has decreed our union.

" Rare it is that we perceive a snowy moon with a breeze impregnated with perfumes,
So I think man, if not gay during youth, his years pass to no account.'
Yaou-sëen, blushing, in answer thus replied,
' We have met beneath the plum tree and among the melons.
" You, Sir, being a literary person, and of a respectable family,
Should be in your study extracting the sweets from the works of the ancients.
I am a person who lives in the retired apartments,
And who, the whole day long from my youth, have worked at my needle.
" As to affairs relative to marriage, my honored parents being alive,
It is unnecessary for their daughter to talk confusedly about it.
The usages, through custom, that are binding, cannot be dispensed with;
In the first place I must obtain the will of my parents, and in the next that of heaven.
" I advise you, Sir, not to talk heedlessly about love,
For your honest heart, by study, may retain you by the side of his majesty.'
Leang, convulsed, in answer, thus addressed the beautiful nymph:
' Do I not know that the usual ceremonies must be rigidly observed.
" But as marriage is a union, which is to exist during one's life,
If we are not equally paired we are deceived in our youth.
Suppose we listen to the counsel of our father and mother,
Our union must depend on the uncertain accounts of the go-between.
" In this world's affairs there are many things unpleasant;
Thus, when a virtuous woman is married to a stupid man, ought she not to be pitied?
Therefore let us this morning, my beloved, take an oath,
That, whether in the study or retired apartments, we remain firm to our vow.
" Leang-sang, if he is unable to be married to you, Miss,
Vows never to be united to another, though he should be as happy as the birds Fung and Hwan.'
Yaou-sëen, with an artful smile, thus replied to the young gentleman,
' All marriages, are they not decreed in a previous state?
The ancients say, to whom marriage is not decreed, they must remain single,
For this state, whether married or not, rests solely with heaven.'
On raising her head, she perceived the sun shine on the railings of the Too-wei,
When she became apprehensive that her domestics would enter the garden.
" The two, though unwilling, could do no other than separate:
When Leang-sang, restraining his grief, retired again to his room."—pp. 86—89.

At a second interview the lovers pledge themselves to each other.

" When from out of his sleeve he drew a sheet of beautiful paper,
On which he designed to write the marriage vow.
' Of our vow,' said he, ' you and I will each retain a copy.' "—p. 108.
" ' May I,' continued Leang, ' if I break this my oath, die beneath the sword,
Descend into hades for ever, and never again re-enter the world.
May you, if you keep not your marriage vow, die in the river,
Or, with difficulty evade the axe from severing your head from your body!"—p. 109.

After this act of courtesy and tenderness, the lover's too eager ardours are checked by the lady; who nevertheless sits with him in conversation till the morning; such are in different nations the different ideas of propriety.

But the moment of long separation comes at last, and their parting is thus described:—

"Thus they continued hand in hand, dallying, they knew not how long,
Till they saw the sun in the west, and the willows' shadow reflected on them.
"One to the other said, 'If you will not let me go, I will not let you go,
For while together how can we endure the thought of parting!
The azure cloud is suddenly dispersed, and the glass bowl is easily broken,
But the thought of your dwelling on the north and I on the south, is enough to kill one.'
"On unexpectedly hearing some persons conversing together,
Being unwilling to part, they instantly secluded themselves.
On advancing a few steps they each turned round and wept,
When from the grief of parting they lengthened out five paces to ten."

pp. 124, 125.

Leang, though remaining constant to his mistress, whom he believes he has lost for ever, is nevertheless beloved by a second lady whom he finally marries as a second wife. It is remarkable that the Chinese tales translated into English seem all to have this same difficulty, and to terminate by the same act, of a double marriage. Yet, whether from want of invention, or from some rule established in China, this simple solution appears never to strike the parties concerned; and both the fair rivals go on, in every instance lamenting the union of the other with her own betrothed spouse as shutting her out from happiness, till in the last page it is discovered that the bridegroom is still unmarried, and he is accordingly united to both, without further difficulty in any quarter. This simplicity of plot and strange incongruity of feelings are little explainable by the asserted fact that the first wife in China, as in Mahomedan countries, is the real mistress of the house, and we cannot but imagine that in different provinces some modification of this principle prevails; for some Chinese works do not by any means imply the inferiority of the second to the first wife, while others consider it slight, and others again as in the work before us, support Mr. Davis's opinion, that the second wife is a mere handmaid, like all after the first marriage; yet we can scarcely suppose that native writers would depart from this rule, were it invariable amongst their countrymen.

Another singular circumstance is the propensity to suicides; developed in conversations throughout the work before us, and others, as the most obvious and natural relief from misfortune, and by the young. One of the heroines incessantly mentions and at length resorts to it—but is saved; the other, Yaou-sëen, thus vents her grief and despair at her lover's supposed infidelity:

"These balls of cosmetics and rouge I will cast into the pond,
For who will come again and talk of my beauty?
My hopes of pleasure and happiness for ever being at an end,
I will with speed enter the road that leads to the yellow springs.

"My looking-glass I will smash to pieces, and destroy my precious kin,
For who in this world is acquainted with my plaintive notes?
Though I appear in the glass to be handsome, who regards me?
I'll spend my life like the swallow and the widow bird Lwan.
"The pearly flute, I will throw aside, and destroy the Pe-pa,
And weep like Yŭh-kwan, whose tears stained her garments.
Should ever another solicit my hand, though as handsome as Lang-yŭh, I will refuse him.
And at once make the yellow grave my abode.
"I will burn my elegant pencil, and tear up my ornamented paper,
For I never wish again to write another ode at my desk.
This chess-board I will burn, and these dice shall be thrown away,
For on account of this youth, they afford me no pleasure."—pp. 139, 140.

A second burst of pathos is still more tranquillizing; Leang hears his beloved's voice and supposes it must be the goddess Chang-go, sighing at being alone in the moon; and

"On the lovers seeing each other, they both endeavoured to restrain their tears,
But their feelings being wounded, the pearly tear bedewed their clothes.
At first from incessant sobbing, next from joy, they were unable to say a single word,
At which the feelings of Yun-heang and Pĭh-yuĕ were moved."—p. 169.

Yet even when all their difficulties would seem surmounted, a superstitious conviction, that their past misfortunes are the work of destiny, keeps the lovers still asunder.

Marriage with a second lover if the first dies or is faithless seems regarded as an actual loss of virtue, and this singular tenet is elicited in one proposition to take a second offer.

"Women, if they once loose their virtues, disgrace their persons,
And, when in hades, are unable to see their husband's face."—p. 189.

It is curious that in China individual examples of private virtue appear carefully chronicled for public admiration, and are everywhere narrated and referred to as exemplars. This makes every work obscure to foreigners, and necessitates a vast number of notes, without which it is totally unintelligible. Thus a lady who became a widow without having been a wife, and refused to marry again, had a triumphal arch erected to her memory by the sovereign's command, and is become the subject of historic eulogy. Virtues and vices therefore are always mentioned comparatively, and morality seems merely a biographical, and sometimes scandalous, chronicle in China.

The following is a domestic sketch:

"'Tis unnecessary to state, as his father fills an important office,
That he is on intimate terms of friendship with his sovereign.
"The family, being wealthy, values amber beads and corals as dust,
While pearls and gems are esteemed but as pebbles.
His garden, which is extensive, is delightful for pleasure;
To the right are planted rows of willows, and on the left are flowers.

"One hundred handsome domestics constantly attend on his person,
Who in winter dress in silk, and in summer their attire is rich crape.
They are extremely fond of playing at chess,
On the soft reed, and three-stringed instruments.
"At times they ascend the lofty room, and play on the flute,
While again they sing, accompanied by the pe-pa (guitar),
I think if all the servants are thus happy,
That pleasure and mirth must be still more enjoyed by their master."

pp. 206, 207.

This attractive personage is no less amiable than wealthy, as the following traits evince, and mark strongly the barbarian of civilized life, everywhere the same:

"Moreover, his disposition being mild he is complaisant in the extreme,
So much so, that if he gets intoxicated he does not quarrel nor scold in the least.
Whomever he sees, whatever be their rank, he is polite,
And whenever a friend comes, the servants are ordered to bring tea."—p. 207.

The poetical nature of this volume gives it a very different character from the tales and novels translated from the Chinese by Remusat, Davis, and others. There is less of exterior detail but more of the internal state of life and manners in this volume than in any of the foregoing, even in the Iu-Kiao-Li, the most delightful of all, and many traits elsewhere unnoticed are brought strongly before us; such, for instance, as the freedom of communication between Yaou-sëen and Leang, and their frequent interviews, which in other tales would appear as jealously guarded against as in Mahomedan lands. We do not know whether the sovereign's command, that Leang shall wed the two heroines as one woman, (!) makes any difference in their relative importance to each other; but, contented with stating our doubts, we now conclude by a quotation of two lines essentially poetical in this narrative, which in general is sufficiently prosaic; and we do this the rather because the last of the two passages corresponds with an idea of our great dramatist's:

"This night my corpse shall remain by the side of the river,
Silence will sit on my countenance, while the waters will spread far and wide."

p. 213.

The image in this second line is certainly striking and magnificent.

The following,

"What is the use of adding flowers to rich embroidery?"

is, we need not say, the same idea as

"To gild refined gold, to paint the lily," &c.

ART. XI.—1. *Æschylos Eumeniden. Griechisch und Deutsch, mit erläuternden Abhandlungen über die aüssere Darstellung, und über den Innhalt, und die Composition dieser Tragoedie.* Von K. O. Müller. *Mit einem Anhang und Erklärung.* (Æschylus's Eumenides. Greek and German, with illustrative Disquisitions on the outward Representation, the Contents, and the Composition of this Tragedy. By K. O. Müller.) Göttingen, 1833—6. (English Translation. London, 1836.)

2. *Recension des Buches Aeschylos Eumeniden,* von einem Philologen (FRITZSCHE). (Critique on Müller's Eumenides, by a Philologist.) Leipzig, 1834.

3. *Recension desselben,* von Gottfried HERMANN. (Critique on the same, by Gottfried Hermann.) Leipzig, 1835.

4. *Ueber die Behandlung der Griechischen Dichter bei den Engländern.* (On the Treatment of the Greek Poets by the English.) Von Gottfried Hermann. "Wiener Jahrbücher," vol. LIV. (1831.)

"THE English are exceedingly prone to undervalue the abilities of the learned on the continent." So spake Peter Elmsley, nearly thirty years ago, in that famous Porsonian article in the Edinburgh Review; and it is a circumstance very much to the credit of this distinguished scholar, that at a period when the course of politics abroad was working along with the course of classical learning at home to separate us more and more from continental fellowship, he should have had the clearness to see, and the honesty to speak out, that which for many years has been the besetting sin of English scholarship; viz. an overweening pride, and an ignorant self-satisfaction. Elmsley indeed himself stood forth in that very article the foremost trumpeter of Porson's infallibility, and, despite of the qualification just quoted, the prime pander to English vanity. For thus he proceeds:—"Should any scholar of the nineteenth century venture to maintain the admissibility of an anapæst, not included in a proper name, into any place of a Greek tragic senarius except the first foot, he would assuredly be ranked with those persons who deny the motion of the earth, or the circulation of the blood." And yet Wellauer, in the year 1823 (just thirteen years after this great blast of the English trumpet), had the courage to print the Prometheus Bound of Æschylus, with the two following lines:—

"Ἑκατονταπληγον προς βιαν χειρουμενον
Τυφωνα θουρον πασιν ὸς ἀντεστη θεοις."

and by this "ante-diluvian" procedure has not only not procured himself a place in the pantheon of bigots and bedlamites, but is universally accounted by all the lovers of Greek poetry as the best editor that Æschylus ever had—aye perhaps the most sensible and sound-headed critic that ever handled with religious care the venerable remains of antiquity. And now what becomes of Elmsley's sounding boast and the Professor's self-satisfied doggrel

"The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek," &c.?

Is it not manifest that the eternal law of nature has here been working secret and sure—in this case also not slow but swift retribution? Never yet did mortal man give himself up to vain self-mirroring without bringing down upon himself the judgment with which Providence always visits such foolish infatuation,—not standing still merely, but literally going backwards.

"~~Quos~~ Deus vult perdere, ~~prius~~ dementat."

The history of German and English scholarship for the last twenty years, to those who will read it impartially, seems to exhibit to us some striking lesson of this kind. Had our scholars of the "Porsonian School," instead of tramping their master's beaten track one behind another in a straight line, like a row of bricks set in motion by a child, used the eyes that God had given them to look freely and joyously round upon the wide world of intellectual existence, sympathizing and sharing with all shapes of beauty and power wherever manifest, they might now have found themselves freely soaring with the German eagle in lofty regions of cognition, instead of showing—as we do show in many things—like a caged parrot, wise only to chatter a few traditional sounds. This is strong language; but it is not too strong to express the irrational servility with which men professing to be wise in the science of sweet sounds, have faithfully chattered the senseless metrical canons of Porson and Burney, appearing all the while to some few individuals as pedantic as themselves (for only a few heeded their doings) to be dealing forth oracular wisdom. The sole and only praise of this conduct was patriotism. That the blind man should follow his blind brother into the ditch appeared more akin to the instinct of nature, than that by following a foreigner he should confess that a German had better eyes than a Briton.

We hope however in charity—we are induced, if not by many symptoms of vigorous health, at least by the frequency of honest confession and an honest desire of improvement, to believe that

these days of the foolish vanity and pride of English scholarship have passed away. It has indeed become too manifest that even taking the Hellenistic commodities of our Porsons and Burneys at the value put on them by their own merchants, we have in comparison of the gigantic efforts lately made, and still being made by the Germans, very little to be proud of. We may reasonably hope that this discovery shall prove not only the end of our fatal declension, but also the commencement of a new life, and a healthy progression. With confession of faults, and humiliation before the perfect law of duty, Christian regeneration begins; and it is wise and fitting, and for thorough reformation absolutely necessary, that the regeneration of English scholarship should set out in the same way. It is therefore cheering to hear from authoritative quarters a public confession of "*sciolism and want of zeal*" on the part of English scholars, an open lamentation that "while we rival or surpass the continental nations in most other branches of science and art, in classical knowledge we are content to hold a quite secondary rank."* It is also refreshing to perceive that while an almost death-like silence hangs over the atmosphere of our native scholarship, the most vigorous and indefatigable efforts are daily making by means of translation and otherwise to put us in possession of the fruits of foreign labour. And when we consider further that the German language—the key to all higher erudition and profounder thought—is now becoming the accomplishment of all, instead of the private talisman of a few, we have every reason to believe the conviction of our own emptiness and unprofitableness will soon become quite general; and from that healthy conviction, first, the appropriation and assimilation of what the Germans have provided; then a cheerful fellow-working with, and noble rivalry of, their intellectual achievements, is the natural result.

If there be any individual who is inclined to doubt the lamentable fact of our intellectual inferiority in classical knowledge, and to call in question the existence of that "sciolism and want of zeal" of which our learned cotemporary complains, he will find matter enough to work conviction, even within the narrow range of the Æschylean drama—a field of comparison with the German scholars that ought to be considered one of the most favourable to our countrymen; as we have not only since the days of Porson bestowed peculiar attention on the Greek drama, but in an especial manner, of late years, by various much-trumpeted critical cares, have sought to deserve well of the great Father of Tragedy. In

* Quarterly Review, Vol. LI. p. 41, and p. 145, in the reviews of Dissen's Pindar, and Passow's Dictionary.

this province however our endeavours, though meritorious enough in their way, have not been crowned with any signal success. Commencing with Porson, and running down the ebbing stream of scholarship to Scholefield, we shall find that we have actually done nothing that, when set against the works of the Germans, can justly lay claim to any permanent place of honour in the temple of Æschylean poetry. In the threshold of that temple we see a countryman of our own—Thomas Stanley—possessed of a sure niche. He belonged to the age of giants—the τα πριν πελαρια of old English scholarship now seen no more. Of him we speak not. We speak only of recent English scholarship, and we date the commencement of the era of decline from Richard Porson. This strong man—like to the old Titans certainly in what he *was*, though not in many things that he *did*—did little for Æschylus; and what his scholars have attempted to do for him, has been for the most part undone by Wellauer, and we think rightly. Porson left a legacy to his successors of certain mechanical canons of metrical criticism, which were of such a nature that not even he himself could handle them wisely—much less his feeble successors. Great as Porson's mind was—or perhaps we ought rather to say *strong*—he could not escape the influence of Pope's school of monotonous melody to which the ears of all Englishmen in his day had been tuned. He invented a system of uniform scansion for the reading, and, alas! also, for the "*emendation*" of the Greek dramatists, which had in it no more of the philosophy of rhythm than was in that poet's head who boasted of having composed a long poem of pure iambic feet, without the admixture even of a single trochee to disturb the seesaw equability of the measure.* Attending merely to the mechanical articulation of the verse, which he called cæsura, he neglected altogether the true cæsura or pause, which depends upon the sense of the passage, and thus fell into the double error of reading every iambic verse without distinction as if it were trochaic, and dividing every verse, not according to its natural pauses, but according to a uniform artificial rule, which disregarded the commonest laws of rhythm, and set the sense at defiance. Thus the line

Αλλ' ὁν πολις στυγει, συ τιμησεις ταφῳ,†

which by the equal opposition of its members so beautifully expresses the opposition of its sentiment, he insists on dividing thus:

Αλλ' ὁν πολις στυγει συ | τιμησεις ταφῳ.

* See Mr. Sheridan's Art of Reading. An excellent work, in which the *Iambisers* of the last century receive just chastisement from a teacher of elocution long before the masters of the Lake school arose to teach them by living example.

† Sept. contra Theb. 1046.

These absurdities have, indeed, long since been exposed by Hermann; but we mention them here, partly because our English scholars have never to our knowledge publicly protested against them, partly because, though apparently harmless, they led to a system of criticism on the part of Porson and his school, from the evil influence of which no play of Æschylus has escaped unscathed. The war of extirmination, for example, of those "poor persecuted innocents," the Anapæsts, which the Professor carried on, had well nigh robbed us of those two towering lines above quoted, so finely descriptive of the "hundred-headed impetuous Typhon." Against the authority of Porson and Elmsley in such matters, Blomfield could venture nothing. It was his ambition to be trumpeted a genuine disciple of Porson, and therefore he scored the Anapæsts. To the enlarged philosophy of Hermann, and the sound sense of Wellauer, we owe their preservation, there as in other places; and there, it is to be hoped, future scholars will allow them to remain till either the authority of new MSS. or the principles of some not yet discovered metrical philosophy shall command their removal.

We have used the word "philosophy;" and it seems to have a peculiar significancy in this place. It is in fact to the want of philosophy, properly so called, of thought, idea, principle from within, as opposed to the mere observation of arithmetical externalities—that the leading errors of Porson's metrical school are to be traced. Whether Porson himself knew or did not know the principles on which his celebrated rules rested, we shall not undertake to determine: the shortness of the "golden preface" is one of its chief merits, and there is no principle of rhythmical science attempted to be developed there. Burney afterwards tried, with especial reference to Æschylus, to place the matter on a more sure basis. He produced a system—but such a system! a common street ballad might have taught him better things. Hermann erred far enough, when in his Treatise on Metres, instead of the living flow of poetic emotion, he took as his guide the abstract principles of the Kantian philosophy, confounding, with learned phrase unintelligible, things in their nature so distinct as iambus and trochee. But Burney invented a principle, (led by what philosophy Lockian or Kantian were hard to tell,) which confounded every thing with every thing and explained nothing. Of all metres in Hephæstion the Antispast is the last which could reasonably lay in a claim to be the mother of all the rest. Itself the child of fitful and irregularly accentuated passion, its common type and emblem the Dochmiac (⏑ – – ⏑ –) is only used in the most violent outbreakings of tragic emotion; yet to this metre, which Aris-

tides and the ancient musicians had long ago justly designated as the most unmetrical of all metres, did Burney reduce all the sounding variety of Æschylean choruses. His practice indeed, like Epicurus', was somewhat better than his philosophy; but his philosophy remains what it was, notwithstanding the foolish bepraisings of home critics, an eternal monument of British sciolism, and the public disgrace of British scholarship, with all the intelligent abroad.* What mischief followed from Burney's perverse system may be seen in almost every page of Bishop Blomfield's Æschylus. We have, for instance, among other things, such tasteful versification as the following.

Πεφρικα ταν ὠλεσιοι-
κον θεον, ου θεοις ὁμοι-
αν, παναληθη κακομαν-
τιν πατρος εὐκταιαν Εριν-
νυν τελεσαι τας περιθυμους καταρας
Οιδιποδα βλαψιφρονος.

Sept. con. Theb.

Who can believe that the ears or eyes of the most rhythmical Greeks ever tolerated a barbarism like this? Is it not rather a manifest dislocation and torturing martyrdom of that beauty and symmetry of which the Greeks were such devoted worshippers? not to mention the authority of Hephæstion (*παν μετρον εἰς τελειαν τελειουται λεξιν*), and many other reasons which conspire with the natural feeling of every healthy mind, against this tasteless imagination so kindly cherished by Porson, Burney, Gaisford, Blomfield, and the whole school of English metricians. We are aware that this matter of cutting up the metres is by no means in every individual case a clear one. Cases may occur—and in the tragedians even Böckh allows that they sometimes do occur†—where a long trochaic or other system runs on continuously till it reaches the closing catalectic line, without subjecting itself to the common intermediate division of verses, in which case the whole system may be viewed as one long verse; but in common cases the rule of common sense, as well as of Hephæstion, is that all such unseemly dislocation of metres and breaking up of the metrical flow be avoided; a rule of metres so evident to the vulgarest perception of beauty, that we should be altogether at a loss to account for its having been in so many cases utterly disre-

* "Unde exorsus Burneius, SUMMUM LITERATÆ BRITANNIÆ DEDECUS, eoque turpius, quo plures stolida ejus inventa admirantur, id facinus perpetravit, quod piget referre."—LACHMANN *de Chor. Syst.* p. 10.

"Burneius Anglus Antispastos, vixdum Hermanni maxime curâ explosos Tragicorum dactyliis, aliisque versibus obtrusit—ægri somnia."—*Böckh de Metris Pindari*, lib. ii. c. 8.

Hermann's opinion will be given below.

† Preface to Pindar, p. xxx.

garded by the English critics, did not the infallible authority of Porson here again interfere, and teach us to receive the most absolute nonsense as it were the utterance of an oracle. Wellauer has explained this matter very shortly and very clearly in his own cool sensible way, on occasion of the first chorus in the Prometheus (Μηδεν φοβηθῇς, &c. 128), which Bishop Blomfield had dislocated after a similar barbarous fashion. He remarks,—"Hos versus ita disposuit Blomfield ex Porsoni præcepto *ut omnes fere versus eodem metro decurrant:* sed multum de numerorum venustate detraxit, et scholiastæ auctoritatem neglexit qui diserte hos versus Anacreonticos esse tradit." Here we have another of Porson's narrow unphilosophical canons blindly followed by a disciple of his school, in violation at once of all taste and principle, and all authority of the old Greek commentators, who, if they sometimes appear to be as ignorant of the commonest principles of metres, as some modern English scholars, at other times undoubtedly retail the traditional wisdom of the ancient schools of criticism, and are never in any case to be disregarded altogether without clear cause shown. With regard to this canon of Porson, it is manifestly (like most of his canons) only partially true. It proceeds upon the same principle as his cæsural rules, that is to say, the principle of monotony. It is a fundamental law of rhythm indeed, that every determinate self-contained flow of sounds shall proceed from beginning to end according to the same *movement;* but this is a very different thing from the mechanical repetition of the same metres. We have already said that Porson wanted philosophy, and here is a strong instance of it; instead of the pure free plastic region of poetry, these metrical doctors seem to conduct us into the domain of mechanical constraint. But let us not be surprised at this. It is one thing to count on the fingers' end the number of final cretics in seven plays, and another thing to have a soul inspired with all the various volume of the organ-hymns of Æschylus.

It is not our wish by these remarks in any degree to peck maliciously at the stable and well-established fame of Porson as a Greek scholar. There he stands on a granite pedestal, which no puny pigmy hand of these latter days shall be able to shake. But we are much concerned that Porson, and every other man, whose image greatness has consecrated, shall sit quietly in his own niche. They who with a foolish patriotism brought that gigantic intellect out of his native province of hard-headed scholarship into the airy regions of poetry and music acted most unwisely, and have created much confusion. True, by the anomalous nature of his studies (for classical learning, as we have been accustomed to pursue it, is often, when considered in relation to the character of

its students, something not a little anomalous) he thrust himself into this region; but here instead of being slavishly followed, he should have instantly been repelled, as Hermann was in Germany by Böckh, Bothe, and others, to the utter dismay of erudite pedantry and the final rout of scholasticism. In this state of matters it is utterly impossible for us to avoid censuring, and that severely, the metrical philosophy of the great Cantab, if philosophy it may be called. The reader will see anon how intimately connected this whole matter of the metres is with the character and course of English scholarship, as contrasted with German, and more particularly with the splendid edition of the Eumenides of Æschylus, by Ottfried Müller—the immediate occasion of these remarks. Meanwhile what remains to be said of the progress of Æschylean criticism in England may be said in a few words.

Butler gave satisfaction to no party, and may therefore pass without remark. Blomfield has higher pretensions, and was much praised and trumpeted by many people when he made his debut; which envious publicity the gainsayings of Barker and Burges tended not a little to increase. To balance the account, however, the almost universal voice of foreign censure came to meet the billowy pæans of native praise; and it must be allowed that there is a great deal of justice in what Seidler and others have said of the general character of the Bishop's criticism. He is certainly, to say the least, very rash in many of his emendations, and in others he displays a woful want of true poetical feeling—a requisite—whatever may have hitherto been the practice—that we think of essential importance in the Editor of a great poet. We never can forgive the man who converted the "deep-bosomed" maids of Greece into "long-waisted" modern belles, (Gloss. Sept. 862): and we little admire his taste who wrote a long note full of foolish erudition to convert the beautifully expressive *πονον ὀρταλιχων* in the magnificent opening chorus of the Agamemnon, into the vulgar, flat, prosaic *γονον*. The only thing that can be said in defence of these tasteless criticisms is, that they were very fashionable among learned men before Bishop Blomfield came into existence, and that he has only done, like a good orthodox son of the Church philologic, what Musgrave, Schütz, and a thousand others had done before him. But this consideration, while it palliates the Bishop's guilt as an offender against the laws of taste, deprives him altogether of the praise which might have been his—that of sweeping the Augean stable of misnamed *classical* criticism, and washing the fresh living bodies of antiquity clean from the itch and leprosy of erudite emendation. Besides Blomfield's utter ignorance of

metres (which he almost confesses*) made him the most unfit person imaginable for editing the complicated choruses of Æschylus. These and other causes have brought it about that British Hellenism has not gained that permanent advantage from the meritorious labours of the learned Bishop that it had a right to expect; and the result is, as in the other instances we have had occasion to notice, one not very flattering to our national pride; viz. that while in future years the text of Wellauer must be read by men, the glossary of Blomfield may be consulted by boys. Of Scholefield, our last labourer in the Æschylean vineyard, we say nothing. He has given us on the whole a very good text—infinitely superior to Blomfield's—but it is one thing to pioneer the bush of a new country, and another thing to walk decently on the king's highway.

It is a curious thing in this survey of our Æschylean labours, (if, as we believe, we have taken an impartial, not a *national*, view of the matter,) that in that very department, wherein we deem ourselves so particularly to excel, viz. the doctrine of metres, our failure has been most signally manifest. But if we turn from these grammatical and metrical minutiæ, and inquire what we have done to throw light on the dark places of that higher criticism, which seeks out of much confusion and many disjointed materials to understand the organizing soul, and recreate to the mind's eye the living shape and body of Hellenic thought and feeling, here also, without moving from the same narrow circle of Æschylean critics, we find ourselves sadly at fault. Among Æschylean critics we do not include in this place what Coleridge, Landor, Lockhart, Bulwer, Wilson, may have written on the fruitful theme of ancient literature; we speak only of professed scholars in Germany and England; for thus only is the comparison fair, and to the purpose of our present inquiry. Restricting ourselves then to professed scholars, it does strike us as very extraordinary, that while so much study has been spent on the letter of the Greek drama in our universities, so little living sympathy has been shown by our scholars with the spirit of Greek literature and the soul of ancient poetry. Schlegel stands in our "Greek theatre" a solitary *German* guide into these purer regions of thought; but Schlegel, though a learned man, is not a professed scholar; and could we boast among our catalogue of philologists any such names as Jacobs or Müller, the honour of criticising the Greek drama worthily, and with the true spirit of sympathetic reverence, would no longer be monopolized by a single unprofessional foreigner. We say *unprofessional;* because *cæteris paribus*, we always prefer the views of a profound Hel-

* Compare the preface to the first and second edition of the Prometheus.

lenist in classical matters to those of any universal critic like Schlegel, however clever: the knowledge of detail can alone secure against the big babble of sounding dogmatism, the sublime obscuration of misty emotion, and the magnificent plunging of a ship that sails without a compass. But our English scholars seem, to a man, to have been of opinion with Payne Knight (an opinion unworthy to have proceeded from so sharp a mind) that that criticism which concerns itself with the spirit and poetical worth of a composition ought to be left to the whim of every individual; while by the minute observance of letters and syllables, the chase after obsolete gutturals, and the inventorying of various readings, the cause of true learning is alone substantially benefited. The best refutation of this opinion is to be found in the fact, that of those who have tried this higher and, as we think, more difficult kind of criticism, very few have succeeded. Take, for instance, Blomfield's preface to the Persians, and see how a learned man can write upon the total character of a play, on the individual words of which he can afford to expend so much co-acervated erudition. The Bishop tells us seriously that the grave tragic poet actually intended by the final chorus of this solemn tragedy to set the Athenian theatre in a roar; an excellent jest, in sooth! though not so excellent as it would have been, had the idea been altogether new; but Siebelis, a German critic, had developed this theory at full length nearly twenty years before the Bishop's book was published,* and that with a true German consistency that altogether shames the timid criticism of the Englishman. Siebelis maintained that the whole play from—

"Τα δε μεν Περσων των οιχομενων, κ. τ. λ."

to the last words—

"Πεμψω σε δυσθροοις γοοις."

was a caricature of Persian greatness and pomp—in plain English, not a tragedy as we have been accustomed to call it, but a farce; whereas Blomfield merely added the tail of the ass to the body of the virgin, and piously hoped that the whole, notwithstanding Horace's precept, might still remain beautiful. All this puerility might have been saved had the learned critic borne in mind that the solemn national wail with which the play of the Persians concludes, was, like the funeral wail of private persons, not recited but sung on the stage; a mode of representation, which, as we know by every day's experience of the modern opera, makes many things solemn and sad that in simple recitation might appear

* Diatribe de Æschyli Persis. Leipzig, 1794. Had Bishop Blomfield read this tract?

ridiculous. In another point also the Bishop grievously offends not only against good taste, but also against good feeling. He insists that Æschylus had and could have no other intention in composing this play than to gratify the vanity (φιλοδοξία) of his countrymen; whereas it is clear from its whole tone that he wished rather to cool down than to puff out the emotions of triumph which naturally followed on the splendid successes of Marathon and Salamis. He ascribes the whole fortune of the war not so much to the prowess of the Athenians, as to the madness and impiety of Xerxes, visited by the just gods with merited chastisement. This more worthy and truly Æschylean view of the play has been set forth with great eloquence by that accomplished scholar Professor Jacobs;* and as Blomfield had seen not only his excellent essay, but also Hermann's disquisition "de Æschyli Persis," before writing his own preface, nothing but the most blind and obstinate bad taste could have led him thus publicly to sin against the reverence due to the Father of Tragedy. We forbear, however, to enlarge on this theme. Those who compare dispassionately what Blomfield, Hermann, Jacobs, Passow† and others, have written on this play, will, we fear, be found to come with us to the lamentable conclusion, that in important matters of taste, as well as in the minor details of verbal criticism, the Englishman must yield the palm to the German. In no one point can we establish a valid claim to superiority.

It is a hard thing to be obliged to lay bare the nakedness of our own fatherland, and feel ourselves compelled to confess that a foreign people whom we had long looked down upon with contempt, making slighting mention occasionally, now of their minute laboriosity, now of their mad extravagance, have stolen a march upon us even in our most beloved paths, and cropped, as Pindar says, the tips of all the virtues from before us. But it is wholesome to consider these things; and when we have taken a calm and impartial survey of what we have been doing for the last fifty years, we shall then only be able to form a wise scheme of activity for the next fifty that are to follow. To assist us in this most important matter we cannot do better than learn to contemplate ourselves for a few moments by the light of foreign criticism; thus escaping the fatal error of those concerning whom the Apostle says, that "measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, they are not wise." Let

* "Ueber die Perser des Æschylus," in the "Abhandlungen über Schrifsteller und Gegenstände des classischen Alterthums, von Friedrich Jacobs." Leipzig, 1834. Originally published in the Attic Museum, 1802.

† *Heletemata Critica in Æschyli Persas.* Vratislav, 1818. Of this work we have only seen extracts in Jacob's essay—but they are excellent.

the following criticisms on recent English scholarship, from the pen of the veteran Hermann, serve to eke out what has been already said. They are translated from a late article in the Vienna Year-book for 1831, whose title we have prefixed.

On the general character of English scholarship he writes as follows:—

"After the decline of the Dutch school—more remarkable even in its best days for a phraseology indicative of great erudition than for grammatical accuracy,—and at a time when in Germany philology had degenerated into a compound of superficiality and pedantry, England assumed a commanding station, and we willingly acknowledge that from this quarter a great impulse was given to philological studies, to which the ripe fruits that have since flourished on the German tree are in a considerable degree to be traced. The English are naturally deliberate and thorough-paced in all their undertakings; their schools and universities are so peculiarly fashioned as to direct the attention of young men of talent almost exclusively to classical studies; their manners and civil constitution lead them to be guided in most cases by the strict letter of the law, and the decision of a majority; they pay great respect to authority in all things, and are inclined to draw their arguments and proofs solely from outward experience, numbering too frequently rather than weighing their testimonies. To every thing, however, that opposes this experimental procedure, and invites to free and independent investigation, they are naturally opposed; especially if it proceeds from abroad; for here their national pride likewise comes into play. This same proverbial pride also is the reason why distinguished men with them so easily attain a despotic influence, and their dogmas are quoted as almost oracular. In cases where authorities and witnesses cannot decide, and they feel themselves obliged to resort to principles, they generally display a great want of philosophical talent; they will spread themselves out very broad, but overlook the most obvious moments of the question. With all this, however,—a few passionate tempers excepted—they are for the most part very honest and upright in their disposition; with cool scanning intellect, and strict impartiality, they devote themselves to the service of truth alone, and are as ready to admit their own errors as to acknowledge foreign excellence; and we rejoice to see a gradual throwing off of their ancient prejudices, and a daily increasing desire to appropriate to themselves the labours of continental scholars. The peculiar constitution of their schools is also connected with another characteristic trait of their scholarship. Being exercised much in the composition of Greek and Latin verse from their earliest years, they naturally direct their attention in after-life to the ancient poets, especially the Greek. The Roman poets they seem to read diligently, rather than critically to handle. Hence, perhaps, the reason why, being familiar with the spirit of Latin poetry, they often write very good Latin verses, while on the other hand their Latin prose is seldom very good, often very bad, except here and there a splendid exception, as for instance Dr. Parr, in his preface to Bellenden. Their Greek verses are for the most part far inferior to their Latin, and seem to proceed more

from mere verbal study, than from a perception of the true spirit of Greek poetry. Herewith, however, we do not mean to express a censure that does not equally affect us Germans. It is at all times no easy matter to make *genuine* Greek verses, which shall bear with them not in words only, but in tone and spirit, a true Greek character; and if every person who publishes a Greek play were to preface it with a specimen of only a score Greek verses, this would be to the intelligent a better index to his real merits than the bepraisings of twenty reviews. This occupation with the Greek poets has directed the attention of the English scholars as a chief matter to metre and prosody—a path in which they have pioneered with great success, and brought to light much invaluable matter (*ungemein viel gutes und richtiges*); but, at the same time, their mechanical fashion of proceeding here, as in other things, has led often, after much minute laboriosity, only to the most futile results."

Of Dawes he says,

"The study of the Attic poets had received a strong impulse from the researches of Dawes, who, setting out from a minute observation of the metres, laid down a considerable number of rules relating to syntax, dialect, and prosody, proving these rules according to the fashion of his countrymen, by induction; a procedure no doubt the surest and most correct for the discovery of any external law, but nevertheless of itself altogether insufficient for the purposes of science; for to obtain true insight and sound knowledge, not rules only but the grounds of rules are necessary to be set forth. Without this the mere rule is and remains a dead letter; and when exceptions are brought to light, (as they ever will be), the man of rules is continually tempted (as experience has shown) to cut and carve at that which is quite right as it is, and with a mighty pretence of *emendation* to do the very reverse of what he intended. Nothing but an insight into the principle of a rule can discover the true distinctions and limitations which qualify it, and teach rule and exception instead of mutually destroying, mutually to confirm and build up each other."

Of Porson he says,

"As a critic Porson is distinguished by a thorough knowledge of the language, great erudition, cool deliberation, and a well-considered judgment. But he wanted the genius and originality *(Genialität)* of Bentley, and showed nothing of that freedom of intellect that finds out with ease the shortest process by which a complexity of combined materials is reduced to its primitive elements."

On English metrical knowledge we have the following excellent remarks.

"It is curious to remark how the doctrine of metres, about which the English have given themselves so much trouble, has nevertheless been handled even by their greatest masters (Bentley only excepted) in a very one-sided fashion, and though here and there successfully enough as to individual results, yet never in such a manner as to give satisfaction to a scientific mind. The reason of this lies also in their diplomatic way of

managing all things. They attached themselves with their usual cautiousness to that only which they found sure and well-defined, to the most common and undoubted measures. But as soon as they had to deal with measures which lay without this sure and surveyed province, and had to be unravelled out of the erroneous complexity of confused transcribers, they were altogether at a loss; a *principle was necessary here, and principle they had none.* The most remarkable proof of this is to be found in Charles Burney's *Tentamen de Metris Æschyleis*, published at Cambridge in 1809, which does not go beyond the narrow views of Triclinius. But even in the most common measures they set to work in a very blundering fashion, *disregarding altogether the vital principle of all metre, viz. rhythm, which forms itself according to the flow of emotion and of speech. They scanned one verse mechanically like another; they fixed their eyes with most curious observance on the smallest minutiæ of phrase; but as they made their observations without any perception of the principles on which they depend, the consequence was, that they were never able to distinguish the essential from the unessential, the profitable from the utterly profitless, and often looked upon things as of the utmost importance that had really no significancy at all.* This appears especially in the labours of the otherwise so meritorious Elmsley, who seems to have exhausted a great deal of precious intellect in minutely examining the tragic trimeter, foot for foot, syllable for syllable—a work from which, however laborious, nothing but a very miserable fragment of any thing like a useful result was to be expected. Here, again, while we blame the English we do not mean to say that our own countrymen have been altogether free from the same defects. No doubt there are many amongst us, who have a more living and better-grounded view of metrical matters, who do not forget that verses are made for the ear, to purchase for the significancy of the words a more easy and appropriate entrance to the senses. But at the same time we cannot conceal from ourselves that many of our best philologists are apt to lose themselves in useless subtleties; and they who cannot be charged with superficiality, haste, and arbitrariness in one shape or another, are very few indeed. But to return to Porson. His knowledge of metres was very limited. Beyond Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapæstic verse he knew nothing. Even the Dochmiacs he knew not; in all the other metres he was quite at sea. A few words may serve to characterize him as he appears in his editions of Euripides' plays. In the most common measures a strict and severe metrical correctness; in all the others now a resigned submission to tradition, now an arbitrary changing; in the language great correctness, in the choice of readings cool deliberate judgment, in conjectures nothing rash or undigested, except in those cases where his own mechanical rules interfered to warp the soundness of his judgment. On the other hand, we certainly do miss *that higher criticism which proceeds from living perception of the truly poetical; every thing speaks more of iron laboriousness and cold examination than of poetical enthusiasm.*"

Of Elmsley he has a high opinion.

"The path which Porson had opened up was followed by Elmsley; a man whose character not only as a profound scholar, but also as a most

impartial lover of justice and severe student of truth, commands our highest admiration. His early death has proved an incalculable loss to the Hellenism of England. To his indefatigable diligence and minute accuracy we owe a rich treasure of excellent observations on the Attic language and dialect; and although he was too much inclined to reduce every thing to rules, and for the sake of these rules, right or wrong, to emend all things, yet we must bear charitably in mind how this peculiar weakness arose out of his peculiar strength, the habit of close and accurate observation. But Elmsley was a man of too sound a judgment, and too ardent a lover of truth, not to return again (as many examples show) into the path from which an over-curious prying into minutiæ had led him astray."

Blomfield follows, but in a very inferior rank.

"While Monk was busy with Euripides, Charles James Blomfield, now Bishop of London, who has also given us a useful enough edition of Callimachus, undertook to publish Æschylus after the pattern of Porson's Euripides; adding besides, to each play, a glossary in which the difficult words are illustrated by examples, explained or otherwise commented on. The diligence with which Blomfield laboured (although one cannot always depend on his various readings) deserves commendation; with respect to the criticism of the text however, the principal matter undertaken, we are any thing but satisfied with the manner in which he has performed his task. While on the one hand he shows no judgment of his own, but follows Porson and Elmsley slavishly, we find in other places a great arbitrariness of proceeding, much boldness of innovation guided by no sure principle, with a peculiar propensity of his own to hunt after Atticisms, which has on many occasions exhibited itself in the most unfavourable of all directions, that of drawing down the magnificent phrase of Æschylus into everything that is vulgar and common. In no respect does the poetic power of the mind of Æschylus seem to have found any response in the soul of his editor: a want of sympathy which may, perhaps, be dispensed with to a certain degree in editing common poets, but is indispensable to the critical handling of Æschylus."

Peter Paul Dobree receives high praise.

"Science has lost much by the death of the acute Peter Paul Dobree, a passionate admirer of Porson, to whom we owe an edition of the Plutus of Aristophanes, and what Porson's remains contained applicable to this poet, with an appendix of various readings and some very valuable original observations. May the hope be fulfilled that what this ingenious (*geistreich*) scholar has left of annotations on other poets may not be withheld from the public."

Of course in reading these criticisms we bear along with us the peculiar relation in which Hermann has from the beginning stood to the English school, through the metrical rivalry with Porson, the great war in defence of the Anapæsts, the antistrophic tilt with Elmsley, and other minor rubs of that sort. But we recollect at the same time that there is a peculiar brotherhood be-

tween the Porsonian school of scholarship, and the Hermannian, as it stands at present opposed to the new dynasty of Böckh and Müller; and on the whole we consider the above criticisms wonderfully just, and calculated to do much good, if seriously taken to heart by our English scholars. We have underlined some passages that particularly coincide with our own views, probing, as it seems to us, with unsparing point, to the very bottom of all English fallacies.

We have now to ask ourselves a very important question, and endeavour, if not in all respects satisfactorily to answer it, at least to throw out such hints as shall excite those whom it may concern with more fruitful results to ponder the same subject. We mean the question, what are and have been the causes of the gradual decline and present low estate of scholarship in England? A question, like all other questions of the kind, very apt to be confused by the subtlety of that over-curious wit which seeks on all occasions to explain, from material and tangible concatenations, the fitful impulses of the super-sensible world. The inspirations of genius do indeed come upon us like the wind, whose whence and whither no man knoweth; and the apparition of a Porson or a Böckh at a particular time and place, is just as inexplicable from our point of view, as the shaking of an earthquake, or the illumination of an aurora. But inward impulses, and outward, in this complicated unity of things always act and re-act on one another; besides that of the most successful efforts of scholarship, there is not a little that is achieved as much by well-directed talent, as by that more mystical energy of mind which we are accustomed to call genius. We have therefore reason to hope that it may be a more easy thing to explain why Blomfield is inferior to Wellauer, than why Göthe is inferior to Shakspeare.

To us it appears that the present low estate of English scholarship is attributable principally to three causes.

The character and tendency of that scholarship itself.

The character, habits, and dispositions of the English people.

The peculiar constitution of the English schools and universities.

With regard to the first matter, it seems manifest that though Porson himself was a gigantic scholar, and capable of giving *éclat* to any school of Hellenists, he did not make that use of his scholarship, or give to classical studies that direction, which was calculated not only to maintain their dignity, but to carry them onward to rich fruition. If instead of penthemimeral cæsuras and Cretic endings he had laid hold of ancient history with the grasp of a Niebuhr, or sifted ancient philosophy like a Brandes or a Ritter, then the whole current of our scholarship had flowed

more fully and manfully, and instead of an Elmsley and a Blomfield, we might have boasted a Böckh and a Müller. As it is however things have taken a different and very natural course. The end has every where been forgotten in the means, the spirit has been sacrificed to the letter, and tithe has been paid of mint, anise, and cumin, neglecting the weightier matters of the law. Great minds have despised to nibble continually at mere externalities; little things have naturally fallen back to little minds, their rightful owners; so much so that to be a "scholar" is in the view of many (and who shall say altogether unjustly?) to be a very little thing. In old times it was not so; and the cause is plain. Scholarship did not then occupy itself exclusively with the retail trade of grammatical and metrical minutiæ. There was a living soul and an idea, the resurrection of intellectual freedom and strength, in the scholars of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, of which now not the shadow even remains. The scholars of that time were men of thought and feeling, strong wrestlers for the cause of humanity; for the spirit of the Reformation was in them; they led, and were entitled to lead the age: now they lead no man, and what is much worse, no man leads them; like a toad in a cold stone they sit alone and in darkness, sipping waters that distil small nourishment to a torpid existence, regardless and unregarding. So at least we may picture to ourselves, by way of similitude, the beau ideal, and pattern specimen of a genuine English scholar of the grammatico-metrical school, with every small idea in his head crouching beneath the infallibility of the Dawesian and Porsonian canons. The perfect animal is now, thank God, a comparative rarity; though there are few among us that have not seen something like it in our time. It was not in the nature of things indeed that the Porsonian school should continue to flourish; any inspiration that it had was in the man, not in the man's deeds; and they who followed in his march took the sure course to make themselves pigmies, and to hold up classical knowledge to the contempt and scorn of all intellectual men. That classical studies do still continue to exercise some favourable influence over the public mind in England, is to be attributed to many causes, not in any respect to the wisdom of Porson's disciples. The constitution of our universities, the conservative habits of our intellect, the influence of the Church, the talents of our periodical writers, all have contributed in their several degrees to sustain the sinking cause of classicality in England; but Porson's school has not only fallen from its own dignity, but has worked mightily, ever since the magic of their master's personality was removed, to make classical learning sink more and more in the estimation of the British public. We believe that in saying this we speak the sentiments of many, whom no-

thing but a patriotic regard for native names and an amiable jealousy of native fame prevents from speaking out plainly. Certain we are at least that, in Germany, the most distinguished scholars have given utterance to the same sentiments in language as strong as we could possibly select; in witness of which we may here fitly insert the opinion of Böckh with reference to a school of scholarship in Germany very much akin to the Porsonian among ourselves.

"The knowledge of Hellenic antiquity is yet only in its infancy. Many and multiform materials lie before us; but the most do not know how to use them. Very few branches of this extensive department have been satisfactorily handled; for *the subject is so peculiar that he who will do anything exhaustive in one branch, must have a certain commanding knowledge of all.* What we principally want in this age is a scheme or projection of the whole to show us in the first place what is to be done, and by what aid it may be done; not a mere heaping up and erudite jumbling such as has hitherto satisfied, but a sure architecture according to firm principles; and this is so much the more necessary, as the great mass of our young philologians are cramping their own minds and their science by a minute grammatical nicety, in itself not indeed to be neglected, but even in its best results of very subordinate importance. The stout old scholars of past centuries would have despised this modern, I shall not say word-mongering, but mere syllable and letter criticism. They whose designation traces them back to the age of Eratosthenes should be men possessed of the most multifarious knowledge that can enrich the human intellect; whereas we find that they have given up the substance for the form, shrivelling themselves into mere grammarians of higher pretence, depriving our science more and more of all vital functions, and banishing it from all communion with the proud march of modern science."

These observations of this distinguished scholar with reference to the necessity of an immediate and total reform, in the whole character and tendency of our scholarship, come with peculiar force upon us at the present moment, when it is obvious that from various natural constantly working causes, classical studies hold no longer that place in the affections of men which they once did; and more, when they are not entitled to hold that place unless they can vindicate to themselves by the assumption of a new spirit, and the display of new energies, that brotherhood with the doings of the nineteenth century, that the classical learning of the sixteenth century did with the doings of that time. Scholarship must be removed from the benches of academies and colleges, and be made to claim a kindred with the living pulses that agitate the breast of humanity in this age. Scholarship must no longer strive—as she has too often done in this country—to live in a kingdom of her own apart from the intercourse of human

sympathies; much less affect (as she even now does) to lord it over the household of science with certain vain claims to a prescriptive monopoly; much rather ought she to withdraw herself back again into the friendly bosom of poetry and philosophy, out of which she proceeded, rejoicing not in the words merely of Homer and Plato because they are Greeks, but in their thoughts because they are men.

On the second cause that we have assigned for the low estate of scholarship in this country, viz. the character, habits and dispositions of the English people, we shall require to make very few remarks. Our *utilitarian practicality* is a theme that has been often discussed; as indeed it is impossible to contrast the condition of any one branch of science or literature in this country with its condition on the continent, and especially in Germany, without becoming sensible of the all-pervading influence of this tendency of British character. Nor will any one rashly seek to underrate that peculiar gift, to which in a great measure England owes its acknowledged superiority among the nations. It is a good thing to travel by railroads and steam-coaches; it is a good thing to print newspapers by steam-presses; it is a good thing, while other commodities are dear, to heat our rooms at as little expense for coal as possible. But what have the Furies of Æschylus to do with these things?—or with that yet mightier thing, the Armageddon of the *outs*, and the *ins*, in which it is the duty of every Briton manfully and unweariedly to fight? We speak soberly. There is only a certain quantity of original talent at any time in any country; if strongly acting causes constantly tend to divert this talent into a particular channel, it is in vain to expect that other channels shall flow with a stream equally copious. John Bull has long ago decided the question discussed by the ancient philosophers, whether the practical or the speculative life be the preferable. He prefers the practical. Our greatest men accordingly are our statesmen, our lawyers, our orators. Our House of Commons is to us what their national theatre was to the Greeks. Our member of parliament is their choregus: our great parliamentary orator, is their tragic poet. Not that we have no poetry, (though truly our poetry is a very small thing in proportion to our poets, and our prate about them); but even our poetry is thoroughly practical. The dash and splash of Lord Byron is our national taste: action and character from Walter Scott's Moss-trooper to Mr. Pickwick and Samuel Weller, are the staple of our literature; Don Juan, if he were not a little too immoral, and very irreligious, might be for all the rest our choicest classic. Where then is to be found amongst us the man of high intellect who shall abstract himself from the urgent throng of ac-

tualities, and sit down with creative soul quietly to conjure up and clothe in new life, the Titanic shapes of the old Æschylean drama? Whom does it concern to know that the chorus in the Agamemnon consisted of twelve old men, as Müller has proved; and not fifteen, as Hermann imagined that he had proved? An Oxonian or Cantab *optimæ spei juvenis* may attend to these things, while *cramming* (as the phrase is) for examination, but no other man, who treads British soil, will. A few minor minds may peck with laudable industry at the luxuriant fruitage of German erudition; but our great intellects, our original discoverers, our secret miners, and public heaven-stormers are all in the senate. They have gone through the routine of what is called a "classical education." They have taken their degrees, having passed the ordeal of an Oxford examination-paper, with much credit to themselves, and much comfort to their friends. They leave the university with Gray's Ode in their pocket, and as a pious legacy leave their Greek behind them.—And why should they not? A play of Æschylus, though not edited in a style to please a German critic, may be a very good passport to an English bishopric; not so however to a seat in the House of Commons; for to play short sword with Sir Robert Peel, or quarter staff with Daniel O'Connell, requires somewhat of a more substantial education.

Look now at Germany and see how the reverse of this state of things produces the contrary result. The Germans are a contemplative and an imaginative people. It is not every man's business there to acquire notoriety by speaking at public dinners, and bustling after political importance. All public affairs are managed by the sovereign and the sure machinery of trained and salaried officers. There are few political proceedings in which the public take any interest; and what few there are, the newspaper editors are not allowed to report. There is neither public action, nor talk about public action in Germany. Men who have nothing to do naturally begin to think; and free from the harassment of the present, they have leisure to call up the beautiful images of the past. The German feels that the ancient philosophers were right, when they lauded the speculative so much above the practical life; he becomes a Greek in a very different fashion from our Monks and Blomfields; he not only speaks Greek as fluently as Joshua Barnes or the Athenian coblers, but he also thinks Greek with Plato, and tempering this philosophy of emotion with a proper admixture of Hegelian logic, by such aid he fondly imagines (and he is not always wrong) that he understands the Gospel of St. John much better than we do. So also when he takes up a Greek play, he takes it up in a very different spirit from our Porsons and Elmsleys. True

he does not neglect grammatical minutiæs; in metrical philosophy also he delights, for he is not only naturally musical, but his university studies, though far from the pure practice of the Greek gymnasia, are not without tincture of musical science; and the orgies of the Burschen afford not a few practical illustrations of what a solemn Dionysian chorus must have been in Greek days. But he does not rest here. He aims at higher things. He strives after a perfect knowledge of that living thing, which a Greek drama was, when it came forth from the soul of a Greek poet, amid a Greek people, and for Greek purposes; and not knowledge merely, but a pure sympathy also with ancient emotion, as manifested in ancient works of art; a full and perfect enjoyment of unadulterated antiquity; a bathing of the soul in the element of Hellenic beauty; a reverential worship of all that is good and great in the yet surviving reliques of a noble time that has passed away; a devotion of the whole man; almost a Christianized polytheism. Such is the German's study of antiquity—how contrary to our own! The speculative man and the practical how adverse!—the whole how much more beautiful than the half!—If God has given us to rule the external world with arms of such wide-spreading energy; if we stamp new continents with the name and designation of English activity to remain a monument to all generations,—let us rejoice that our brethren of Germany have received also their share of good things,—to ask questions of fate, which shallow wit may not answer, and to call up shapes of power from the peopled world of the past, which death shall not destroy.

Let us now inquire into the constitution of our schools and universities, and see in what manner classical literature may have been affected by that. Here we are aware that we are treading on delicate ground; educational questions in this country have lately been so much mixed up with politics, that it is almost impossible for a man to give an opinion on certain questions, without appearing, however undesignedly, to set himself forward as the advocate of particular political opinions. We shall endeavour to steer clear altogether of this troubled element, saying what we have to say shortly, more in the style of quiet suggestion than of party dogmatism and polemical vituperation.

There are two things that chiefly strike us in this matter. *First*, that peculiarity of our educational institutions so much remarked on by foreigners, according to which classical training preponderates over and almost annihilates every other mental discipline; and *secondly*, that peculiarity of our English universities, according to which not those who sit in the seats of science fight the battles of science, but committing the habitual

training of youth to certain inferior officers, they themselves work only as momentary impulse excites, and, when the *vis inertiæ* is potent, without offence fall asleep.

One would imagine at first sight that the exclusive cultivation of one branch of knowledge, should produce peculiar proficiency in that branch; but it is not so. The reason is plain. A man must be a man before he can be a scholar; but the exclusive attention to the words and syllables of an obsolete tongue and the crust and shell of an obsolete literature, has no natural tendency to draw out the proper humanities of our nature; in the course of a quinquennial or decennial devotion to the barren task of splitting syllables and arranging words, the mighty influences that teach the youthful mind to think and to feel are often suffered to freeze; and instead of the accomplished scholar, the champion of humanity, you produce, after much labour, the erudite college-man, who can quote Horace, and scan the roughest verse in Æschylus, but can draw no answer of wisdom from the past, because he has not learned to put the question from the living necessities of the present. There is no branch of knowledge, if we except poetry, more properly *human*, than classical literature; to know what man was in all his noblest triumphs, and darkest gropings, for the first 4000 years of his existence, is its proper problem; a worthy theme, fit to call the highest energies of the highest mind into play; comprehensive and many-sided in a peculiar sense. But according to the one-sided exclusive system which has prevailed so much amongst us, the mind is brought to the study of this most difficult science of primitive humanity, too often a perfect blank. How should a man interpret ancient poetry, who has never been trained to know what poetry is in his own native tongue?—in whose breast no poetic emotion was ever cherished by any art of man, or fanning influence of nature? What shall a man make of Plato, who has never heard philosophy named except to be laughed at as a raving German Sibyl, or branded perhaps as an atheist, and an infidel, and a mother of all abominations? How shall Greek help us to know Aristotle, if no man ever taught us to use our eyes on the things that lie before us with Aristotelian observance and discrimination? How shall Aristoxenus teach us to value Burney and Hermann aright, if a pedantic education has severed us from the fellowship of sweet sounds, and we are set down to re-construct the architectural harmony of a Pindaric ode without knowing even a crotchet from a quaver?—so intimate is the connection that exists between a proper understanding of antiquity, and a thorough cultivation and healthy development of all the energies of the living man. Grammarians, glossary-compilers, syllable-counters, and word-mongers

of all descriptions may be produced by a narrow and exclusive system of classical education, but no general mind-expanding scholarship. And further, not even words are ever properly understood, except by those who have learned to think, and to feel, and to observe; i. e. in no university can philology flourish, unless where philosophy, literature, and science, flourish in rival estimation along with it.

As to the other matter, the superseding of the professorial by the tutorial system, on which so much has been said of late years, we think it at least well worthy of consideration how far it may not have contributed to the bringing down of our scholarship to its present dwarfish stature. Not that we have any fault to find with the tutorial or training system, as a useful accessary to the system of public prelection. The philological and theological seminaries in Germany furnish a beautiful example how the two methods may be made to co-operate in the most friendly and beneficial manner. But what strikes us is that our professors should not be allowed to fall asleep; and the best way to prevent this, is to have them daily engaged in fighting the battles of science, and daily exhibiting a living example of energetic progression and all-embracing enthusiasm to the youthful members of the university. It is a very useful thing to drill boys, and cram young men with the elements of classical and mathematical lore; but something more must be done. There ought to be some public stage and arena, where men of highest intellectual attainments may daily put forth their highest energies in every branch of spiritual gymnastic: thus not only exercising themselves, and keeping their faculties fresh and vigorous, but stirring up by living example the latent energies of youthful minds. Such an arena the professorial chairs in a German university seem to afford; and in this respect we consider these institutions perfect patterns. Those who are accustomed to look with an unfavourable eye on Berlin and Munich, as compared with Oxford and Cambridge, would do well to consider whether the Scripture maxim does not find here a fitting application—"BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM." The German professors are well-exercised soldiers, and they do the deeds of soldiers; our professors are more allied to the condition of monks, and they seem to possess all the virtues and all the vices that commonly belong to that class of men.

We have in these remarks had no respect to Scotland, which in many respects stands in a very peculiar situation. The Scottish universities perform the double function of the gymnasia and universities in Germany; and as may naturally be supposed, the work is not so well performed as if the division of labour had been more perfect. The jumble proceeds from deficiencies in the

schools and academies; by which it comes to pass that the very rudimentary elements of Greek are often obliged to be taught at the universities, and the professors of ancient literature are actually compelled to drill boys into Alpha, Beta, Gamma, instead of opening the minds of men to the rich humanities of Greek poetry. That classical literature should not have prospered under such a system is very natural; and when to this we add the peculiar character of the Scottish Church, which neither holds out any prize to the exertions, nor affords leisure for the pursuits of scholarship, we need ask no further questions as to the cause of the low estate of Greek literature in that country. It were unfair also to expect editors of Greek MSS. in a country where there are none to edit: and as to other matters the Scotch may well boast that they have done more than their share; for we never can forget that they had a Monboddo, and that they have a Hamilton, who teach them to look into the thoughts as well as the language of Aristotle and Plato. It is edifying indeed to remark that the Scottish labours in the classical field have perhaps on the whole gained more than they have lost by their distance from the centre of Porsonian infallibility. We observe that very lately a translation of the medical works of Paulus Ægineta, with a copious commentary, has appeared from the pen of a Scotch scholar;* a labour of love, so far as we are aware, perfectly singular in the history of our Hellenic literature, and one of the few productions of British scholarship that has of late years called forth the favourable notice of continental critics.

There are one or two small matters that we wish to add in reference to Germany. We must not take ourselves at a disadvantage. Germany is a large country compared with England; with many more people, many more students, and many more universities. It is indeed, properly speaking, not one Germany, but many Germanies; and possesses thus a source of rivalry and emulation within itself, that a centralized country like England or France is necessarily deprived of. We must also observe, what is well known, that the German governments are in general much more liberal in encouraging and rewarding men of learning than our own. We must bear in mind further that the poets and literary men of Germany have for the most part been men of profound learning. A Göthe is found working along with a Welcker in restoring an old Greek play of Æschylus or Eurjpides. The same Lessing writes a critical life of Sophocles, and a classical German comedy. A Herder brings Hebrew and Greek, English and German, East and West, North and South, into one bright focus of pure human

* Dr. Adams of Banchory, Aberdeenshire

enthusiasm. Of our great poets, Southey alone is, properly speaking, very learned; Byron and Scott in this respect are better types of the nation. A wide wall of separation stands between the polite literature and the profounder scholarship of England. In Germany erudition has strengthened, perhaps in some cases encumbered, poetry: poetry has always purified and elevated erudition. Another thing also must not be lost sight of. From the middle of the last century up to the present hour, a deep movement has been agitating the German mind. The apparition of such gigantic scholars as Niebuhr, Böckh, Müller, Welcker, has been contemporaneous with the poetry of Göthe, the metaphysics of Kant, the criticism of Schlegel, the natural philosophy of Oken, and the theology of Neander. There are tides in all things: and in the intellectual movements of great bodies of men more perhaps than in any thing else.

If we now inquire in what relation the particular work which has occasioned these remarks—Müller's edition of the Eumenides—stands to the general question of modern scholarship, we shall find that production worthy of our particular attention in two points of view. We have here in the first place a most striking illustration of the manner in which the Greek classics are handled by our German neighbours; and we gain moreover a peep into the internal movements of German scholarship, that may prove of great service by way of encouragement and reproof to us, when we shall be called to pass—if indeed we are not already passing—through the same course of development. Müller's book has called into open opposition the two adverse philologic factions, that had hitherto only shown their hostility by sundry small rubs and collisions, murmurs, and secret sibillations. A new apostle has come forth preaching new gods; and they of the ancient faith, instead of inquiring calmly into the matter, to every strongest argument, and most moving appeal, answer only—*what will this babbler say?* They who trusted in grammars and lexicons and the "Elements of the Doctrine of Metres," look and wonder; for they are told that the knowledge of words avails nothing without the knowledge of things, and that Hermann is not infallible. Moreover, following out Schlegel's hint, Winckelmann and Visconti are made to hold the torch to the Medicean codex and the Aldine edition of Æschylus. Archæology aspires to lord it over philology; and an Etruscan vase to picture comments on Lempriere's Dictionary; which was not so before. This is the short and simple meaning of all those criticisms, "recensions," and how they may be all named, that have been shot, thick as grapes, against the Göttingen professor's learned *opus*. There is absolutely nothing in the matter except that Böckh and Müller choose

to walk their own way, and to light up the dark ruins of antiquity with their own illumination; an illumination, as we firmly believe, not spurious, and casting merely a momentary theatrical glare on the objects of their admiration, but genuine and deep-drawn from the inmost glow of human sympathies. Hermann again and his school (for it is a matter of *schools*, "divisions and heresies," as the Apostle says) will not that these strange illuminations be cast upon the cold bare four-square castle of university logic where he has been accustomed to reign; they are mere flickerings of fancy's heated flame, will-o'the-wisps, blue-lights prefiguring death. Böckh, as we saw above, has long ago declared that grammar and metres are but a very small part of philology: he has shown by his own works that, while he is continually aiming after higher things, he can do these things also; and he has further proved that the doctrine of metres is not to be deduced from the principles of an abstract philosophy, but from the living pulses of poetic emotion in the soul; and he professes not to understand what is meant by saying that the unaccented or *appoggiatura* syllable with which any given series of syllables commences, is part of an infinite series. Creuzer also cannot understand how the Greeks, who came from Asia, (as we all do,) should not have brought some Asiatic ideas along with them; and he thinks that mythology, being a part of religion, may be found in a pious soul, as readily as in an etymological dictionary. Add to this that Ottfried Müller has sought and gained laurels of antiquarian renown, not by investigating the mechanism of Atticisms and Epitrits, but by restoring the living historical existence of famous ancient peoples; daring also to explain the text of Æschylus with aids borrowed from Gerhard and Panofka, which Hermann and Fritzsche could not supply: put these things together, and you will see what the significancy is of this babble multitudinous, which one of Germany's best Hellenists has raised against another. We have the greatest respect for Professor Hermann. The extracts previously given prove the high value we set on his opinion in critical matters; we think he considerably overshot Porson in the philosophy of metres, though he also, as the fate of human things is, has in his turn been overshot by Böckh; but we think he is in some respects narrow; and not in that respect only like Porson, but also in this, that he seems somewhat given to be dogmatic and dictatorial. Had he consulted his own dignity, he would never either have entered himself into this controversy with Müller, or allowed his scholars to do so. The best way—indeed the only good way—to refute a bad book, is to write a good one. Let Professor Hermann fulfil the long cherished hopes of European scholars, and give us an edition of Æschylus

from his own hand. Then the public will decide impartially between the contending claims of Gottingen and Leipzig. Meanwhile one advantage has accrued from the strife. We know where we are in these matters much better than before. The whence and whither of this anomalous thing called scholarship are now made clearly manifest. The shallowness of word-knowledge is exposed. It is proclaimed to the world by the learned themselves, that learning has hitherto been too often feeding her children with husks. The old pedantic fashion of studying the classics has been publicly renounced: and a new principle proclaimed. In the words of Müller it is this:—

"The character of the science of antiquity is determined by this, that it concerns itself with the life of the soul, which is, more peculiarly even than our physical life, organic. For the *whole* of the soul appears in every one of its productions. And every side of this life both presupposes and qualifies every other side. *To understand this life of ancient minds, whence their origin, and whither their purposes, we must revivify it anew in our own souls.* CONGENIALITY OF INTELLECTUAL ENERGY *is therefore, and remains, consciously, or unconsciously, the prime and indispensable requisite of the true philologist.*"

We would have these words written in letters of gold. Only when they are fully understood and acted on, will scholarship cease to be what it has hitherto so often been,—a dead dissecting of the dead,—a barren, unprofitable speculation on the formalities of a form.

We think Müller's edition of the Eumenides a work, the publication of which makes an epoch in the history of classical literature; and the peculiarities, for which we claim to it this honor, are chiefly these three: In the first place, he everywhere displays the fullest and most perfect sympathy with his work; the fire of an intelligent enthusiasm animates all. In the next place, he has discarded the old fragmentary and unsatisfactory fashion of note-writing, substituting for it a series of comprehensive dissertations, which, while they unfold the organizing idea of the whole, and disclose its bearings to other things, put into the hand of the reader the talisman that smooths all stumbling difficulties of detail. The abuse which learned men played with the clipping and inoculating system so long in vogue, is known to every one. There was nothing so pertinent in the text that an intermeddling commentator did not contrive to cut out with a note; nothing so impertinent that he did not contrive to put in. The puerilities that have thus been solemnly indulged in, and hallowed, so to speak, by the example of the greatest names, are incredible,—upon common principles altogether inexplicable; but we must remember what the main object of these notes too manifestly has been; not the

illustration of the text, but the vain display of the editor's erudition. Müller has boldly ventured to cut off these customary phylacteries of scholarship. He has aimed at reconstructing the whole architecture of ideas out of which a Greek drama was composed; vulgar commentators hang round the venerable walls of antiquity with motley fringes, and raise a Babel of many voices around it, among which neither ancient nor modern can be discriminated. He has also done another thing. Though very erudite, even as a German may be, his erudition is neither a formal skeleton scaffolding on which he stands, nor a heavy burden under which he creeps; his multifarious ideas gathered together from the four winds of antiquity float before him with aeriform lightness; and when the electricity of thought begins to work, suddenly they assume shapes, and gather themselves into combinations, the novelty of which for the most part strikes no less than their truth. This is what may be called the poetry of antiquarianism.

We are aware there is nothing commonly considered so unbecoming in a Reviewer as to indulge in uncommon laudations. We shall therefore add something of blame. Müller is a German, and he has the faults of a German; faults, however, not originating, as ours too often do, in utter barrenness of imagination, but in the excess of it. His inventive faculty is so active that it is sometimes found working on very insufficient materials; he seems apt to forget that the most ingenious conjecture may be as far from the truth as the most clumsy. This, however, is very cheap criticism; and we must bear in mind that he who busies himself in restoring a mutilated antique, aims at imaginative probability, not scientific certainty. Some people may be inclined to ask—if so, *cui bono* these investigations at all? To which we answer, these people have no imagination, no sympathetic enthusiasm, no poetry; and the answer to the question is found in its own absurdity.

To illustrate Müller's thorough manner of dealing with his subject, we shall translate his masterly exposition of the magnificent chorus beginning—

Ματερ ἁ μ' ετικτες, ω Ματερ—v. 321.

the first στασιμον in the play. We must at the same time do Fritzsche the justice to remark, that his commentary on the same chorus (p. 28, of the "Recension") contains matter deserving of serious attention. Müller does not propound his schemes of the choruses dogmatically, but merely as projections. Hermann's "logic" is out of place here.

"The chorus, hitherto scattered and fitful in its utterings, now arranges itself in rank and file, and in full band sings the first στασιμον. This sublime ode is a hymn of the Children of Night to the aboriginal divinity

of their dark ancient Mother, in which they assert their right to the blood of the Mother-murderer, now with more dignity and composure, now with more violent and passionate outbreakings. They make public proclamation of their inalienable right, and chain the soul of Orestes, and all evil-doers, as with a chain of their eternal power. The hymn is called a ὕμνος δέσμιος, a song that binds and charms the hearer: and was doubtless accompanied with dances significative of the magic power exercised. It belongs therefore to the class of καταδέσεις; incantations which used to be addressed to Hermes, and the other infernal gods, when the person using them wished to devote his enemy to destruction. The *refrain* in the first pair of strophes is clearly of this nature: as we see in the forms of incantations preserved in Theocritus and Catullus. It can admit of no doubt that the repetition of these solemn passages was here accompanied with a motion of the Furies towards the stage; it was made visible to the eyes of the spectators how Orestes was hemmed in, and bound by viewless chains.

"As to the musical character of this chorus, we must conceive it working with a certain dark magnificence upon the soul. The cheerful cithara is silent: the flute only is heard—an instrument which, according to the universal voice of antiquity, was used either to hush the soul in terror, or to stir it into wild commotion; averse always to the calm and equable flow of cheerful emotion. We know little of Æschylus indeed, if we can imagine that the phrase 'ἀφορμικτος' was used at random; the 'lyreless Lament,' in Euripides (*Taur.* 147) and elsewhere, is equally significant. Nothing can be more certain than that we have here flute, and not lyre melody (*comp. Aristoph. Ran.* 1263). The character of the emotion determines the character of the musical instrument; and, for a similar reason, when in Euripides personified Rage descends on the hero to incite him to the murder of his own children, we find the chorus saying, that 'Hercules must dance to the sense-confounding flute of Rage' (v. 874)—and, 'Hence, hence!' exclaims he to the children, 'a fatal song comes from the flute.' The choral hymn in Sophocles' Trachiniæ (206) is also a flute-song; sung in the most violent excitement, not indeed of fear or terror, as in the other cases, but of joy.

"In agreement with this I have not the least doubt that the melody here was Phrygian; and am not at all moved by the somewhat dubious passage in Aristoxenus's Life of Sophocles in reference to this matter; which I take only to mean that Sophocles was the first to introduce the Phrygian melody into the songs of *single* persons, (ἰδια ϕσμαρα, *Conf. Aristol. Poet.* 12); for it is utterly incredible that this musical modes, which by its solemn and impressive, as well as stirring character, was so well adapted for tragedy, should not have passed into that species of composition from the dithyrambic chorus, in which we know it was so plentifully employed. (*Vide Aristot. Polit.* viii. 7, *Plut. Mus.* 19, *Procl. Chrestom.* p. 345.) As to the rhythms which were employed in the Phrygian melody, the following observations may avail us in coming to some definite conclusion. In the first place we have the monody of a *virtuoso*, which Euripides brings upon the stage in the person of a weak

terrified Phrygian eunuch. This Phrygian tells us himself that he is singing an Harmateian song with foreign cry (Ἁρματειον μελος βαρβαρῳ βοᾳ). But that the Ἁρματειος νομος, which was played with the flute and belonged to the enharmonic genus, was also Phrygian in its melody, can scarcely be doubted; inasmuch as the best-informed connoisseurs (*Plut. Mus.* 7) deduced its origin from the Phrygian musician Olympus; and although others derived it from other musicians, these musicians were all Phrygians (*Etymol. Magn.* s. v.); besides the fact that a Phrygian here sings it, and himself describes it as non Hellenic, is of itself sufficient to prove the melody was Phrygian. Again, we have a fragment of Pindar, which we may claim as Phrygian; the length of the strophe (a sort of anticipation of the monostrophic fate which afterwards befel the dithyrambs) and the variety of the rhythm (so different from the simpler forms employed by that poet in his Epinician odes, where, as we know, the Dorian, Æolian and Lydian modes only were used,) point clearly to the Phrygian melody. In the third place, the passage of Euripides (*Bacchæ*, 159) clearly indicates that the first choral song in this play was a Phrygian melody. If we examine these three cases attentively, we shall find that the metres, which prominently distinguish them, are Cretics simple and resolved (Pæons); where it is worthy of remark, that these were the very rhythms that passed from the Phrygian Olympus into the compositions of Thaletas the Cretan (*Hoeck's Crete*, iii. p. 355); and that, according to Demetrius, (*De Eloc.* 38,) the pæons were the most magnificent (μεγαλοπρεπης) of metres. The Galliamb also, a rhythm peculiar to the worship of Cybele (*Athenæus*, xiv. p. 626) appears; this, however, is of too effeminate and undignified a character to bear frequent repetition in Phrygian melody, to the character of which sublimity essentially belongs. The quick trochaic measure was also sometimes used in the Phrygian melody, as the examples in Plutarch (*Erot.* c. 16) show. It is also very remarkable that those initial or closing feet, which we in our modern metrical language call *bases* and *ekbases*, occur very frequently in the Phrygian modes; and for the most part they fall on such significant words, and with such a clear emphasis, that a person with any ear for music will perceive in a moment that they must have been played with great slowness and solemnity, holding the balance against whole rows of common feet. In these cases it is impossible for me not to recognize the half-joyful, half-wailing (*Comp. Agam.* v. 1124,) but always stately νομος ορθιος, which Herodotus and Plutarch mention in intimate connection with the dithyramb, and of which we know expressly that it was used by Æschylus (*Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 1308). As to the rhythmical character of the νομος ορθιος, there is at least this much to be learned from the somewhat obscure passage in Plutarch, (*Mus.* 28,) that the two metrical feet, the Orthius and the Trochæus semantus, were especially used in it; the one, as we know, being an iambus, the other a trochee, of quadruple value. Doubtless these solemnly prolonged masses of sound (*Aristid. Quinct.* pp. 38, 98) united with rapid Cretics, and winged pæons were in their nature much better adapted for the wild irregular enthusiasm of Phrygian melody, than for the calm equable flow of the Doric. We

know further that another foot of a similar kind, the pæon Epibatus, consisting of ten times (*Aristid.*), was used by Olympus for the Phrygian modes (*Plut.* 33). In perfect accordance with all this is the known fact that the Orthic song, though not necessarily, yet for the most part was accompanied with flute music, and that in particular the hollow sounding crooked Phrygian horn was used (*Lucian, Bacch.* 4).

"These observations on the Phrygian mode when applied to our chorus, offer a clear development of its musical character. The impressive words occurring in the first strophe, Ω *ματερ*—Ποιναν, and others in the following strophe, evidently executed in the Orthic style (*Hermann, Element. Doct. Met. Opusc.* ii. p. 121); the series of Cretics which follow, as also the agitated periods which close the first and second pair of strophes, are manifest indications of the Phrygian melody. It appears also from Euripides (compare also *Aristoph. Ran.* 1351), and the fragments of the later dithyrambus, that repetition of the same word, and like-sounding terminations, were particularly affected in songs set to Phrygian music; a hint of which we have in the beautiful *παρακοπα, παραφορα*, which no translation can imitate. In those passages again where the emotion of the Furies assumes a more calm character, where a proud sense of dignity prevails over the dread of insult, the rhythm approaches more to the character of Dorian melody, to wit, long dactylic series with spondaic exits, to which trochaic closes are added. And we might even suppose that the Dorian melody in these places actually did supplant the Phrygian, did not the occasional admission of long dactylic series perfectly consort with the character of this latter mode."

We admire many things in this masterly exposition, but especially the perfect poetic sympathy with which the whole is written —something very different from Porson and Burney's most unpoetical mode of writing about poetry. Not less admirable however is the ingenious use here made of the stray fragments of Greek rhythmical and musical knowledge that antiquity has transmitted to us. We find many imaginative critics, both at home and abroad, who will discourse, page after page, as fluently as Müller, on the Greek drama; but with them we desiderate sure footing. The German critics again base their imaginative flights upon a wide foundation of sound learning. They do not balloon it at random, through cloudy regions (as we sometimes charge them falsely, forgetting how much more truly the charge applies to ourselves), but they throw a sure bridge over the wide gulf that separates us from the ancient world, and transport us into the living atmosphere of a Greek theatre, at eye and ear drawing in Hellenic influences only. We can easily imagine many foolish objections made to such writing as the above; as, for instance, that it is fanciful, superfluous, labour lost, and so forth; we feel assured, however, that the student of Greek poetry, who derives no benefit from discussions of this kind, is much more likely to be far beneath than far above the average standard of intellect.

It is not our intention in this paper to enter into any detailed

examination of Professor Müller's work; its general tone and character were what attracted us from the beginning, and in that light only we have looked at it; but we shall state, shortly, a few points in which we think Greek scholars are peculiarly indebted to the labours of the learned Professor.

His development of the symmetry that runs through the Agamemnon, on the theory that the chorus consisted of twelve old men, is masterly. This theory we consider as all but certain; as certain at least as matters of this kind can be expected to be. Hermann, in his first Dissertation on the Eumenides (a work well known to scholars), had brought prominently forward the absurdity of the usual semi-choral division of the three trochaic tetrameters, followed by thirteen iambic couplets (v. 1358), in which the chorus deliberate among themselves as to what is to be done in the matter of Agamemnon's murder; and from this same passage Hermann had drawn the conclusion that the lines should be distributed among a chorus of fifteen persons, to each person a line, or couple of lines. In this he was followed without examination by our scholars, Blomfield and Scholefield, and also by Wellauer. The sharpsightedness of Müller, however, has detected a flaw in Hermann's argument; and draws from the same passage the conclusion that the chorus consisted only of twelve. We have already said that we think his refutation of Hermann perfectly triumphant. Those who take an interest in the question will of course examine for themselves.

Again the Professor's tracing out of the interworking of the several choruses of the trilogy, through the whole series, is new to us, and extremely ingenious. Whatever may have been the case in other instances, it seems certain in this, that the chorus of the Furies appears in the Choephoræ (v. 1048) altogether different and distinct from the chorus of that play. That the chorus of the Choephoræ professes not to see them, calling the apparition mere "δοξαι," and vain imaginations, is nothing to the purpose. Orestes sees them, as Macbeth did Banquo's ghost, sitting on what appeared to his guests an empty chair. We must suppose Æschylus to have been a neologist rather than a dramatist, if he could have given his own heathen gods less substantiality than the Christian poet gave to a ghost.

In another matter, the division of the choruses among the several singers, Müller has less original merit. Hermann had long ago pointed out the distinction between the first chorus, beginning with

ἐγειρ, ἐγειρε και συ τηνδ', εγω δε σε, &c.*

* Bishop Blomfield, in his preface to the Persians, has a very original piece of criticism on this line. He says it proves distinctly, that the chorus in the Eumenides

and those that occur in the body of the play. The one is a mere hurried series of fitful exclamations in dochmiac verse, passionate *staccato* outbreakings of individual passion; the others have the continuous flow, the body and weight that characterize a choral hymn, sung by the full choral band. The matter is noted indeed by the scholiast; but has been neglected by our translators, and the dramatic effect thereby ruined. Nothing is more certain than the fact that the division of the chorus here takes place; what the exact details of the division are, is likely for ever to remain a secret; any division, however, is better than none; and there is a manifest propriety in portioning it out among fifteen, as we know from the best authority that such was the number of the tragic chorus. Müller has throughout the whole play marked prominently the distinction of *commatic* and *stasimal* choruses; a distinction, as in the case just alluded to, always of the utmost importance to the dramatic effect of the play.

These choral matters, however important as they are, form but a very small part of Müller's well-deservings towards this play. The political, religious, and juridical views which he has thrown out with a comprehensiveness of erudition, a happiness of combination, and a fecundity of invention peculiarly his own, all call for the warm acknowledgments of every enlightened student of ancient literature. By his examination into the state of political parties at Athens during the exhibition of this play, he has given to it (always of course after the Persians) a local habitation and a name, in the public history of Greece. The poetry of Greece, indeed, has this peculiarity above all others, by which it is distinguished from modern effusions; it belongs not to the private whim of an individual, but to the public life of a people.

The only thing, in which Müller can be charged with superficiality, is the recension of the text. We think however, after what Wellauer has done, that he has acted wisely in not undertaking a new and searching recension *ab initio*. He has taken Wellauer's text as the basis; and the alterations which he has made upon it, partly by original conjectures, partly by the adoption of the

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consisted only of *three* singers, though they themselves (v. 585) say that they are *many* (πολλαὶ μὲν ὑμῖν). To us the line, if it proves any thing at all, only proves that three of the Furies were lying together on the floor of the temple, a conjunction which might happen with thirty or three hundred as well as three. We say nothing as to the want of theatrical effect in having only three Furies on such a large stage as the Athenian, beside the want of vocal fulness in the music. It is possible, however, that Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megæra headed the three rows of the choral phalanx, which was a square of 3 × 5. This is a view of the matter which should satisfy all parties, except Julius Pollux, who, in a well-known passage, says that the number was fifty. Pollux may be right, but Blomfield must be wrong.

emendations of other scholars, are sometimes ingenious, and for the most part judicious.

The translation is in the German style, a true fac-simile of the original both in matter and form; not however with the painful anxiety of Voss, whose practice, if carried consistently through in every minute particular, only proves that a prose translation is on all occasions to be preferred to a metrical one; not that Voss's translations are poetical. We must confess that in all translations from the antique we prefer accuracy to elegance, and the stern nakedness of ancient truth to the false luxuriance of modern embellishment; and, saying this, we mean of course to say that in these cases we always prefer German translations to English ones.

In conclusion, we can merely repeat shortly the conviction which originally gave occasion to these remarks; that if English scholarship is to rise from its low estate, it must do so by an imitation and emulation of the German scholars. This however always wisely, and with a due regard to distinctive and, perhaps, permanently engraven national peculiarities. From the time of Bacon we have been practical men; and the endeavour to restore any thing like a national Platonism, such as they have in Germany, seems very fruitless. The imaginative, contemplative, and emotional capabilities of our nature can, from the preponderance of practical interests, never hope to receive their highest cultivation. The religion, the mythology, the philosophy of the Greeks seem to belong as a sort of natural heritage to German erudition. Their poetry however, distinguished as it is by that σωφροσυνη, which perhaps we may translate sobriety and sound sense, is surely a thing peculiarly English; and that the Germans have gained so many laurels as they have done in this field cannot surely have happened without some fault on our part. Besides, we have the history, chronology, politics, public economy, and science of the ancients—matters all that should belong exclusively to us; and here it is cheering to see that one or two recent names gem our crown. In history especially we Britons, who act it so prominently, cannot but feel that we have a peculiar vocation to write it. With our clear and single eye for facts, we are in no danger of surrendering the staple testimony of centuries to the brilliant theory of a day. But when the Germans, in the teeth of all ancient traditions, rob Cadmus of his Phœnician pedigrees, divorce Homer from the wrath of Achilles, and metamorphose even the strong reality of Theseus and Hercules, into the symbols of an unknown mystic worship, even in this madness of their speculative whim they also are not without their praise. The

facts of history are one thing, the philosophy of history is another and a very different thing. In their historical investigations the Germans apply too much of this philosophy: their criticism is too curious; they raise a magnificent architecture out of mere internal probabilities, forgetful of the one outward well-attested fact, which however strange in its origin, and however barren in its consequences, is nevertheless a fact, and to the sound eye of a practical Englishman worth a whole world of speculations. But are we to regard the German as an ignorant interloper, a reckless confounder of plain things, a tumbler and posture-maker in things serious, merely because in the heat of his critical zeal he here and there shakes the authority of a few ancient oracles and mistakes the wavy boundary-lines that separate history from mythology? Is it not rather manifest that the errors of the Germans in historical matters are only the slight excess of something essentially good and excellent—the misapplied activity of a searching and scrutinizing intellect? Though Wolf's theory of Homer be wrong, is it small praise to that distinguished scholar to say that he set the whole of Europe a thinking about the character and origin of the two most extraordinary poems in the world? But this is not all. Who will venture to say that the most ultra-Wolfian has not a more legitimate idea of the nature of the Iliad, than Payne Knight had, and the body of the ancient ultra-orthodox English school? So it is in all other matters. The Germans seize on the spirit and soul of ancient life and literature. In essentials they are always right. Their stream of literary enthusiasm is pure and unpolluted, though it sometimes sweeps away a few ancient landmarks that right forbids, and reverence fears to violate. But wherein consists the beauty and excellence of that cold decency and propriety with which our British scholars make formal obeisance before the god-like forms of antiquity? Our scholarship is free from extravagances, too often, because it is free from enthusiasm; we publish no books full of foolish speculation, because we have no speculation at all; our vegetation is never rank, because it is always barren. A lusty and hearty vitality will sometimes caper madly; but dulness is always sober, and stagnant waters are not apt to overflow.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

It is our intention in this and succeeding numbers of this Review to give brief but comprehensive notices of Musical Compositions and Performances, Concerts, Operas, Oratorios, &c., occurring in England or on the continent. In the summary will be included all Classical Works, either published or in progress, which are seldom noticed in other journals.

Paris.—The Italian Opera Company have been transferred to the *Odeon*, and are described as performing to empty benches, because the Parisian Dilettanti, complain of the distance from their favourite resorts in the Boulevards! Think of Grisi, Tamburini, Rubini, and Lablache singing to empty benches, truly our volatile neighbours are the most inconsistent people upon the face of the earth! A new tenor singer has appeared in Meyerbeer's "*Robert le Diable*," in the person of M. Candia, son of the late Governor of Nice. A real passion for music has induced him to attempt this department of the profession, and he is stated to have made a most successful debût. M. Berlioz the composer, who married Miss Smithson, has written and produced an opera, entitled "*Benvenuto Cellini*," full of highly wrought effects in the choruses, but it did not meet with the expected success, owing, as it is said, to the too frequent recurrence of large masses of harmony, and consequent want of effective solos to relieve them; but as M. Berlioz, like most enthusiastic artists of competent knowledge and skill, must be aware that *the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong*, he will most likely, as they say in nautical phrase, lay over to the other tack and stand for a fresh port. M. Kalkbrenner is promoted to the rank of officer of the Legion of Honour.

Leipsic.—In October last, shortly after Miss Clara Novello's engagement, Mrs. Alfred Shaw went over to sing at the concerts in this place, and was (like the former lady) successful. Mendelssohn the composer has just finished a new choral piece, "*As the Hart pants*," which has been performed in London at the Academy Concerts, it possesses all his peculiar vigour and masterly treatment of the subjects employed. The solos appear rather to lack variety, being all for the treble voice; but there are some beautiful effects upon the junction of the tenors and basses in chorus, and the last chorus is admirably wrought up: indeed we think it the finest piece of vocal fugue composition that ever emanated from his pen. Slight curtailment in one or two places early in the Psalm would make it less fatiguing to the vocalists, and be of service to the popularity of the work. The "*Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger*" mentions some novel inventions, consisting of a steam organ, a gigantic violin played *with pedals!* and a flute that gives the

effect of wind and string. Should these rather startling combinations of power be really brought to any perfection they might lead to an entire revolution in the musical system.

VIENNA.—Liszt, the pianist, seems by his playing to have caused a sort of fanaticism, which one of his admiring friends and critics has celebrated in the following hyperbolical terms:—"He is a chamelion—a true musical Shakspeare—(*Query, what upon earth is this?*)—alike great and unapproachable in the tender and sorrowful, the grand and majestic, in graceful sweetness and awful mystery"—(this reminds us of John Cramer's joke about poor Signior Jacobiwicz and his *awful* voice)—"in jest and earnest, in the sock or the buskin, in short, such is his overwhelming power, such the Promethean torch of his genius, that he has made proselytes to the piano out of its most declared enemies, the instrument has become his slave"—(pity he cannot take it with him just now to Demarara, where all the living slaves are so refractory)—"he strikes it with irresistible power and it begins *to sing as it never sang before;*" we cannot resist adding a pendant to the last part of this most unfriendly eulogy in an anecdote we met with the other day, which is likely to be of considerable importance to counter-tenor singers. "A mower of Parma swallowed by chance during sleep a snake which had crept into his mouth. By means of powerful remedies the dangerous guest was removed; and, by one of those sports in which nature loves to indulge, this man found himself, on recovering, in possession of a *counter-tenor* voice of the greatest beauty—he is now a singer at Bologna." These are curious facts that swallowing a snake, and hammering on an instrument should produce effects so identically similar.

OFFENBACH.—Mr. Andrè (Aulic councillor) has announced the pianoforte score of a posthumous opera by Mozart, entitled "*Zaidi;*" a sketch only of this work was left by the composer, and after so long an interval has been *completed* from other papers purchased of Mozart's widow. For more reasons than one, this production will be examined with curiosity and interest whenever it appears.

NEW YORK.—Rook's opera of "*Amilie*" has been completely successful; Miss Sheriff, and Messrs. Wilson and Seguin are the principal vocalists, who have played in the same piece at Boston.

LONDON, *Jan.* 1839.—During the last three months few public concerts have been given, the season not commencing until January or February. Of Private Societies, whose concerts are open only to subscribers and their friends, there are the Choral Harmonists, held at the London Tavern, where some of the best works of Haydn, Beethoven, Romberg, Sphor, are performed, and only require more adequate funds, to enable the committee constantly to engage the first principal singers in addition to their efficient band and chorus, to render it the first Amateur Society in the eastern part of the metropolis. The Classical Harmonists meet at the Crown and Anchor upon a smaller scale, but we

have heard Mozart's "*Don Giovanni*" well performed there. A series of Promenade Concerts, a la Musard, have commenced at the English Opera House, in which the *elite of the Philharmonic Band* perform some of the most favourite overtures, waltzes, &c. in a very masterly style—the pit is boarded over—the house is nightly crowded, and we wish Mr. Arnold the success his spirited exertions deserve. Mr. Loder's opera of "*Francis the First*," at Drury Lane, although there is some pretty music in it, has speedily given place to Rossini's "*Guillaume Tell*," conducted by Bishop, and supported by nearly all the vocal strength of the establishment. The part of *William Tell* is taken by *Braham*, but it is too low for his voice; and that of *Arnold* by Mr. Allen; he is a pretty room singer, but his voice is too weak for a theatre. Of the opera itself there is but one opinion among competent musicians—it is the finest melodramatic composition we have, both for variety and effect. In the first movement of the overture we were pleased to notice the six violoncellos as in Rossini's original score. With the exceptions we have named, all the characters in this opera are well supported, the chorus is augmented, the incidental dances well arranged, and in the dearth of operatic compositions of the highest class must continue to afford a great treat to those who admire this Maestro's best music. Shakspeare's "*Tempest*" is performed with great splendour as to scenery, &c. at Covent Garden, with the vocal music by Purcell, Arne, Linley, and entre-acts from Corelli. Macready intends bringing out a new opera, in which Mr. and Mrs. Wood, with H. Phillips, are to appear. Bishop has been for some time engaged in the composition of an oratorio, the subject of which has not before been set to music. A sestett and some of the choruses are highly spoken of. There is also an oratorio from the pen of Mr. S. Elvey, Mus. Bac. of Windsor, that was tried a short time ago at Exeter Hall, in which considerable talent was displayed. John Barnett, Rook, Balfe, and Bishop have all new operas in progress; and, together with the phalanx of vocal and instrumental talent ready at hand to perform their works, we begin to entertain a hope that the assumed reproach of "*The English having no music of their own*" will shortly fade away. All we want is a good school, a focus into which the rays of talent might converge, to convince the public they need not pay so extravagantly dear for inferior music imported from Italy. Mrs. Bishop and Miss F. Wyndham are both expected to make their debût on the English stage in the forthcoming season.

Among the musical publications are some "*Ancient Scottish Melodies, from a MS. in the reign of James VI., now in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, with notices of the Ancient Music of Scotland, by W. Dauney, Esq., F.S.A.,*" a work replete with interest to those who in these giddy-paced times are searching for *genuine* melodies, most of the modern ones having the strange and provoking quality of appearing much like the older airs, but diluted, altered, and, as the trading term is, *re-arranged* to suit the present singers and audiences. A very pleasing collection of old and original melodies has been printed and edited by Mr. Horncastle (of the Chapel Royal), under the title of "*Melodies of*

many Nations," of which the poetry is very superior to the usual run of such publications; a second edition has just appeared, and a second book is nearly ready. "*Musical History, Biography and Criticism,*" a very amusing book by Mr. G. Hogarth, has lately appeared, and we can recommend it to such as are fond of amusement and instruction combined. Mr. Gardiner, author of "*The Music of Nature,*" has favoured us with another light volume of chit-chat and anecdote, entitled "*Music and Friends,*" in which considerable powers of observation, some eccentricity, and great good humour are pleasingly combined. A work of more pretension, and important to all studious musicians, is in preparation by an eminent Professor, viz. "*An Essay on Imaginative Music,*" or rules for composition attempted upon a novel plan, in which the defects of the old system of counterpoint are explained, and the minds of the students carried forward to rely upon their own mental powers under certain restrictions. Such a book has long been a desideratum to the young musician, and from the experienced mind of the party who has undertaken it, the appearance of this little treatise we predict will cause some sensation.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

The works of Basil, in Greek and Latin, uniform with the Chrysostom, now just on the eve of completion at Paris, are about to appear; together with the works of Bernard.

A greatly improved edition of the Concordance to the Vulgate has just appeared, with ameliorations and additions that render it the most complete abridged Dictionary of the Bible that has ever been given to the world.

The Marquis de Beauffort's *Souvenirs d'Italie* will please the devout Romanist, to whom, although we cannot concede on all occasions the title of *Catholic*, we cheerfully allow the merit of great enthusiasm on some of the doctrines and duties of our common Christianity. Such enthusiasm the Marquis displays in the volume before us.

Messrs. Brockhaus and Avenarius, in Paris, have just published the first number of a series of yearly Catalogues of French Literature, which they intend to continue regularly every 12 months. It is very similar to the catalogues published by Hinrichs, at Leipsic, for German literature, and will, we hope, meet with the same success. The following is the plan on which it is arranged:—1. Catalogue of French literature published in France; 2. Books in the French language published in other countries; 3. Collections containing lists of Pougins, De Trore, Lefevre, &c. French and Latin Classics, Baudry's English Standard Authors, the Manuals, Rozet, &c.; 4. Works of art, &c.; 5. Illustrated editions, and smaller works, with engravings; 6. Journals and periodicals; 7. A systematic table of the complete catalogue; 8. A systematic table of the journals and periodicals.

The professorships of Persian and Arabic, held by the late Baron De Sacy, have been filled up by the appointment of M. Jaubert to the former, and M. Reynaud to the latter situation. M. Reynaud is occupied with a biography of his distinguished predecessor.

The Minister of Public Instruction has ordered, by a recent regulation, that the study of at least one living language of Europe, besides French, shall be made compulsory in all the royal colleges of France, and for those in Paris the pupils had to declare for either English or German. The following appears to have been the result of the declarations thus made in the colleges of the Metropolis and Versailles.

	ENGLISH.	GERMAN.
College of Louis le Grand	88	34
—— Henry IV.	68	29
—— Charlemagne	66	27
—— Bourbon	93	35
—— St. Louis	61	25
—— Versailles	30	15
	406	165

In the colleges of Corsica, Aix, Grenoble, and Montpellier, the Italian is to be taught, and the Spanish in those of Bordeaux, Pau, and Toulouse.

The Academy of Sciences has dispatched a scientific commission to explore the territory of Algiers. M. Duméril is appointed for Zoology, Brogniart for Botany, Elie de Beaumont for Geology, Bory St. Vincent for Geography and Topography, Serres for Medicine, Treycinet for Hydrography, Jeguier for the Arts, Poncelet for Mechanics, and Arago for Meteorology and Physical Science.

PARIS.—The complete success which has attended the publication of Curmer's edition of Paul and Virginia, with wood-cuts, has induced another publisher to announce a small edition of the same book, illustrated with sixty vignettes; but we doubt whether it will meet with the same approbation.

ITALY.

Angelo Mai, the celebrated philologist, and librarian of the Vatican, and Mazzofanti, keeper of the same library, and so renowned for his knowledge of languages, have both been elevated to the dignity of Cardinal.

The Neapolitan government has given permission for the erection of a Protestant place of worship in Naples. This concession has been granted through means of the Prussian ambassador.

A Collection of the Songs of Abélard have been discovered in the library of the Vatican, and their publication is speedily expected.

GERMANY.

The University of Tübingen has just received a valuable addition to its library, by the present of a number of Sanscrit MSS. and printed works, which the missionary Haberle, the donor, brought with him from India.

Rückert, the celebrated Orientalist and poet, has been offered the professorship vacated at Göttingen by Ewald, but has declined accepting it.

The University of Heidelberg is to have a seminary connected with it in future for the Evangelical clergy of the Protestant communion, and Professor Rothe of Wittenberg has been appointed to its superintendence.

A Society for Philosophical Philology has been formed through the efforts of Baron Humboldt and Professor Thiersch. The first meeting took place at Nürnberg, in September.

The study of the German language and the preservation of its ancient monuments occupies more and more the attention of native scholars. Jacob Grimm, the great promoter of all such researches, whose Grammar has now reached the fourth volume, has announced a Dictionary of the ancient and modern language. Massmann, Löbe, and Gasslentz continue to publish new fragments of the Gothic, enriched with critical notes. Fourteen parts are now published of Graff's Treasury of the Old High-German. One of the earliest High-German poems, the Ludwigs-Lied, has been brought to light by Hoffmann, who found it amidst the rubbish of a library. This ought to be a hint to all keepers of libraries not to let any rubbish accumulate within their walls, but to have all corners ransacked, and properly examined by competent scholars; for such masses of rubbish are too frequently the grave of the most precious treasures.

An extremely valuable undertaking, by Basse the bookseller, of Quedlin-

burgh, is now proceeding vigorously — the publication of all the early monuments of the national literature, in a uniform body. Its value is enhanced by the considerable mass of hitherto inedited matter with which the series is enriched. An increasing number of literary men, among whom are Hoffmann, Mone, and Warnkönig, are much occupied with the Low-German, and its literary remains; others with the Frankish and cognate dialects. The popular romances, which appeared at that period in the history of German poetry when the middle ages terminated and the modern commence, are publishing, in no fewer than fifty-four new editions, the most valuable of which are those edited by Schwab and Simrock. The national historical poems, collected for many years past by Uhland, will, it is hoped, shortly appear. The old national melodies are in course of publication in a thousand quarters; for music, in the heart of a German, is inseparably connected with poetry, and each lends the other both light and heat. It has become a recent speculation to publish uniform and collected editions of such writers as Leibnitz, Lessing, &c. whose works had hitherto never appeared at all in such a commodious shape, or had been unworthily edited.

The translations of Plautus, by Moritz Rapp *alias* Jovialis, are distinguished for their fidelity, and for the light thrown on the comic drama of the ancients by the preliminary essay of the learned translator.

Eighteen hundred Etruscan Vases, purchased at Rome by the King of Bavaria, have arrived in Munich, and are intended to be placed in the Pinacotheca, in situations designed for them by Klenze, the architect, and accompanied by suitable decorations.

Professor Drouke and M. Von Cassaulx, inspector of buildings in Coblentz, have published an interesting Memoir on the Chapel of St. Matthias, near Kobern, on the Moselle, and intend to bestow their attention on the other monuments of early German architecture, if suitably encouraged. For this purpose they have published the prospectus of a society, to consist of 200 members, each to pay yearly the sum of five dollars; the income to be expended in the publication of 500 copies of some interesting work, got up, as to the plates, in the style of Schmidt's work on the Church of the Holy Virgin in Trier, and in size and paper resembling Boisserée's Gallery. Of these 200 are to be disposed of by way of exchange with foreign dealers in works of art; 100 will be given to the booksellers to counteract rival editions, and the remaining 200 will be given away among the members, who will also receive a copy of the works procured in exchange.

Tubingen.—The Life of Christ, by Strauss, has reached a third edition. He has also published a series of answers to his opponents, of which the numbers published contain: 1. Answer to Dr. Stendel; 2. Against Eschenmaier and Menzel; 3. Against the "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik," and the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken."

Dresden.—The first part of the new Edition of Winkelmann's Works is at last published, and contains the first half of the Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums; it is beautifully printed in royal 8vo., and from its exceeding cheapness will be acceptable to every antiquarian.

Greifswald.—Professor Kosegarten of this place is engaged on a Dictionary of the Lower Saxon (niedersächsisch or plattdeutsch) language of modern and ancient times, compiled from all the Glossaries hitherto published, from the archives, and the present language of the peasants in that part of Germany formerly called Lower Saxony. The large extent of country in the North of Germany in which this language is spoken, and the numerous re-

cords written in it lately brought to light, and containing the best sources for information respecting the history of Northern Germany in the Middle Ages, will certainly justify the publication of a *larger* Lower Saxon Dictionary. We possess already several excellent dictionaries of the various dialects of the Lower Saxon language, as the *Bremisch-Niedersächsische*, published by the Bremen Society; the *Hamburgisch-Niedersächsische*, by Rickey; the *Osnabrücksche*, by Strodtmann; the *Holsteinische*, by Schutze; and the *Pommersche*, by Dähnert. But all the dialects of these various districts belong to one and the same language, and deserve to be united in one General Lower Saxon Dictionary, and it is the intention of Dr. Kosegarten to do so. The work will be published in 4to., printed in double columns, on good white paper, and will be issued in parts, each containing about 150 pages, the first of which will appear in the spring of 1839. Persons *subscribing* for the *whole work* will have it at a *reduced* price.

Munich.—A new periodical, published under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Arts, in this town has been very favourably received by the artists and the public generally. It is entitled "Münchner Jahrbücher für Heldende Kunst," and is edited by Dr. R. Marzgraft. Its object is principally to bring before the reader a correct view of the state of art at the present moment, particularly in Germany. It will also give a characteristic of the various academies and schools, as well as the principal artists who may be considered as founders or supporters of them. The following is the plan in which the contents will be arranged:—

Contributions towards the History of National Art in Germany.

Contributions towards the History of Arts and Artists in Bavaria.

Articles on the newest Discoveries in the Antiquarian Knowledge of the Monuments of the Middle Ages. History and description of the various Museums and Galleries, &c. Papers on the Theory of Art. Artistical Literature, or Reviews or Notices of New Works of Art and relating to Art. Artistical Chronicle, or notices from all parts of the world on the Progress of Art, and a Notice of the principal papers in the Artistical Journals of other countries; Artistical novelties or notices of all new Engravings, Lithographics, and Wood-cuts, as well as descriptions of the New Inventions connected with the Practice of Art.

The Munchner Jahrbücher will be published four times a year, and each Part will cost from 7 to 8 Shillings.

Dr. Huber, professor at Marburg, has nearly ready a large volume on the two English Universities. We understand that, at Paris, Mr. Longueville Jones, late fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, is preparing a work, in French, on the same subject, which we are glad to see attracting so much notice.

The attention which has been of late years paid to the early national literature in Germany is by no means decreased. Lachmann is, as we understand, at work on a new and improved edition of the Niebelungen-Lied; and the new edition of Wackernagel's Altdeutsche Lesebuch is very much improved and enlarged.

At Basil, a volume of Old English Mysteries and Miracle Plays has recently been given to the world.

POLAND.

The Polish Literary Society has appointed a commission to collect the original documents for Polish history which are to be found in foreign archives and libraries.

Although the very name of Poland would fain be obliterated from the sight and recollection of the living by the Imperial Master of all the Russias, her deeds and history are too deeply engraven on the records of past ages, and on the hearts of the men of the present day, to be thus easily obliterated; and we would invite the scholars and the learned of all *free* nations to speak and *write* of her as still living in that invincible spirit of nationality which sooner or later must triumph over the worst excesses of despotism.

RUSSIA.

We have been favoured by a correspondent with the following List of Books and Maps just published in Russia, and which, at the present time, will perhaps not be uninteresting to the English reader.

Abbildung der unter dem Kaiser Nikolaus I., geprägten Medaillen, Part I., folio, 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Carte de la Partie Européenne de la Russie, 12 sheets imp. folio, 1*l.* 5*s.*

A Special Map of the Government Koliwan, corrected after the New Maps in the Archives of Barnaul, 12 Sheets and 1 Index Map, imp. folio, 1*l.* 7*s.*

Map of Asia Minor, containing the Countries of the Kirgises, Koralpacks, Truchmans, and Buchares, 10 sheets imp. folio, 1*l.* 7*s.*

Plan of the Battle of Borodino, fought August 26, 1812, imp. folio, 1*l.* 5*s.*

A General Map of Russia-in-Asia, according to the latest divisions, 3 sheets imp. folio, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Map of Bessarabia, the Moldau, Walachia, and the adjoining countries, 21 sheets imp. folio, 2*l.* 10*s.*

A Military and Topographical Map of the Crimea, according to the last Survey, by Major-general Muchin, 10 sheets imp. folio, 4*l.* 7*s.*

Map of the Seat of the War between the Russians and the Persians, 2 sheets imp. folio, 1*l.* 5*s.*

A Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland, in 34 sheets imp. folio, 1820, 4*l.* 7*s.*

Map of Walachia, Bulgaria, and Roumili, 4 sheets imp. folio, 1*l.* 5*s.*

A Complete Map of the Empire of Russia, and the Neighbouring Countries, 114 sheets imp. folio, 12*l.* 7*s.*

A General Map of the Regions lying between the Black and Caspian Seas, 1 sheet imp. folio, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Map of a Part of Russia and the adjoining Kingdoms, with the Military Roads marked down; published under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Schubert, 8 sheets imp. folio, 1828, 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

A Topographical Map of the Government of St. Petersburgh, engraved and published under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Schubert, 9 sheets imp. folio, 1834, 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

A Special Map of the Western Part of the Russian Empire. Engraved and published under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Schubert, in 60 sheets imp. folio. Sheets 1 to 36 and an Index sheet are published, price 20*l.*

Carte de la Georgie et d'une partie de la Perse, par le General-major Khaton, imp. folio, 1826, 1*l.* 5*s.*

Kutorga, Dr. St., Beitrag zur Kenntniss der organischen Ueberreste des Kupfersandsteins am westlichen Abhange des Urals, 8vo. 11*s.* 6*d.*

Pausner, Versuch einer deutlichen Darstellung der Methode Distanzen durch den Schall zu bestimmen, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Valville traité sur la contre-pointe, 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rouget, Dictionnaire portatif de l'Ingénieur, 2 vols. 15*s.*
Struve, Anwendung des Durchgangsinstruments für die geographische Ortsbestimmung, with plates, 10*s.*
Lettres sur les offices divins de l'église d'Orient, 3*s.* 6*d.*
Stöckhardt, Juristische Propädeutik, oder Vorschule der Rechtswissenschaft, zum Behuf akademischer Vorlesungen, 10*s.*
Schubert, Anleitung zu der Astronomischen Bestimmung der Länge und Breite. Third edition, 10*s.*
Reissig, C. von. Der Spiegel-Sextant, with plates, 10*s.*
——————— Der Reflections-Zirkel, 10*s.*
——————— Der multiplicirende Theodolit, mit Anleitung zu seiner Berichtigung, 12*s.* 6*d.*
Chorden-Tafeln, für alle Winkel des Quadranten, 10*s.*
Helmersen, G. von, Der telezkische See und die Teleuten im östlichen Altai, 6*s.* 6*d.*
Kutorga, S. Dr., Beitrag zur Geognosie und Paläontologie Dorpats und seiner nächsten Umgebung, 8vo. with 7 plates, 10*s.* 6*d.*
——————— Zweiter Beitrag zur Geognosie und Paläontologie Dorpats und seiner nächsten Umgebung, 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*
——————— Scolopendræ morsitantis anatome, 4 plates, 1*l.*
Gretsch, N., Grundregeln der Russischen Grammatik, aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Oldekop, 6*s.* 6*d.*
Gretsch, Grammaire raisonnée de la langue Russe, trad. de la langue Russe, par C. P. Reiff, 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*
Horaninow, P., Primæ lineæ systematis naturæ, 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*
——————— Systema Pharmycodynamicum et Nomenclatura Pharmacum emendata, 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*
Amerikanka w Polsce. Romans, 8vo. 15*s.*
Beobachtungen über die Heilkräfte der Salzquellen zu Staraja-Russa, aus dem Russischen, 1*s.*
Bawr, Carte de la Moldavie, imp. folio, 2*l.* 9*s.*
Coursier, C., Handbuch der Französischen, Deutschen und Russischen Conversationssprache, 5*s.*
Egger's Catalogue of Russian Literature, 2*s.*

INDIA.

Mr. Ricketts, formerly an influential person in India, is preparing a large and extensive work on Indian and Egyptian Art, which it is expected will shortly be published at Paris.

GREECE.

The Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, Head Master of Harrow, is preparing for publication, in Monthly Parts, a Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical Work on Greece. The object of the Author is to render a Topographical Description of the country a medium for illustrations derived from the History, Mythology, Antiquities, and Art of that people.

The Engravings, which are to be both on Steel and on Wood, will be made from authentic sketches recently taken on the spot, and are intended to represent the most remarkable scenes in that classic land.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

From October to December, 1838, inclusive.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

249 Athanasia, Zeitschrift für die gesammte Pastoraltheologie. Herausgegeben von Benkert und Düx. Vol. VIII. 3 Parts. 8vo. *Wurzbg.* 7s.

250 Augustini S. Aurel. de doctrina Christiana libri IV. et Enchiridion ad Laurentium ed. Bruder. Ed. Stereot. 16mo. *Lips.* 2s.

251 Baur, F. C., die Christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung. 8vo. *Tübing.* 16s.

252 Bergier, Dictionaire de theologie. Nouvelle édition augmenté d'un plan de la theologie. 4 vols. 8vo. *Besançon.* 14s.

253 Bibel, Deutsche Schul- für Israeliten, herausgegeben von Dr. Gotth. Salomon. Part I. Die 5 Bücher Mose. Stereotypt Ausg. 8vo. *Altona.* 2s. 6d.

254 Brenner, System der katolischen speculativen Theologie. Vol. II. Part 4, containing, Construction der katolischen speculat. Theologie. P. 4. 8vo. *Regensbg.* 4s. 6d. price of Vols. I. & II. Part 1—4. 1*l.* 14s.

255 Calvini, Joannis, in Librum Geneseos Commentarius; ad editionem Amstelodam. exscrib. curavit E. Hengstenberg. 2 Parts. 8vo. Maj. *Berolini.* 10s. 6d.

256 Corpus reformatorum, ed. Bretschneider. Vol. V. containing Philip. Melanchtoni Opera. 4to. *Halis Saxorum.* 20s. Vols. I. to V. 5*l.*

257 Eisenhardt, H, Runen—Versuch einer Erscheinnungslehre des Reichs, veranlasst durch die Staatsbegriffe des Herrn Stahl und Leo. Mit einem Vorwort an David Strauss über d. Grund seiner Verwechslung des Heilandes. mit dem Gemeinwesen. 8vo. *Halle.* 1s. 6d.

258 Ewald, H., Professor, Worte an Herrn Klenze in Hannover. 8vo. *Basel.* 1s. 6d.

259 Fürst, Concordantiæ Libro.um Veteris Testamenti Sacrorum Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ. Sect. VII. Ed. Stereotypa, sm. folio. *Lips.* 7s.

260 Görres, J., Die Triarier: H. Leo, Dr. P. Marheinecke, Dr. K. Bruno. 8vo. *Regensb.* 3s. 6d.

261 Handbuch, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches, zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von T. Hitzig. Vol. I.—Die 12 Kleinen Propheten. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s.

262 Harless, Dr. G. C. A., Zwölf Predigten. 8vo. *Erlang.* 3s.

263 Harms, Dr. C., Das Vater Unser in eilf Predigten. 8vo. *Perr. Kiel.* 5s. 6d.

264 Jeremias, Thränen oder Klagelieder, edirt, erklärt und metrisch übersetzt von L. Löwenstein. 8vo. *Frankf.* 2s. (Hebrew and German.)

265 Jung, gen. Stilling, sämmtl. Schriften. Supplement Band. Christl. Menschenfreund—Revolutionsgeist—die grosse Panacee—Schleuder eines Hirtenknaben, &c. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 10s. 6d.

266 Kalkar, die biblische Geschichte. Vol. I. *Kiel.* 7s. 6d.

267 Landauer, M. H., Wesen und Form des Pentateuchs. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 1s.

268 Leo, Dr. H., Hegelingen, Actenstücke und Belege, &c. 8vo. *Halle.* 1s.

269 Libri Symbolici ecclesiae catholicae. Conjuncti atque notis, prolegumenis indicibusque instructi opera et studio F. G. Streitwolf et R. E. Klener. Tom. I. Pars 2. 8vo. *Gotting.* 3s. Tom. II. 9s.

270 Luther's Werke, 23r. Band, containing Katechetische deutsche Schriften, von Irrmischer. Vol. 3. 8vo. *Erlang.* 2s. 6d.

271 Meletemata theologica. Ediderunt Dr. Braun und Dr. Elvenich. 8vo. *Hannover.* 3s. 6d.
272 Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii tridentini restitutum, sancti Pii Papae quinti jussu editum, &c. &c. 4to. *Paris.* 2*l.* 12s. 6d.
273 Müller, Julius, die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde. Eine theologische Untersuchung. 8vo. *Breslau.* 15s. 6d.
274 Offenbach, J., Hagadah oder Erzählung von Israels Auszug aus Aegypten. 8vo. *Köln.* 3s. Hebrew text and German translation.
275 Origines, Opera omnia. Ediderunt C. et C. V. de la Rue, denuo recensuit, emendavit, castigavit C. H. E. Lommatzsch. Tom. VIII. containing Originis in Genesin Homiliæ et fragmenta Graeca ex ejusdem in Exodum Commentarius. Ex Nov. Edit. Paris. 12mo. *Berolini.* 8s.
276 Reinke, Laur., Exegesis critica in Jesaiae, cap. II. 2—4, seu de gentium conversione in Vet. Test. praedicta ejusque effectibus, scripsit, &c. 8vo. *Monast.* 3s.
277 Ribbeck, Anselmi Cantuariensis doctrina de sancto spiritu.—Dissertatio inauguralis. 4to. *Berlin.* 2s.
278 Rückert, Magazin für Exegese und Theologie des neuen Testaments. Vol. I. Part 1. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 3s. 6d.
279 Salvador, J., Jesus Christ et sa doctrine. Histoire de la naissance de l'Eglise, &c. 2 vols. 18mo. *Bruxelles.* 6s.
280 Schleiermacher's sämmtliche Werke. 3te Abthlg.—Zur Philosophie. Vol. II. containing Philosophische und Vermischte Schriften. 8vo. *Berlin.* 9s. Fine paper, 10s. 6d. Vellum paper, 15s. Vol. I. will be published in the Spring of 1839.
281 Schubert, Dr. G. H. von, Altes und Neues aus dem Gebiet der innern Seelenkunde. Vol. III. 2nd. Edit. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
282 Staudenmaier, Dr. F. A., Der Geist des Christenthums dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, in den heiligen Handlungen und in der heiligen Kunst. 2 vols. 8vo. *Mayence.* 8s. 6d.
283 Studien, Theologische, und Kritiken. In Verbindung mit Lücke, Nitzsch und Gieseler, herausgegeben von Ullmann und Umbreit. *Hamburg.* 1839. 12th Year. 4 parts. 24s.
284 Tamburinus, Praelectiones de ecclesia Christi quas habuit in academia Ticinensis. 2 partes. 8vo. *Lips.* 10s.
285 Tholuck, A., Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Evangelischen Geschichte, zugleich eine Kritik des Lebens Jesu von Strauss. 2nd Edition. 8vo. *Hamburg.* 10s.
286 Ullmann, Dr. C., Historisch oder Mythisch? Beiträge zur Beantwortung der jetzigen Lebensfrage der Theologie. 8vo. *Hamb.* 5s.
287 Vent, H. R. A., Homiletisches Magazin über die Evangelischen Texte des ganzen Jahres. 2 vols. 8vo. 15s.
288 Wette, de Dr. W. M. L., Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Vol. I. Part I. Ev. Matthaeus. 2te. Auflage. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 4s. 6d.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, AND STATISTICS.

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